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UNITED STATES HISTORY

UNITED STATES HISTORY

BY

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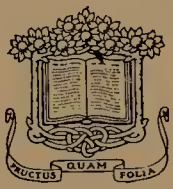

GARDEN CITY NEW YORK

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First Edition

TO THE
MEMORY OF
ELEAZER WHEELOCK
NEW HAMPSHIRE PATRIOT
AND
FOUNDER AND FIRST PRESIDENT
OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
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PREFACE

THIS volume is an attempt to put the vital facts of American history in readable form. Special effort has been made to give the relation of the economic and social to the political factors. The place and effect of western development are emphasized beyond what is usual in such texts, and soil and vegetation factors are given what is believed to be their merited place in our national story.

In order that many individuals should not remain "mere names," the Appendix carries a series of biographical sketches giving supplementary information concerning the more prominent persons mentioned in these pages. Of those of first rank additional information will, of course, be sought in the usual channels.

"Query and Discussion" topics as well as "Reading Lists" accompany the respective sections of the book. Among the popular, in distinction from the scientific, books mentioned, place is given to the *Chronicles of America* (Yale University Press). Never before has our history been so simply and interestingly presented in expanded form by writers of scholarly rank. For map study Harper's *Atlas of American History* has been cited as one of the most convenient compilations of its kind; its authoritative maps (from the *American Nation Series*) are very serviceable, especially as interpreted by Dixon Ryan Fox's *Map Studies*. The book is cited, as "Fox, *Map Studies*."

In view of the fact that the text, especially after 1789, treats American history topically, a "Table of the Presidencies" has been included in the Appendix; there, in chronological order, will be found listed the chief events of each presidential administration. Also, the Appendix carries the documents with which

every student should become familiar, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

Among the numerous friends who have assisted and encouraged the writer, my colleague, Professor William C. Binkley, has kindly read the page proofs, but must be held blameless for errors which may still exist. For assistance in framing the "Discussion Topics" the writer is indebted to Miss Ernestine Parsons of the Colorado Springs High School. Another and a greater debt must not go unexpressed. To the trustees of Marietta College the writer is heavily obligated; but for their liberality in allowing time for study and research, covering a period of many years, this volume, although not contemplated at the time, could never have been written.

May I add, in conclusion, that this book has been written by an optimist—by a sincere disbeliever in the theory that "the evil men do lives after them." Our story presents a long line of individuals—half a thousand—who have played some part in this drama of republic building. Among these are splendid heroes and heroines, with here and there an impractical dreamer, a trickster, or a rogue. The writer's vision has been fixed on the good that men have done, the constructive dreams they have dreamed, the struggles they have endured on battlefields, on farms, in mines or mills, in halls of legislature, in schools, stores, and pulpits, at the bar or in editorial offices, to make our Republic great. Attention has been directed to "the evil men have done" only when a knowledge of that evil, or evil effort, is essential to a correct historical perspective. I arise from the reading of any sincere effort to present our national story with a sense of victory, a thrill of conquest; the iron in the blood of the men and women of old enters into mine and I partake of their earnestness, patriotism, and devotion. And then there comes that best gift which the study of the history of one's country can bring, faith and confidence in the good men and women of To-day and the long line of good men and women of To-morrow!

The tasks of to-day and to-morrow are no harder to master than were those of yesterday; the evils of to-day will be overcome as were those of other years. I find no page of our history

which would not show, on minute examination, its proportion of folk who praised the great men of the past but found little of comfort in their "To-day" and expressed much foreboding of "To-morrow." *Here, at least, history has never once failed to "repeat itself!"* Marco Polo in China, in the thirteenth century, was told that there were "honest" Celestial politicians—"a hundred years ago!"

ARCHER B. HULBERT.

Colorado Springs, Colorado,
April 23, 1923.

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UNITED STATES HISTORY

PART ONE
DISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUNDS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

In taking up the great drama of American history we must get, at the start, a clear vision of the two stages whereon its first important scenes were laid. One of these is in the Old World, the other is in the New World. Concerning the first of these, the European, we know a good deal; of the other, the American, we know very little because its strange peoples, whether Aztec or later "Indian," left us no written records.

In numerous ways the Old World peoples of the long ago were, as we shall see, truly background builders of our Republic. So, too, were the copper-colored aborigines of the New World. Through unnumbered generations they had lived, worked, loved, and died beside our rivers and lakes, along our coasts and in our mountains, plains, and valleys. The first Europeans who arrived on this continent were little trained for the work of continental conquest and mastery. To a considerable degree these so-called "Indians" supplied necessary tools and forest arts for this work.

Failure to take into account either the Old World or the New World background of American history and their respective actors gives the student a one-sided view of earliest American history. On the other hand a clear conception of them both makes plainer not only what has happened in the past but some things which are happening in our own day.

Section I. The Mother Continent Across the Atlantic

You can never know a man so well that a knowledge of his ancestors will not throw new light on what he did, what he

thought, and what he became. It is just the same with nations. We cannot understand the history of this country of ours properly unless we see the men and women who were at work in the far background of American history. These people may never have heard the name "America," but they surely laid foundations which made possible the discovery and occupation of our continent.

Things seem to occur in a hit-or-miss way in this world and great events sometimes just appear "to happen", so to speak. This is not true; the reason we sometimes think it is true is because some events are of so much more seeming importance that they stand vividly out by themselves in our minds and we forget the building process which made them possible.

The building process in history

Among those long-ago workers who must be reckoned builders of this Republic we should count the Crusaders, perhaps, first. There were seven great Crusades, or armies led by European rulers, or others, for the capture of the Holy Land between A.D. 1096 and 1272. This crusading age ranks along with the Reformation and the French Revolution as one of the great awakening periods in human history. The Crusades (a) checked the advance of the Mohammedans upon Europe; (b) enriched Europe by promoting the growth of commerce; and (c) greatly broadened the minds of all thinking men by introducing to Europe the civilization and the culture of the Byzantines and Arabians.

The Crusades and their results

The returning Crusader who showed his neighbor how to put pepper in soup or nutmeg in ale was a factor in American history; all who bore back from the Holy Land a jewel or a gem and wore these and taught others to delight in their beauty were also factors in our history. Very quickly these luxuries—some of which soon became necessaries—which were brought overland from the Spice Islands near the Malay Peninsula and from India to the Mediterranean by the caravans of the Turks, awoke Europe to new life. The people came to want new foods, new tools, new implements, new styles of dress,

new money, new fads; men began to think new thoughts, sing new songs, devise new paintings and new types of architecture.

To meet this need, a new conquest of the Mediterranean Sea, to which all trails led, became necessary (map p. 5). This conquest was made by those proud northern seacoast States, Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, whose venturesome mariners mastered that inland sea. The invention of new "tools" of

An Army of the Crusades

navigation such as the compass and astrolabe, was hardly second in importance to the invention of the printing press, which sent broadcast the information which such tools helped men to secure. Trade rivalries soon led some pilots to throw away caution and they learned to strike straight across and "pick up" a desired port without following the shorelines. Thus was born the Italian "school" of navigation—out of Europe's longing for the prized "gold, frankincense, and myrrh" of the East, and the ability of her people to provide goods for exchange, such as woolen fabrics, tin, copper, lead, and coral.

The Italian "school" of navigation

Few men realized what this conquest of the Mediterranean

meant in world-development. But the Atlantic Ocean lay beyond the Mediterranean. The shoreline of that greater body of water could not be explored, much less its vast breadth, except as these Mediterranean students learned their lesson well. The only thing brave men are afraid of is the Unknown. When the second "school" of navigation, the famous Portuguese school, came into existence, the Unknown in the Mediterranean had been conquered. Prince Henry of Portugal was the founder and patron of this "school," although many of his sailors and captains were Italians. What these men or their forefathers had done to solve the Unknown in the Mediterranean gave them and their sons the confidence necessary to solve not only the mystery of the Atlantic's monstrous shoreline, but the "Sea of Darkness" itself, as the Atlantic was called by the timid men of old.

The Portuguese "school" of navigation

The most famous early steps in exploring the Old World's coastline were taken by two Portuguese, Bartholomeu Dias and Vasco Da Gama. Dias laughed at the old idea that men would scorch to death if the attempt was made to cross the equator, and, in 1486, he triumphantly sailed down the coast of Africa and rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Thus he pointed out the ocean route to India. Da Gama in 1497 followed the same track and reached India (map p. 24). The boldness of such men as Dias and Da Gama was an inspiration to Columbus and his sailors when they attempted to cross the "Sea of Darkness" in 1492.

The explorations of Dias and Da Gama

But there were workers in other fields just as important in our background as the sailors and map-makers of Italy and Portugal. Those who united and made strong these and other European powers must also be included. Just as a butterfly is stronger than the most powerful locomotive with its firebox empty, so nations without strength and driving power are weak. There had to be energy and driving power behind these nations if the New World was to be discovered and colonized.

Weak nations could not colonize

This is well illustrated in the story of the Norsemen who, prob-

FAMOUS HIGHWAYS OF THE OLD WORLD. (Including routes of the Crusades, Marco Polo, and Dias.)

ably, first of Europeans discovered our continent. In A.D. 985 it is supposed that Eric the Red, a bold Scandinavian skipper, discovered Greenland. Fifteen years later his son, Leif the Lucky, is believed to have sailed southwest from Greenland and planted a colony somewhere near the mouth of the St. Lawrence River in what is now Canada. He named the colony "Vinland" because he found mountain cranberries growing along those coasts. The "Sagas," or epic poems of these hardy mariners, mention expeditions to Vinland down as late as 1347 at which time such references cease.

But it takes strong nations to plant colonies successfully. Behind Eric the Red and Leif the Lucky stood no strongly centralized power which could nourish and defend a far-away colony. Europe had once been broken up into many weak feudal States. But for generations before Columbus lived these States were being welded together by strong rulers. This political building process, which created great centralized powers, was important in world-history for only strong nations could found lasting colonies beyond the seas. Only nations of power could have built a New England and a New Spain and a New France across the Atlantic. Therefore everyone who had a hand in unifying these European States, at this very nick of time in the world's history, may be counted as one who helped to make possible our United States. Strong, enterprising nations had the men and means to found strong trading companies. Those of England, for instance, reached out to numerous lands, to the Baltic and Black seas and to our shores. Wherever they founded a business, they established local government; and it happened that in the charters given the first English trading companies in America we find the sources of our colonial forms of government. Upon laws laid down in those charters we built until we made our present famous Constitution.

Political building power in Europe

Charters created local government

Again, just as greed for conquest and gold was a factor in our background, so, too, were the religious persecutions that were carried on in Europe with fanatical zeal. It was one thing to have

overseas colonies; it was another to create a desire on the part of people to migrate. It seems odd to reckon cruel kings and persecuting dukes as factors in our background history, but many such proved a blessing by making people willing to "pull up stakes" and leave old homes for new. Probably in no other way were these disturbances more important in the destiny of America than because they so thoroughly unsettled business conditions. Doubtless as many who came to America were led to migrate because of unhappy economic conditions as because religious freedom was denied them. Thus methods of colonization were worked out by royal mandate for royal profit, as in the case of Spain, or by trading companies defended by the home government, as in the case of England. So, also, religious persecution by both Protestant and Catholic rulers sent into the little ships that plied the Atlantic thousands who chose the New World wilderness rather than face the red tide of persecution and pillage which lay behind and the forlorn conditions of trade and commerce which those conditions created.

Religious persecution dispersed population by unsettling business conditions

To catch and hold this long, background vision of toiling millions, each one doing some work that would count toward a final great end, is inspiring. It tends to create in us a confidence that the seeming hit-or-miss advances of our day are also helping to weave dimly seen figures on the giant pattern of human development. We, too, are creating trade and commerce by enjoying new jewels and new comforts. We, too, are map-makers-in-the-making who will give new pilots courage to meet the Unknown. Our own conceits and bigotries are, very likely, as constructive—if we could see them in the perspective of four hundred years—as were those of Europe in those far-away days.

History still in the making

Thus it becomes clear that American history began long before even that name had been uttered by human lips. In many lands, by many men, by social and political agencies we have almost forgotten, was our United States made possible. The

more we ignore our debt to the Old World, the less able we are to understand the process that gave birth to the overseas colonies which could, at last, develop into the nation that we now love. We are often told that we must be good citizens in order that we may pass on to future generations a greater and more noble Republic than our fathers knew. This should be our holy ambition. But it is pleasant to think, also, that, by helping to preserve the best that has been handed down to us, we are also being true to many thousands of men and women who worked unceasingly at tasks that counted toward the building of our nation. It should be a matter of pride with us that, to-day, this Republic which they helped to found, has lately proven itself strong enough to shoulder responsibilities which seemed almost too heavy for the Old World itself to bear unaided. Our "doughboys" in France and Italy in 1918 made a payment on the debt we owe those citizens of Bristol in England, Brest in France, and Venice, Pisa, and Genoa in Italy of the long ago.

Our debt to the past

READING LIST

E. P. Cheyney, *European Background of American History* (American Nation, I), Chaps. 1–4; W. B. Munro, *Crusaders of New France* (Chronicles of America, IV), Chap. I; E. Channing, *History of the United States*, I, Chaps. 1–3; *American History Leaflets*, 3; E. M. Avery, *History of the United States*, I (maps); D. R. Fox, *Harper's Atlas*, 101–111.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Are there "Crusaders" to-day? How has the work of such men as Edison, Burbank, Ericsson (p. 252), Shreve (p. 214), Lincoln, Roosevelt, and Powell (p. 500) contributed to the development of civilization? Compare the struggles and difficulties of air explorers to-day with those of ocean explorers in the time of Columbus. How are new "tools" serving to solve our "Unknown" in the air as did the astrolabe and compass in the olden time? What are they? Whence do modern nations of the Western World derive their "strength and driving power"? How could local government be established by a trading company? How does true patriotism express itself? What is the advantage of recognizing our debt to men of the long ago? How does this affect our sense of obligation to future generations?

Section 2. The Red Man's Empire

Just where our American aborigines came from is still a debated question. The fact that archæologists are convinced that the ancient "cultures" (handicraft, pottery, etc.) of northwest America and northeastern Asia were similar, is taken by many to prove that our American "Indian" originated in Asia and crossed Bering Strait to this continent.

Asiatic origin theory

No one who has a clear picture of our wholly different regions which produce blue grass like Kentucky or rice like the Carolinas, winter wheat like the Dakotas or oranges like California, and who realizes that in our zones there developed such different people as New England Yankees, Texas cowboys, Colorado miners, Mississippi steamboatmen, and Virginia planters, could suppose these regions to have been occupied by "Indians" of one kind.

John Crow Likes Water. (A Sioux.)

The first of our historians described these red men as "tall," "grave," "lordly," and "wise." This stereotyped description long clung to our histories, whereas the fact is that food, occupation, and environment made Indians differ just the same as those factors have made mankind differ the world over. In height the red men varied as we do, averaging about five feet eight inches; the plainsmen among them were tallest, just as statistics of both our Civil War and the recent World War prove our plainsmen to be the tallest and healthiest Americans to-day.

Physical characteristics of the first Americans

The Indian was "grave" when white men appeared—and no wonder! The latter claimed that the Indian had no right of ownership of the land, that only Christians could "discover" and possess land. A French officer on the Allegheny River

once surprised the natives by telling them that they did not even own the dirt beneath their finger-nails! European statesmen said that Indians had the right of occupation only. Most people are grave when strangers appear preaching that kind of gospel. The pristine red man was, in fact, a jolly chatterbox. Even of our modern Indians Owen Wister has said: "Almost any Indian is full of talk when he chooses, and when he gets hold of a joke he never lets go." This seeming gravity of the Indian agreed well with what the first-comers styled his "lordly" demeanor.

European theory of Indian land rights

It seemed to the foreigner that the red man was very adept in letting the women do the work. In point of fact, the ancient division of labor and the rewards of labor among these people was very just. The man of the family spent many months each year on the hunt, often reduced meanwhile nearly to starvation. Every skin or hide which he secured became, on his arrival at home, the property of his squaw; in turn, all that she raised in garden or field belonged to her lord. Any careful study of the Indian's method of working out the labor problem through those long centuries assures the student that it had some very good points.

Indian labor system

In all this life a-field and a-forest, in catching fish and killing game, in making utensils, tools, or weapons from wood, grass, bone, and skin, in the arts of cultivation, moulding, tanning, and weaving, the red men, of course, became pastmasters of a hundred "tricks of the trade" which made them seem to white men unusually "wise." Yet, as a matter of fact, their senses were no more acute than white men's became when given an equal training in the "lost arts" of the forest. On the other hand, many Indian boys have proven that they can do very well when given the advantages which our own boys have in school.

Lost arts of the Indian

The most advanced Indian tribes knew no written language beyond rude picture writing; the Algonquin tribes used symbols, while tribes in Central America employed a poor type of hieroglyphics. Allegory, however, made the spoken Indian

THE RED MAN'S EMPIRE. (Showing the location of the main tribes and the chief Indian trails inland from the Atlantic Coast.)

language beautiful, as is illustrated by the gem quoted by one of the French missionaries. An Indian told him that his dead father "was hunting the souls of bear and beaver in the Soul Land, walking on the souls of his snowshoes on the soul of the snow." Very good and very bad qualities were found commingled in these first Americans; stoical indifference to suffering was a common virtue as was faithfulness to friends and bitter hatred

They had no written language

From the Iroquois Groups in the N. Y. State Museum

THE HUNTING SEASON. (A Seneca family grouped about their hunting lodge preparing deer skins and deer meat for their use.)

of enemies. "His pathetic passage across the page of history," says Professor Bassett, "has appealed to the idealist, but his cruelty and vindictiveness awakened horror in most of those who encountered him."

By the test of dialect and language scholars divide the half million Indians who originally occupied the United States into sixty families. In a rough way, the Mississippi River separated the race into two equal parts numerically, although 90 per cent. of the families lived west of it. If, in your mind's eye, you enlarge the state of New York so as to include a wide border around Lakes Erie

Families and tribes

and Ontario, and add to that empire central Pennsylvania, you will glimpse the territory held by the most important Indian nation in the East. It was the Iroquois Confederacy, made up of the Mohawk, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Seneca tribes. These contained about ten thousand souls and they could raise two thousand fighting men. Because of the strategic position of their homeland, because of their innate courage and intelligence, and because they earliest received fire-arms from Europeans, they were, as we shall see, preëminently important in our history.

The Iroquois

From the Iroquois Groups in the N. Y. State Museum

THE CORN HARVEST. (Gathering and braiding corn, pounding corn for meal, and baking corn bread, in the Genesee Valley, N. Y.)

About the Iroquois, on every side, lay the thirty-five tribes of the Algonquin family. Extending (map p. 11) from the St. Lawrence far into the Mississippi Basin, they could not, and did not, have the compactness nor develop the centralized power and political organization known among their inveterate enemies, the Iroquois, who shared the eastern part of the United States with them. In our Southland the great Muskhogean family was found, while beyond the Mississippi were the Siouan, Sho-

The Algonquins

shonean, Athapascan, and other nations composed of many tribes.

Tribal organization

The tribe, which was the main social organization of the Indians, was subdivided into clans, usually on the basis of kinship. Members of the same clan were not allowed to marry under severe penalty. Clans were designated by "totem" poles, just as standards or coats-of-arms distinguished like divisions of society in the Old World, and loyalty to one's totem among the red men was expected just as loyalty to one's nation, state, or school is expected among us to-day. Indian children always belonged to the mother's clan and inherited property only from her.

The "Chief" and "Sachem"

Two important offices existed in every Indian clan—that of a peace-lord and a war-lord. The first, which was of most importance, was the "Sachem"; the second was the "Chief." Both offices were filled by popular vote of all men and women of age at public meetings of the clan. The Sachem was ruler in all civil affairs; the Chief was commander in time of war.

The Council

These two officers represented their clan in the Council, which was the chief ruling body in each tribe, having in its hands the final decisions in matters of treaties and alliances. Often, as in the case of the powerful Iroquois, the vote in the Council had to be unanimous. The meetings of the Council were public and any citizen could address it—even a woman, through a male spokesman.

Indian religion

In religion the Indian was an animist—a believer in spirits, although not, originally, a worshipper of a "Great Spirit," as those words are so often used. The red man's mind was little developed; the first missionaries to visit them found it much more difficult for the women to count than for the men.

When we review the wide scattering of nations across our whole continent it becomes plain that to generalize about them is likely to be idle. It is vital, however, to recognize that all the important provinces composing our country were occupied by tribes struggling, each under its own conditions

for existence. This meant much to white men. In every zone the Indian in his long contest with his surroundings had discovered many clever arts of social and economic development, such as arts of wilderness transportation (map p. 11), of hunting, snowshoe-making, basket and blanket weaving, boat building, fire making, wigwam or tepee building, and the use of local woods and herbs and soils. "Laboratories," of more or less use, had thus been established everywhere. While the curiosities of his religious and political systems are of permanent interest, the Indian was a "background" builder of this Republic chiefly because wherever white man settled along our shores the Indians, for a part of the time at least, helped him to secure both food and foothold. In one place, for instance, they taught men the knack of putting in the keystone of an arch of ice for a home in the North; in another, they showed how, by digging canals or by making vessels out of clay, they could replenish an arid region; and everywhere they taught white men how mountains and plains could best be traversed by clinging to the longest watershed trails.

Indian provincialism of value to the European

Fate seemed to decree that the white race in this country should be almost continually in conflict with the aborigines at some point along our frontier borderline. Our English colonists in New England, Virginia, and the Carolinas fought several wars with the natives in those sections. As English rule became consolidated the aborigines sided quite regularly with any power that opposed the expansion of the English colonies. They became allies of the French in the North and West and of the Spaniard in the South and Southwest. Only rarely were strong tribes found on the side of the English colonies in our early history or of the United States in later days. Such friendship as was shown by the neutral Delawares of Ohio at the outbreak of the Revolution—who occupied a portion of the strategic region between Pittsburgh and Detroit—was very unusual. We were taking their country from them; and they opposed us step by step to the end.

Indian hostility

The red man's empire was great. His use of it, however, was slight. Its mineral deposits were next to untouched. The advent of European fire-arms, kettles, etc., spelled Indian slavery to the white races which had advanced far beyond the Indian's stage. In vain did keen prophets like Pontiac and Tecumseh plead with their tribesmen to throw away the musket and woolen blanket and keep alive the art of making the bow and arrow and weaving the feather blanket. Almost automatically, however, they became enslaved to modern conveniences.

The Indian native arts, although poor, were tremendously advantageous to white man in his task of pioneering. And over the land, from end to end, this race left on mountain, river, and bay those charming Indian names which grace and enrich our literature.

Influence on our literature

READING LIST

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QUERY AND DISCUSSION

How could one environment make one Indian tribe virile and energetic and another render other tribes timid and slothful? Would it have been better for the European pioneers of the New World if they had found America unoccupied when they came? Would colonial growth and expansion have been hastened or retarded? If the Indian did not develop his continent did he have a good right to it?

CHAPTER II

DISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION BY SPAIN, ENGLAND, AND FRANCE

In this chapter we view the coming of the actors upon the great New World stage. As is true in dramas of lesser renown, there were heroes here—true heroes—but also many a knave and villain, with here and there a jester. Dreamers there were, too, and many a brave woman and saintly priest.

On the surface the results of Spanish, French, and English colonization seem similar. It is of prime importance to note, as the story develops, the utter unlikeness that existed both in methods employed and the results secured; especially to compare the compact solidarity of the English colonies with the loosely hinged empires opened up by her rivals—magnificent in extent, but impossible of successful organization or government.

All of the states of our present American Union were embraced within the claims of these rival nations; but, at the end of the long years, when these states came to form constitutions of their own, their basic law came in most instances from English origin—from charters, precedents and statutes created by that nation which, originally, occupied the least territory and whose colonists spread least widely in the colonial period. The events recorded in this chapter form, therefore, an interesting illustration of the fact that the seed of national growth lies in the virility of the common people—not in the boasts of royalty or the pompous decrees and mandates which it can utter.

Section 3. Fountains of Youth and Cities of Ivory

THE romance of Spain's finding and exploring the New World is not exceeded by any similar story of enthusiasm and de-

termination in the history of the world. Like many a romance, however, it is a story of avarice and greed for baubles, for gold and gems, for fountains of youth and cities of ivory, and is fraught with the old, old lesson that what a man soweth that shall he also reap.

A story of greed.

The Turks were thundering at the gates of Constantinople when Christopher Columbus, the son of a wool weaver, was born, at Genoa, about 1451. Catching the fever of adventure common in the days when these northern Italian cities had mastered the Mediterranean and its trade, Columbus took to the sea. He married the daughter of one of Prince Henry of Portugal's navigators and became, eventually, the most famous of the Italians who so splendidly advanced the triumphs of the Portuguese school of navigation. In early days his voyaging extended from Guinea in Africa to Great Britain, or beyond, in the north. His mind was of the independent type. In proof of this we find that when he read books he was wont to scrawl his objections to, or comments on, the subject matter on the margins of the book's pages. One of these comments, for instance, was to refute the idea that men could not sail under the equator without being prostrated by heat; the experiences of the Portuguese (like Dias), he said, proved this to be untrue. He believed, as many had before him, that the earth was round. The mystery of the Atlantic seems to have become a perpetual challenge to him. Every mention of its known or fabled islands excited him. Just when he conceived the idea that one could sail from West to East is not known. He learned that a Florentine astronomer, Toscanelli, had asserted this fact and wrote to him; the reply reasserted the opinion, but gave the inquiring lad no information he could not have secured at home. One of his greatest sources of inspiration was the reading of the adventures of Marco Polo, a Venetian, who visited China in the thirteenth century and wrote of his travels (map p. 5). When Columbus read of the great ocean that washed

Christopher Columbus

The early training of Columbus

The influence of Marco Polo

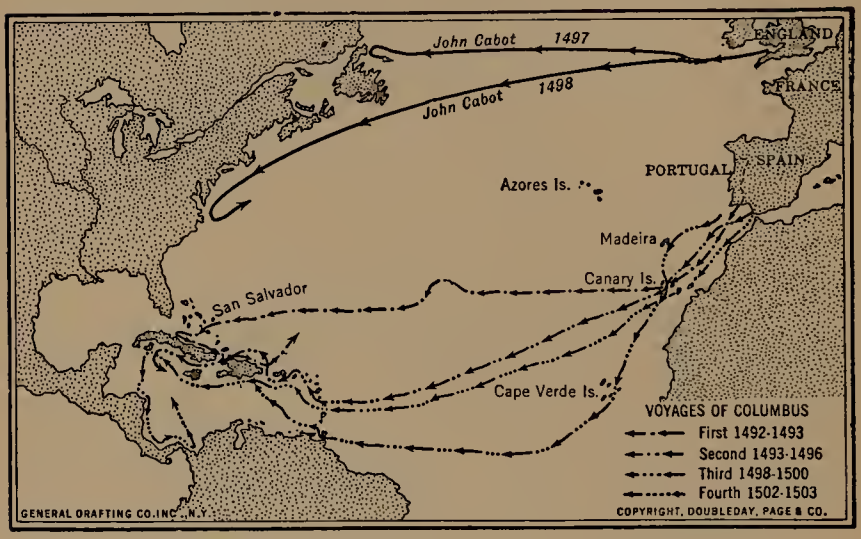
the shores of that distant land we can imagine that every question he had asked himself about the Atlantic came back to taunt him anew. Might not the two oceans be one after all? The

BEHAIM'S GLOBE. (*Above*, as Columbus used it in 1492. *Below*, the American continents drawn on a globe of the same scale.)

important thing is that Columbus was greater than his facts; by that is meant that he developed a great faith and an iron determination which his facts did not wholly warrant. Failing to interest King John of Portugal in his plan to reach India by crossing the Atlantic, he finally succeeded in winning the support of Spain's rulers, Ferdinand and Isabella. The contract for

the voyage, signed in April, 1492, stated that he was to go on a voyage as an ambassador to bring Christianity to the land of the Great Khan of "Cipango" (Japan) of which Marco Polo had written so entertainingly; on the way he expected to discover many "islands" and "mainlands"; over such he was to rule as governor and receive 10 per cent. of the royalty of any trade that might spring up.

Terms of Columbus's contract



THE VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS AND CABOT

Sailing with a crew of about one hundred men in three ships from the Canary Islands September 6th and, luckily, aided by the Atlantic Current, which here runs something like a river from Spain to the West Indies, he discovered Watling Island—one of the Bahama Group which he named "San Salvador"—October 12, 1492. It was the most brilliant individual achievement in history. While startling, it was also constructive. For his day Columbus was a scientific explorer, in marked contrast to the Cabots, for instance, who, within a few years, gave England a claim to the northern American coast. By "scientific" we mean that

Discovery of America

Columbus kept careful records of each day's events and thus gathered data which would prove of advantage to all who came after him.[1]

Columbus made three subsequent voyages. In 1493 he reached Santo Domingo and Jamaica. In 1498 he really found the new continent, coming upon South America from off Venezuela. In 1502 he reached the Central American coast. He believed from the first that he had found a strange part of Asia or India. The relationship of Japan to the Korean peninsula and the Gulf of Pechili in Asia resembles that of Cuba to the Floridan peninsula and the Gulf of Mexico. (Compare these regions, map p. 19.) As early as 1500, however, La Cosa, Columbus's pilot, was confident that the new coastline was not that of Asia and drew a vague map of the region on which no Asiatic place names were inscribed. Queer likenesses, and the vague and contradictory nature of all reports which navigators made, tended to delay for many decades an understanding of our continental coastline. Nature herself seemed to encourage other misunderstandings of geography. When fresh water was dipped up at sea, out of sight of land, off the mouth of the Orinoco River, men reasoned, logically, that that river drained an enormous area of land—a continent. The Mississippi and St. Lawrence rivers, on the other hand, could not throw their waters far into the sea because of the islands off their mouths. Men thought, therefore, that there was no continent in that part of the world, and that an archipelago (collection of islands)

Columbus's three later voyages

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[1]An important factor in Spain's oceanic mastery now was the building of new types of ships. The Italians and the Portuguese invented the "caravel." Columbus's flagship, the *Santa Maria*, was this type of craft; it carried three masts, one (mizzen) with a lateen sail. These boats were the fast-sailing "clipper ships" of their day. They were longer and narrower than was usual and therefore better sailers. Fast-sailing ships were a vital factor in exploration beyond a wide ocean; enough drinking water could not be kept fresh in slow-sailing boats. The Portuguese designed the "carrack" in the sixteenth century also; one of these, of 1,600 tons burden, was the *Olympic* of its day. It measured 165 feet by 47; but while the *Santa Maria* was only 230 tons, its length was 128 feet by 26 in width, thus having better "sailing lines."

existed where North America stands. To find a passageway through these islands became the ambition of every mariner. This was called the search for the "Northwest Passage," which was supposed to be a route through this mythical collection of islands to China and India.

With alacrity Spain sprang to the exciting work of skimming the cream from the rich prize now placed within her grasp. The

From painting by Albert Beirstadt in American Museum of Natural History

THE LANDING OF COLUMBUS

task, however, was beyond her means. Her population was then no greater than that of Pennsylvania to-day and few good colonists could be secured. The climate of the West Indies made the first-comers ill, Columbus himself being prostrated for five months at one time. Also, the islands contained few food plants and there were no domesticated animals for plantation work. Efforts to drive the natives to work, or to get it done by importing criminals, led to much trouble. The consequence was that the islands produced nothing of commercial value, and slaves, as Columbus found, were the one native commodity that would sell in Europe.

Spain's handicaps

Slaves

Yet, as stepping-stones to the mainland beyond, this foothold

gained in the West Indies was invaluable. Juan Ponce de Leon, Governor of Cuba, lured by rumors of gold and a fountain which could restore youth, found the flowery peninsula which he named Florida in 1512. The next year a valiant free-lance, Núñez de Balboa, escaping from his creditors by having himself nailed up and shipped away in a barrel, led two hundred enthusiastic gold hunters across the Isthmus of Panama to his famous discovery of the Pacific Ocean.

Ponce de Leon finds Florida; Balboa discovers the Pacific

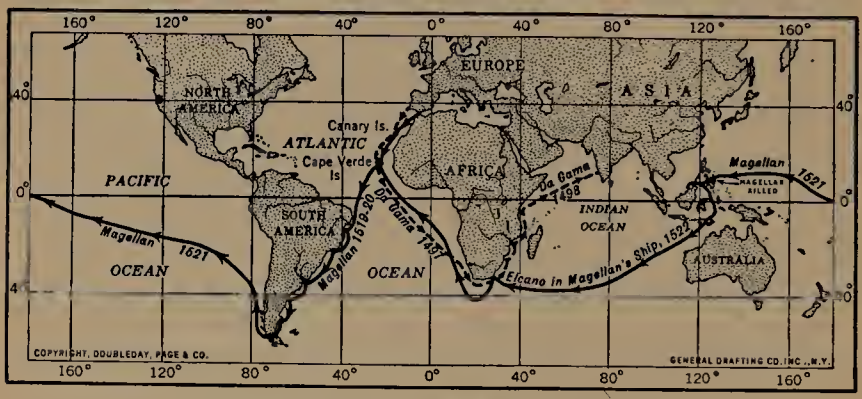
Yet these were mere feints for an opening. The record of the next four decades presents romantic stories of adventure which give the names of Pineda, Magellan (the Portuguese), Cortez, Pizarro, Narvaez, De Vaca, De Soto, and Coronado their place in history. In the caravel of Pineda (1519) we can skirt in imagination the shores of, and acquire the world's first definite idea of, the Gulf of Mexico. Oddly enough, however, Pineda and his men did not realize that three of the many inlets and bays they looked into were really the mouths of the mighty Mississippi. With Cortez we march to the conquest of Mexico and with Pizarro we master the Peruvians and plunder their valuable mines; with the strange Cabeza de Vaca, wandering as a "medicine-man" in fear of his life, we plunge through the bayous and plains of Louisiana and Texas, and cross the continent to the City of Mexico from the Gulf of Mexico (map p. 25).

The adventures of Pineda, Magellan, Cortez, Pizarro, and De Vaca

Most notable among the great events of this period was Magellan's circumnavigation of the world. This voyage, begun in 1519 and ending in 1522, was made with five vessels. The Straits of Magellan, the hero's monument for all time, were entered in the spring of 1520 and the "Mare Pacificum" soon afterward. Despite suffering and mutiny, the Pacific was crossed. Magellan himself was killed on one of the Philippine Islands, but one ship of the fleet reached Spain with absolute proof that the earth was round. It had, also, upset the ancient theory that the earth contained more land than water. Lat-

Magellan circumnavigates the earth

itudes, or the meridian lines which parallel the equator, were easily (though roughly) determined in those days by the invention of the astrolabe; this gave sailors their approximate distance from the equator. The instrument revolutionized the methods of sailing ships. With its aid captains could now run up or down to a given parallel of latitude and follow it on a straight line, always knowing about "where they were." Many years passed before the fixing of longitude was successfully accom-



THE ROUTES OF DA GAMA AND MAGELLAN

plished. Columbus was quite unable to reckon longitudes correctly. When returning from one of his voyages to the New World he sighted land and supposed it to be the Spanish coast; it proved to be the Azores Islands. As a result of poor methods of determining longitude Magellan's voyage did not contribute to a very accurate understanding of the size of the earth's circumference nor give the world any clearer notion how great a space in that wilderness of waters was occupied by our continent.

Catching the fever for gold which the Spaniard found during the conquest of Peru, a famous expedition set out under Hernando de Soto. He started northward through Florida in search of mountains, since only in mountains had gold been found. Forging northward from Tampa, Florida, with a handsomely organized company of near seven hundred, under the cleverest leader of his age, our route lies at first toward the southern tip of the

De Soto explores our Southland

Alleghenies; we then turn for a great zig-zag plunge across our Gulf States, and, with eyes ablaze with interest, we see the Spaniard look upon the brimming tide of the Mississippi, May 8, 1541. Despite the goodly droves of swine and cattle and herds of horses which De Soto provided and carefully nourished, the sickness of many, including the commander, and the failure to reach any desirable objective, gave rise to dejection and heart-fatigue.

De Soto discovers the Mississippi

THE ROUTES OF CORONADO, DE VACA, AND DE SOTO

A forlorn drive to the northwest beyond the great river into the Kansas country brings no result. De Soto dies and is buried in the river he so bravely discovered; his followers, such as are left, build crude boats and return home to the West Indies by way of the river. At first thought this adventure does not seem to have counted for very much, except to show what hardihood and bravery can do in meeting the supreme challenge of the wilderness. Yet, could we know the truth, doubtless the many horses, cattle, and swine abandoned along the jungle pathways counted strongly in later days to aid other pilgrims to retain a lasting foothold in those forests.

He stocked the Southland

Another notable Spanish exploration, now made from Mexico City, reached the plains of Kansas like De Soto's. Made

curious by wild tales of "palaces of ivory" in the "seven rich cities of Cibola" to the northward, Francisco de Coronado, with 300 Spaniards and near thrice that number of natives, left Mexico City in 1540 for that mythical fairy land. The authors of the tales mentioned must have seen (from afar) the sunlight glinting the stark towers and minarets of the Moqui or Zuni pueblos of Arizona; at any rate, the only gold found by the expedition was in the sunsets of that pueblo-land. From somewhere in the Santa Fé region the disappointed Coronado led a flying column for further search to the northeast; these outriders (map p. 25) reached the vicinity of Kansas City, Missouri, thus almost touching hands (unwittingly) with De Soto's northerly drive. While failure and chagrin were Coronado's portion, the expedition was not without avail for it was a factor in the founding of the town of Santa Fé thirty-two years later (1572). Moreover, the Gulf of California and the Colorado River, with its Grand Canyon, were explored by boats which coöperated with Coronado in the expedition, and a better knowledge of our Great Plains and their "crook-backed cows" (buffalo) was secured. When the reports of De Soto, De Vaca, and Coronado reached Europe, and were placed side by side and compared, scholars could arrive at a better understanding of the dimensions of our continent than they would otherwise have reached.

Coronado explores the pueblo-land

Constructive results of the expeditions of De Soto, De Vaca, and Coronado

Neither the failures of these adventurers, however, nor the cruelty of the Spaniard to the natives, should blind our eyes to what, in the large, Spain accomplished. This New World Spanish population was not greater than that of one of our modest American cities—180,000. Yet, in eighty years (a) Spanish sailors had traced the continent from Greenland to Cape Horn and back again to Oregon; (b) great sections of South America and "New Spain" had been explored; (c) two hundred towns and settlements had been established, among them St. Augustine, Florida (1565), the oldest town in the present limits of our coun-

The feat of 180,000 colonists

try. Did 180,000 people ever do more than this in an equal space of time?

But while individual enterprise might greatly further exploration it took a larger amount of capital to finance colonial trade and commerce than Spanish merchants could raise. In both Spain and Portugal overseas colonies were looked upon only as sources of wealth for the Mother Country and all trade was a government monopoly. Produce or manufactured goods common in the home country were not to be raised or manufactured in the colonies; they were not allowed to compete in home markets. The principal imports from Spain's American colonies, therefore, were minerals. Ocean transportation was in the hands of a privileged few, to whom the monopoly was given by the State. Trade between the colonies and rival nations was forbidden; even visiting the colonies by foreigners was barred. Under this selfish policy Spanish colonial growth was feeble, no matter how energetic these monopolists and the State may have been.

Spain's colonial policy

Monopoly and its fruit

But enterprise, however all-conquering, is valueless in final result unless it has a moral and ethical balance, unless somewhere it creates homes out of "fountains of youth" and "cities of ivory." Not even the devotion and heroism of many of the Spanish missionaries, as those, for instance, who now founded the beloved (map p. 407) missions in Texas and California, brighten the darkness of a picture laden with human greed, avarice, and gluttony. The Spaniard did little in our land beyond what the red man had done to develop the empire placed in his hands. As the years advanced, it is true, the indigo and tobacco plantations in the West Indies grew prosperous through slave labor. But, taken through the years, the great experiment was one long story of selfishness, cruelty, and rebellion from the day Columbus planted the flag of Spain on the sands of "San Salvador" to the hour when American soldiers drove it back forever across the sea in 1898.

The California missions founded

Colonies and settlements, as is true of soils, run to seed unless

fertilized. Love of home and home-building, development of free local government, affection for ideals of religion, charity, and education, are the fertilizers that make colonies grow. In these Spain was seriously lacking.

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QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Can you name other adventurers than Columbus who have been possessed of a faith "greater than their facts"? What should be our attitude toward "dreamers" of our day? What missionary interest did Columbus's contract express? What missionaries have been famous for explorations? Look up Father Marquette, David Livingston, and Henry M. Stanley. Compare the expected and unexpected results of Spanish exploration in the New World. Do we have "scientific explorers" to-day? Compare the work of Admiral Peary and his rivals. What part do home-building and home-owning play in making a nation strong? Which is the strongest county, one wherein most farmers own their farms or one wherein most are renters or tenants? Should home-owning become a national policy? Does any political party advocate special laws to encourage it?

Section 4. The Flag of England on the Sea

A cloud of fog always hangs over the dreaded "Banks of Newfoundland," where the Arctic Current comes down from the North and meets the warmer Gulf Stream. A somewhat similar cloud seems to hang, likewise, over all the early history of the North Atlantic. After the hardy Norsemen sped out Iceland-way to Greenland and Labrador the skippers of England and all the northern European countries had followed to this important zone for cod fishing. To have learned the real history of this important era of exploration one must have listened long ago to the stories told on deck and wharf and in grog-shop. As these were not

The zone of the cod

put down on paper, the romantic record of several centuries, undoubtedly, is a sealed book to us. Probably many of these Norse, Basque, Flemish, and English fishermen had found our continent long before Columbus was born. At least we know that a dozen years before he landed on "San Salvador," a doughty mariner of England, John Jay, had groped about for two months in the Atlantic for the mythical island of "Brosylle" (Brazil). Fired by the reports of the success achieved by Columbus, it remained for another Italian, John Cabot, sailing under England's flag, to turn these vague sailors' yarns into actual fact. Henry VII of England, jealous of Spain's boasted success, offered this brave skipper four fifths of all booty which might accrue from a tour of exploration. One wonders if Columbus would have ventured forth, as did Cabot, in one little ship and a crew of eighteen men; but it must be recalled that Columbus was not following an ocean pathway traversed by scores of jolly fishermen for untold decades, as was Cabot (map p. 20).

Cabot sails for England

Sailing from Bristol in May, 1497, Cabot sighted the American coastline somewhere off the "Banks". In 1498 he followed it southward for perhaps two hundred miles and returned safely. The voyages gave England a claim to a vague region of North America on the time-honored ground of "first-seeing," or discovery. Cabot had been authorized to explore for continents or Northwest passageways "north" and "west"—not south. In a general way England and Spain soon came to recognize that each had a prior claim to different parts of this *Mondo Novo;* that was the name the brother of Columbus gave to the "New World" on a map he made in 1506. In these years a Florentine literary genius, Americus Vespucci, also claimed to have visited the new continent. Outside of Spain his descriptions passed at their face value, and, when a German map-maker and printer was at a loss what to call the *Mondo Novo*, he decided that, since Americus had described it so well, it might properly be called "Amerige—

He discovers the American coast

The *Mondo Novo*

Naming the continent "America"

i.e., Americ's land or America." Thus it came about that our continent received its beautiful name, illustrating very well the power of the press.

The half-century following Cabot's discovery saw the Corte-Real brothers plant Portugal's flag on Labrador and Cartier discover the St. Lawrence River for France. But of chief interest and importance it saw England master the sea—the pathway to America. Her great captains, John Hawkins and Francis Drake,

The Destruction of the Spanish Armada

made this possible by improving the English fighting ship. They took the old-time craft, famous for its towering decks fore and aft, and swept away these super-structures. Instead of building deep-lying prows and sterns they drew new lines for ships' keels, giving them a deep centerboard effect, not unlike the hulls of our modern cup defenders. They filled these shorter, but deeper, holds with gravel for ballast. These ships could take on an amount of sail never carried before. And they answered the rudder as no

New type of ships fashioned

ship ever had. The typical Spanish ship of the day was nothing less than an army transport. If it could grapple with an enemy, the soldiers it carried could then board him and "fight it out." But on account of their fleetness and flexibility the new ships built by Hawkins and Drake could not be caught in these old outworn traps. They were genuine men-of-war. Depending on the gunnery of their men, these leaders could sail circles around the foe and deliver one withering broadside after another. In the epoch-making test, when the gallant Spanish Armada invaded the English Channel (1588), these livelier skippers of Good Queen Bess, armed with better cannon and trained to better marksmanship, riddled the doomed Spaniards. Checkmated and harried by the enemy, bruised and battered more disastrously still by an ocean storm, the surviving Spanish ships fled around the British Isles and back home—leaving England the mistress of the seas.

The Spanish Armada

In lusty glee the English made good use of ocean mastery. If they could not find a Peru from which to seize ill-gotten gains they could plunder the ships of Spain! There may have been "honor" among these robber ocean-barons of the sixteenth century, but it was not of a twentieth century type. Drake, when he made his celebrated circle of the earth (1577–80), took three million dollars in treasure from captured Spanish ships. He landed on our California coast in the neighborhood of San Francisco and named the region "New Albion."

Feats of the English sea-rovers

Yet such glorious though piratical feats of seamanship could not have had the importance in history they proved to have if the English people had not been making good progress in other directions in these same years. It is of prime importance to remember that England and Spain were growing fast to resemble two different ideals in government. In Spain the ruling power came down from above—from the King. In England, with splendid certainty and courage, a reverse order was being established. The power here was held to lie in the

English and Spanish ideals of government

middle class, and it was to be passed up from them to local magistrates, to members of Parliament and thence up to the King. This order was not, it must be understood, adopted in a moment.

Since Crusading days Englishmen had sturdily stood for their "rights"—the right to own land, the right to elect local officers, the right to have representatives in Parliament. They believed that the King had certain powers and that Parliament had certain powers. They held the principle that no king could violate any of these "rights." This principle was thoroughly established and this victory of Parliament over royalty in Old England was the most momentous in the political history of the world. "Set the chairs for the ambassadors," once cried a hot and surly king of England, when a delegation from Parliament came to see him. He flippantly hit the nail squarely on the head, for, in the end, the people of the nation established the principle of the divine right of popular government.

The divine right of popular government

This was the factor which made England our Mother Country in spirit, as she was our Mother Country in language and in the flesh—the original home of the major part of our colonial ancestry. It showed itself very plainly in the type of colonial government Englishmen set up. The Spanish colonies were founded by kingly orders, for the enrichment of royalty and to further policies of State. While it is true that religious and economic rivalry had much to do with English colonial development, yet there was a trend and drift to this development which reflected the long contest the commons had fought with royalty; in fact, the battle carried on in the home country was waged again in England's colonies, and our own Revolutionary War was but a continuation of an ancient struggle.

England our Mother Country in spirit

The English colonies were conducted as private enterprises. Their promoters in many cases were, however, men of high political position who had two strings to their bow: one to enhance England's power and wealth and prestige, and one for personal gain. Over fifty trading companies were chartered by

English Trading Companies of the Seventeenth Century

England, France, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark in the century and a half between 1550 and 1700. Of these the best known were the East India companies which were established in this era by the citizens of almost every nation. This system, unlike the Spanish, encouraged the founding of colonies of genuine homebuilders—of men and women who established lasting settlements of solid character and worth; and the pioneers sent to America by the English companies were inspired by the democratic principles made honorable by the five centuries of continual struggle waged by their fathers against royalty and privilege at home. Doubtless John Fiske's words will never be improved upon in which he says that the "secret of that boundless vitality which has given to men of English speech the uttermost parts of the earth for an inheritance" is explained by nothing so much as by the struggle for self-government in Old England.

English colonies were private enterprises

The fruit they bore

Thus England, being what she was, and securing as she did a sea mastery which gave every one confidence in over-sea schemes, sent out her trading companies to all parts of the world, to the Black and Baltic seas, to India, and across the Atlantic (map p. 33). A pattern or formula for the charters granted these companies was found in early English charters issued of old to English cities. These charters gave the inhabitants of such cities certain definite land rights, economic rights, and political rights. Using these as a pattern, charters were drawn up giving groups of men the right to establish trading companies. Among these overseas colonies, the two which operated in the land Cabot won for England are of chief interest to us. Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh made a beginning in English colonization in Newfoundland in 1578 and in 1584 on Roanoke Island off Virginia, as they christened the mainland thereabouts in honor of the Virgin Queen, Elizabeth. While failure overtook these first attempts, lessons were learned which proved of value later.

The origin of charters issued to English trading companies

READING LIST

W. Wood, *Elizabethan Sea-Dogs* (Chronicles of America III), Chaps. 1–12; J. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III; Mandell Creighton, *Queen Elizabeth;* E. M. Avery, *History*, I (maps); L. G. Tyler, *England in America* (American Nation IV), Chaps. 1 and 2; E. Channing, *History of the United States*, I, Chaps. 3–4; J. A. Froude, *English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century.*

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Has the development of marine design lately threatened to create new masters of the sea? What is the economic effect on a nation which finds itself outstripped by rivals in marine inventions? See p. 350. Why is the date of the defeat of the Spanish Armada an important one in American history? Name three ways in which England may be said to be our "Mother Country." Has our large immigration altered the truth of this statement? What is a nation's "Middle Class"? Why is a nation's strength said to depend on that class? Did Rome have one? What was the effect on her fortunes? Describe what is meant by the "Divine right of popular government." What is the difference between making the world safe for democracy and making democracy safe for the world? Why was it easier to promote the Spanish type of colonies than the English? Are these types represented in the world to-day?

Section 5. Conquering "Our Lady of the Snows"

Over against the somber picture of a ruthless conquest of the South by Spain, a story replete with daring but one likewise reeking with cruelty and slavery, must be placed the brilliant epic of the planting of the lilies of France along the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes, in that white empire which Rudyard Kipling has affectionately called England's "Our Lady of the Snows," in Canada. The English colonies along the Atlantic were to be surrounded by a line of fire on every flank— Spanish colonists to the south and southwest and French colonists to the north and northwest. It is valuable to see how this wall of fire was built up, before we describe how the homebuilders of Virginia and New England made their foothold and began their task of continental conquest.

Canada

While politically there were some likenesses between the French and the Spanish methods of colonization, in spirit a gulf of difference separated them. This is excellently illustrated by the fact that the Spanish program brought music to the lips of neither conqueror nor conquered, while out from those fresh green forests of the Northland, ringing down across foaming river and limpid lake and across the centuries, come the rollicking songs of French *coureur-de-bois* and *voyageur* to us, speaking of happiness amid danger and lightness of heart amid suffering. These builders of New France went gaily to their work, and the common heart of humanity forgives much to the man who so goes. Doubtless this is why the story of New France has a steady popular interest, while that of New Spain, with its taint of slavery, never has made the same popular appeal.

French and Spanish colonization compared

French kings and ministers of the age of Columbus took little active interest in the budding art of discovery in the *Mondo Novo*. They believed that overseas colonies would bring more trouble and expense than profit. France, the best unified European power, with triple England's population, was content and self-sufficient. However, about 1529 Francis I of France felt free to enter the lists and sent the famous sailor, Jacques Cartier, out along the track of the innumerable French and Norman fishing craft to the cod banks off Newfoundland; he was to try his luck at finding what all the world had so far missed, a passageway through the Atlantic to India.

Early French theory about colonies

Cartier's voyage

Some geographer—or was he a seer?—had drawn a map of the American coast in 1511, showing what he called a "square gulf" about where the mouth of the St. Lawrence now lies. Of islands and mainlands in these puzzling Atlantic waters there were reports and rumors aplenty, but they in no wise indicated a channel to India. But the report of a new bay or strait gave every European monarch a chill. It might be the long-looked-

for path to India! To this "square gulf" Cartier now set his prow with the splendid result of finding the Gulf of the St. Lawrence (1534) and the St. Lawrence River (1535). He ascended this river easily because the ocean tides go up it nearly a thousand miles, and on the heights at the present Montreal he planted France's flag. No tangible gain resulted, for the river did not prove to be the elusive "Northwest Passage"; all of which seemed to establish the old contention of the French ministers, that New World colonies did not pay.

The St. Lawrence discovered

Long years passed before France sent the noble Samuel de Champlain (1608) to make the attempt to turn this rich Northland to account. This heroic "Father of New France" caught a sane and steady vision of what the colony could be made through the work of traders and agriculturists. But his very enthusiasm and enterprise built up a bloody barrier to French advance which the lax interest of the home government bade fair never to break down. Champlain naturally befriended the local (Algonquin) Indians of the St. Lawrence; this he did by leading two futile campaigns (1609–1615) against their enemies the sturdy Iroquois, who controlled the St. Lawrence–Niagara River pathway to the keys (Sault Ste. Marie and Straits of Mackinac) of the Great Lakes. In doing this Champlain found the back-door, so to speak, of the Great Lakes empire (the Ottawa River leading to Georgian Bay) and he planted the great citadel of New France on the towering rocks of Quebec; but he made the Iroquois the enemies of France.

Champlain the "Father of New France"

CHAMPLAIN

Origin of French-Iroquois enmity

From the beginning the trade with the Indians in furs was

seen to be valuable, whether the government let out the monopoly to companies or whether it jealously reserved it. Two factors worked steadily in favor of France's colonial enterprise: (a) the heroism of the missionaries of the Catholic Church of Old France and (b) the singular adaptability of French character to its New World environment. At once the strongly consolidated Catholic Church saw in the overseas province a magnificent missionary enterprise. To enthusiasts it offered as perfect a challenge to all a Christian's heart could long for in the way of sacrifice and suffering as the world had known; and (despite the political "asides" which the brave Jesuit fathers now and then uttered) their message to the wondering Indians from Labrador to the Upper Missouri, their brilliant record of patient suffering and steady zeal, their martyrdom and their glorious faith have cast over our Northland the radiance that heroes cast on the page of history. After thirty-five years of struggle in the Huron Country north of Lake Ontario, for instance, these brave "Fathers of the Wilderness" could count but one hundred converts. Meanwhile Viel, Daniel, Brebreuf, Lalemant, Garvier, and Chabanel met martyr-deaths at the hands of the revengeful Iroquois. Yet doubtless those who escaped as from fire paid a still greater price in terror and suffering in order to "carry on" nobly, in the Far West, the record of deathless glory. A court at home sent ignoble men, now and then, to rule New France. Scheming politicians injured the best interests of the colony at times. Autocratic and thieving men came now and again as governors and impoverished and defrauded the people. But that faithful "Black Robe," as the Indian learned to call the somber-clad missionary, who lived with or wandered with his "brown children," who never failed to bring the cup of cold water, or to carry his quota of burden on the long portages, or to share-and-share-alike when famine and disease had done their worst, went far to render stainless the banner of France, and to make the emblem of the Cross

The heroism of the "Black Robes"

The Huron Missions and their heroes

French faith and French politics

NEW FRANCE AND LOUISIANA ABOUT 1755

for all time more deeply to be revered by every man of every faith.

The other factor in the making of New France was the re-born Frenchman, the New World forest runner and canoeman. With a cheerfulness the typical Englishman could never affect, these Frenchmen cast off the arts of civilization, adopted Indian dress, learned the Indian point of view, lived the Indian life and danced in hilarious glee like red men about the campfire, with a rattlesnake's tail dangling from their necks for a charm. They discovered how to scent out the forest trails accurately and they learned to throw a pinch of tobacco in the fire for good luck when they heard a screech-owl—and there, in a word, you have the roistering, superstitious woodsman of the North.

The New World Frenchman

Old France herself was responsible for the weakness of her New World colony. Except for the Frenchmen's kindly treatment of the natives, the story is about the same as that of Spain in our Southland—the story of a nation intent upon getting and with no thought of giving. The government of the colony was centralized in an autocratic governor appointed by the King. The King's word was law. With all France's large population the emigrants from the Mother Country were of three classes: (a) adventurers from the greater or lesser nobility; (b) peasants of the humblest type; (c) the heroic missionaries. The ordinances of the governor determined all those matters which, in the English colonies, were settled by local assemblies or town or county councils. On the one hand no sturdy middle class of agriculturists or mechanics grew up; on the other hand none of those life-giving elements, which come from the use of political rights and the discussing of things of public advantage or disadvantage, were fostered. New France was a mighty chain of posts, around which huddled greater or smaller groups of ignorant *habitans* or colonists living a happy-go-lucky existence. To and fro between these posts, however, flitted the "empire builders"—traders, explorers, missionaries.

The government of New France

The weakness of the colony

The "empire" a shell

The "empire" was to prove but a shell because the home-building instinct was not present.

Yet with the certainty of inspiration itself these empire-builders proved that they had a genius for solving tangled questions of political geography and military strategy. They seize at once the most vital keys of this Northland they now entered. When they had the thing worked out we see the French flag flying at Fort Frontenac (Kingston, Canada), controlling one end of Lake Ontario, and at Fort Niagara (Niagara, N. Y.) which controlled the other. We see them plant strategic Detroit, and occupy the keys of Lakes Huron and Michigan, at the Straits of Mackinac and the Sault Ste. Marie. They plant themselves (a) on Green Bay (Bay City, Mich.) to hold the inland route by way of the Wisconsin River to the Mississippi; (b) on the Illinois River (Peoria, Ill.) to hold that pathway to the same waterway; (c) on the Maumee and Wabash (Fort Wayne and Vincennes, Ind.) to control that route to the Ohio; and, (d) in the end, on the Allegheny (Franklin, Pa.) and Ohio (Pittsburgh, Pa.) to control the upper Ohio. In the South they acquire Mobile, Ala., and New Orleans, La., and, up the Mississippi, Natchez, Miss., and Kaskaskia and Cahokia, Ill. (map p. 39).

The French occupy the wilderness keys of the Northwest

This glance carries us through many years and, for the moment, we should confine our attention to the intrepid explorers who laid the basis of the empire. The hardy Brulé finds the Susquehanna in Champlain's day. Jean Nicolet boldly threads the Ottawa in 1634 and finds Lake Michigan, the Straits of Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie. The brave missionary Allouez goes to the discovery of Lake Superior in 1665 and the rollicking Radisson and Grosseilliers find the finger-tips of the Mississippi (and possibly Lake Superior) five or six years before Allouez.

Then, with the advent of Canada's great governor, Count Frontenac (1672), the stage is cleared for the famous exploits of the masterly trader-empire-builder, Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle. Father Marquette and Joliet had entered the Mis-

sissippi by the Green Bay-Wisconsin River route in 1673, descending it to the Arkansas. It was for the bold La Salle to carry the *fleur-de-lis* on down the Mississippi and make New France a continental empire. On April 9, 1682, he formally took possession, on the Gulf of Mexico, of the Mississippi Basin for the King of France, a Kingdom he named "Louisiana." Leader in exploration, he was also a leader in trade expansion, for, three years before, he had launched on Lake Erie the *Griffon*, the first ship to sail its waters. The ship was lost on her maiden voyage but the courage and initiative behind her building were the heritage of those who came after.

La Salle

La Salle, the empire-builder, founds "Louisiana"

Although magnificent in extent, this great empire was, however, only a thin line of wilderness posts reaching from the citadel of Quebec, up the St. Lawrence, through the Great Lakes and down the fingers and the main stream of the Mississippi. Of course, both Spain and England would challenge and break, if possible, such sweeping claims of ownership. But the claims were well-founded, if first-seeing could give a rightful ownership, and if, after first-seeing, colonizing and home-building and the development of free institutions should follow.

The weakness of New France

To use a trite but apt figure, the race for the mastery of the continent between the tortoise and the hare now began. With supreme disdain did the French watch the dogged English planting their little settlements on the Atlantic coast. How content they were with the stuffy business of laying out house lots and meadow lots and wood lots! How ignorant of the vast wilderness beyond them, its glorious rivers, and mountains they were! But the race is not always to the swift, as these French found out in dismay in another day.

THE ENGLISH COLONIES IN 1650, 1700, AND 1750. (Illustrating charter, proprietary, and royal types.)

READING LIST

W. B. Munro, *Crusaders of New France* (Chronicles of America, IV), Chaps. 1–5; F. Parkman, *Pioneers of New France;* R. G. Thwaites, *France in America* (American Nation, VII), Chaps. 1–5; Channing, I, Chap. 4; Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*; Fiske, *New France and New England*, Chap. 4; Fox, *Map Studies*, 4.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Would you say that the missionaries of New France failed? In your opinion which of the three types of French adventurers in the New World did work of the most permanent value? Name the four most important French explorers and point out the chief service of each. In the planting of the New World which factors in English civilization, Norman-French or Anglo-Saxon, were most important? What characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon seem to have been perpetuated in the Englishman of the seventeenth century? Of the Norman? Compare France's development of New France with Spain's development of New Spain and America's development of the Philippines. (See pp. 510 511.)

Section 6. The Old Dominion

Among the numerous trading companies being established by English merchants the world over at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the two famous in our history were the London and the Plymouth companies. But their fame does not rest on their being trading companies; rather, it rests on their becoming famous colonizing agents. England was now passing through days of great unrest. The demand for wool in Europe was making many English landlords take up sheep-raising at the expense of agriculture; this threw thousands of tenants out of work. The influx of Spanish gold and the decrease in agriculture rendered economic conditions bad.[1] Wars abroad, in which England had been participating, now temporarily ceased;

Trading companies as agents of colonization

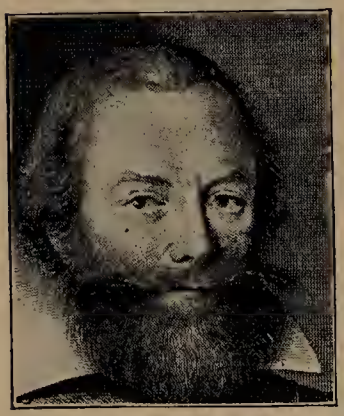
[1]High prices in Spain, due to New World gold, led Spanish merchants to purchase goods in countries where they were cheap and import them to Spain. Much of this buying was done in England and it greatly increased the price of necessaries of life there.

hundreds came home to a land already over-populated and one in which work was scarce. Thus these trading companies were promoted at a time when it was easy to find men who were ready for any adventure that promised work and wages.

The charter of the London Company permitted it to make settlements on the coast discovered by Cabot between Cape Fear and the Potomac River. The company's emigrants were to have the rights of Englishmen in their new home and were to be governed by a council appointed by the King and responsible to him. One fifth of all precious metals found were to go to him. A set of instructions issued to the company demanded (a) that effort be made to find the elusive passageway to the "South Sea"; (b) that the national Episcopal Church should be established; and that, (c) for five years a communist form of society should be maintained, all settlers contributing what they should raise to a common supply from which each should have what necessity required.

The London Company

In 1607 the London Company sent out its first colony of one hundred and two and in May they founded historic Jamestown, Virginia, thirty miles up the James, the splendid river named in honor of the King. These Englishmen found the climate as inhospitable as the Spaniards had found that of the West Indies and Florida. Half the company died the first summer. While the amazed and curious red men befriended the newcomers at times, frequently they fell with cruel energy upon the settlements which spread slowly up the James, the York, and the Rappahannock rivers. Comparative peace reigned for the first years due, in part, to the diplomacy of the colonies' sturdy warrior and diplomat Captain John Smith,



John Smith

Jamestown settled

and in part to the friendship of Powhatan, chief of the confederacy composed of thirty-four Indian tribes. But in 1622 and again in 1644 terrible massacres of the whites occurred. In each case, however, the settlers struck back at the red foe and after 1644 Tidewater Virginia, between the James and York rivers, was unmolested and lived in peace. It is not too much to say that no race less plucky than the English could have founded and kept alive the splendid colony which became Virginia. It was a costly adventure. The London Company gave up the effort in 1624 and the colony was taken over by the

JAMESTOWN IN 1622. (From an old print.)

Crown. Up to that time the company had sent over fourteen thousand persons, more than twelve thousand of whom had died of exposure, starvation, or massacre. It had expended, in our money, five millions of dollars on the enterprise.

Yet the Indian taught the white man the art of raising and smoking the strange plant "tobacco," which the red men's ancestors had received from the South—and at once the fortune of Virginia was made. In that strong virgin soil wheat ran to stalk and little to head; the native corn or "maize" was not liked in England. Precious metals were as few and far between as South Sea pas-

Tobacco culture

sageways; silkworms would not thrive, and vineyards failed to meet expectations. In vain the King asked the Virginians to engage in diversified agriculture, to raise the raw materials which England most needed; but their answer was, from the beginning, tobacco and more and better tobacco.

Fate coöperated with soil and climate to effect this epoch-making result. In 1619 a Dutch or English ship brought to Jamestown a few negroes to be sold as servants—bringing blessing and bane in its hold. England's overflow population gave Virginia thousands of laborers who readily sold themselves into seven years' slavery—as indentured servants—for passage-money to the New World; but the sons of Africa were more fitted for the tobacco fields and they had no such troublesome notions about becoming "free" as these "servants" had. Slavery, as such, however, was not legalized in Virginia until 1661. By Virginians of all ranks, however, this boon of independence was prized; and this same year that saw the introduction of black toilers to Virginia also saw the colony receive from the King the right to establish a general assembly to be elected by the freemen of the Old Dominion. It consisted of the Governor, the council, and two burgesses from each of the ten settlements or plantations. The story of the two plants, liberty and tobacco, is the story of Virginia.

First importation of negro servants

Thus, instantly, as it were, the fate of the colony was settled. If you would catch a picture of this pleasant tidal empire with its mild winters and long growing seasons, you must note, first, its many gently flowing streams which focus in large part upon the three main-travelled highways of the infant colony, the James, York, and Potomac rivers. The towering forests that lay between these water highways were soon to begin to fall, because it was much easier to cut trees than to fertilize lands which quickly "wore out." No plant is harder on soil than tobacco. Indeed the Indians had begun this work; the first-comers were surprised at the number of Indian clearings found on the lower James. Favorites of King or

Virginia a compound of aristocracy and democracy

Governor (for the colony became a royal province in 1624) soon found that they could secure large tracts of this forest land for the asking, on which they might rule much like the feudal barons of Europe. Yet at the same time the humblest adult citizen could secure what was known as a "head right" of fifty acres for the asking; and he could have fifty acres more for each servant he imported from England. Thus our view presents Virginia as a curious compound of feudalism and democracy almost at the very outset.

This liberal, twofold land system, one for the wealthy aristocrat and one for the man without fortune, served as a call to all conditions of men in every part of the homeland. If we had taken our stand at the mouth of the James in that early day we should have seen a remarkable procession of ships bring even a more remarkable assortment of mankind for the Old Dominion to nourish and mould into "Americans"—cavalier, roundhead, gentleman, commoner, soldier-of-fortune, adventurer. And, although so cosmopolitan, Virginia was ever a land of homes and never a land of cities. Here, a pioneer palace arose, surrounded by spreading acres and the cabins of the slaves; there, the hut of an energetic small planter was surrounded by a few score acres. Of this last type was the small plantation of the John Washington who founded in Westmoreland County a family line which produced the world's most famous aristocrat in ideals and democrat in sympathies—George Washington. You can see that such a free-and-easy land system inspired initiative and encouraged freed men to press inland to secure lands of their own; this tended to push back the blood-red borderline toward that alluring Blue Ridge mountain wall at the head of the rivers which were the colony's first and only roads. Before long land on this frontier could be secured on easier terms, even, than in the lowland country. "Corn" and "cabin" rights to land could be had by any who would plant corn or build cabins there.

The cosmopolitan character of its inhabitants

A land system which inspired initiative

For all its odd human types there was yet a blending in the

Virginia type of character while this most hospitable and chivalric society the New World knew came into existence in that out-of-doors, sunny land. We may say certain factors made this true, but the real causes probably lie beyond the power of analysis. The tidewater people generally were pure English. They had a relish for all things that Englishmen loved; the idea of a king had no terrors for them, and the sturdy uplanders of the colony were not afraid to oppose royal monopoly and governmental oppression. The established church automatically produced the kind of local government (by vestries) which was known by these Virginians in England. The touch with that homeland was always very close; and while Virginia, as one of her famous sons, Woodrow Wilson, has said, remained "more English than England," this showed in no way more plainly than in keeping alive sympathies for the ancient rights of Englishmen. For Virginia bred patriots "without whom," said a noted New Englander, "the Revolutionary War would not have been possible."

THE TOWER OF THE OLD CHURCH AT JAMESTOWN

Local government by Vestries

This spirit flared out surprisingly in Bacon's Rebellion, 1675–6, when the free backwoodsmen sought to revenge themselves of inroads by the Potomac Valley Indians. Governor Berkeley tried to check these frontiersmen, influenced, as the frontiersmen believed, by the aristocratic class which had a monopoly of the Indian trade. Embittered by this, the backwoodsmen under Nathaniel Bacon, a born leader, marched upon Jamestown and took and burned it. Eventually these "rebels" were routed, after the death of their leader. But Bacon's soul kept "marching on" in the reforms immediately adopted by Governor Berkeley's successor. The episode showed plainly that while, on the one hand, Virginia was in closest touch with the Mother Country.

Bacon's Rebellion

she was, on the other, developing a yeomanry every whit as virile and independent as the best type of middle-class Englishmen beyond the sea. It was this type of Virginian also which made possible a democracy which produced a Washington, a Jefferson, a Patrick Henry, and a George Rogers Clark.

In the year that slaves first came and a democratic legislature was first assembled (1619), the first land grant was secured for a college; but it was not until 1693 that William and Mary College actually came into existence. The well-to-do sent their boys abroad for an education, as in the case of George Washington's father who sent his two sons Lawrence and Augustine (George's half brothers) to England. But it was in the "old field" schools, located in abandoned fields which had run to seed, that many of the greatest Americans of this Southland received their early education. If the gentleman or gentlewoman was more admired as a type than the scholar, it was not because of a lack of appreciation of scholarship. The Old Dominion was, itself, a school of honor, and, in the delightful relationships between its plantations, in the stalwartness of the political battles that engaged its gentlemen, in the sweep of the frontier communities to the mountains that guarded the valley behind them, in the contests with royalty as represented now and again by unworthy princelings, Virginia spoke again and again to the colonies which grew up about her—of her love of manliness and hatred of hypocrisy, of her democratic solidarity, of her republican devotion, and of the reborn Englishman's love of those downright honest qualities of personal worth that make for nationality.

Education in Virginia

The voice of Virginia

READING LIST

M. Johnston, *Pioneers of the Old South* (Chronicles of America, V), Chaps. 1–9; Tyler, Chaps. 3–7; Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, I, Chap. 1; E. Channing, I, Chap. 5; P. A. Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia;* J. E. Cooke, *Virginia;* Capt. J. Smith, *General History;* S. P. Orth, *Our Foreigners* (Chronicles of America, XXXV), Chaps. 1 and 3; Fox, *Map Studies*, No. 5.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

What precedent in past history did English kings find for the charters issued to trading companies? Is this trait of looking back to other days for precedents a valuable one? Have Americans often done the same thing (p. 501)? What "rights" of Englishmen were established by the Magna Carta (1215) and Bill of Rights (1628)? (See any English history.) How might the length of the growing season influence history? Has it influenced migration to the section in which you live? What three factors favored Virginia's expansion westward? What class of people was developed in Virginia that was lacking in New France? Explain the significance of the difference.

Section 7. The Fathers of New England

England at the beginning of the seventeenth century was, as we have seen, going through an epoch of unrest and discontent. The struggle to free towns and the creation of new guilds or brotherhoods for religious, educational and economic betterment were popular outlets for the restlessness that prevailed. Revolt against authority was the order of the day in all religious bodies of every creed.

England in unrest

Among scores of others, a little group of Separatists in England, who became the "Pilgrim Fathers" of New England, were strongly determined to cut all bonds with the Established State Church. They took the Bible as their only source of guidance, forsook all forms, ceremonies, and church orders, and established a simple guild, as it were, by themselves. The one hope of success was to find a new home and, under their able leaders, John Robinson, William Bradford, and William Brewster, they migrated to Holland, 1607–8. The environment there proved unsatisfactory; economically their lot was hard, their children seemed likely to lose their mother-tongue and the "Continental Sunday" (which was more holiday than holy day) promised to make some forget both manners and morals.

The Separatists

Hearing that the Plymouth Company of New England had obtained a new charter as the "New England Council," they formed with those merchants a voluntary joint-stock company, binding themselves to labor at trade, trucking, and fishing for seven years in order to be carried to a new world where they would be free. In August, 1620, the Pilgrims, to the number of one hundred and two, sailed from Southampton; on December 21st they landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts. In the cabin of their famous *Mayflower*, most of them signed the equally famous "Mayflower Compact." This compact did not fashion a form of government but it was a pledge, on the part of those who signed it, to obey such government as was established.[1]

"New England Council's" charter to "The Pilgrims"

The "Mayflower Compact"

The country north of Plymouth, the Boston Bay region, was settled at various points by different groups and parties of pioneers in the next ten years after Plymouth was founded; the beginnings of towns were made at what are now Quincy, Wollaston, Chelsea, Charlestown, and Salem. This region was now destined to be occupied by a company of men which should profoundly affect the history not only of New England but that of the whole country. In 1629 a company of twenty-six Englishmen formed a Massachusetts Bay Company in England for the occupation of this bay region north of Plymouth. By means which have never been understood this company received a charter in defiance of the New England Council. This charter created a body politic, governed by a governor, a deputy governor, and eighteen "assistants." Originally the company was

The Massachusetts Bay Company

[1]This kind of community agreement, or compact among settlers to obey government, became a common thing in New England growth and expansion. In one form or another companies of men formed settlements all the way from Boston Bay to Pasadena, California, by this "compact system" which originated in the hold of the *Mayflower*. The movement of pioneers in groups, after having formed some kind of an association bound together by some kind of a compact, became a peculiarly Yankee method of colonization. See L. K. Mathews, *The Expansion of New England*.

formed mainly for purposes of exploitation and commerce. Coming, however, under the sway of John Winthrop, one of New England's great fathers, it became dominated by a religious, more than a commercial, motive. In August, 1630, the first company, seven hundred strong on sailing, landed at Charlestown. It soon removed across the river to Boston. The leaders of the Bay Company were not

Distinction between "Puritans" and "Pilgrims"

SIGNING THE "MAYFLOWER COMPACT"

Separatists in name; they did not desire to separate from the Established Church but only from the "corruption in it." In their reverence of the Bible as giving a rule for living, in piety and in holy zeal to enforce orthodox doctrines, these Puritan fathers resemble the Pilgrims at Plymouth. Their colony was, however, very much the stronger in material wealth. In its

The Bay Company's wealth

large number of colonists and in the considerable property that they brought with them, we find the basis for the rapid advance in prosperity and wealth which led this Puritan colony in Boston to outstrip rapidly their Pilgrim brethren of the Plymouth district.

It is of prime importance to vision "New England" correctly

SETTLED REGIONS IN NEW ENGLAND, 1650. (Showing frontier line of the Confederation.)

as it lay reaching up from Long Island Sound into the cold North, flanked on one side by the French on the St. Lawrence and on the other by the Atlantic Ocean. It was a land of elm and oak and pine— its earth made up of rock reduced to soil by the ice-sheet and not over-fertile, its many hurrying streams giving, however, to red man and white, many narrow but rich

The New England environment

valleys. Prominent in the picture were thousands of little meadow plots where the aborigine had planted his corn and vegetables. It was a peculiar land, fitted to nurture a peculiar people made frugal and saving and penurious by environment, just as his surroundings tended to make the Southerner a lavish spendthrift by comparison. The rigor of Puritan church discipline blended well with this environment and, with long winters, when the people were closely housed, tended to promote reading and study and an honor for all who excelled in those indoor pursuits.

WINTHROP

Out from Boston and Plymouth settlements spread, leading to a savage little war with the Pequot Indians. After their conquest (1637), the Connecticut Valley to the westward was occupied and the long struggle with the jealous French pioneers of the St. Lawrence began. Many who came across the sea found they had jumped from the frying-pan into the fire, so far as civil and religious liberty was concerned, for the Established Church of Puritan and Pilgrim was just as sure of its right to order men about as had been the Church of England. Roger Williams, denying right and left (a) the authority of the Bay government, (b) the legality of its land titles, and (c) the right of magistrates to settle church matters, strode off through the forests southward to found Rhode Island 1635–6. In his conviction that Church and State should be separated Williams was far in advance of his times. The people of three Bay settlements, suffering for want of meadow pasturage, slipped away and crossed the Worcester heights to the splendid Connecticut Valley meadows at Springfield, Windsor, Weathersfield, and Hartford under the leadership of John Oldham and William Pyncheon. Soon

Expansion in New England

Rhode Island founded

after, the fearless Rev. Thomas Hooker and his parishioners migrated to the latter site in a body. About this time a Stiles party, sent from England by certain men of influence who had obtained a land grant from the New England Council, settled the Saybrook-New Haven region, while, on the north fishing stations of temporary nature became the towns of Portsmouth and Dover in New Hampshire.

The Connecticut Valley occupied

After countless wranglings among themselves and with representatives of the home government these colonies dropped slowly into very much the position in which the various New England states now lie.

From the constitutional standpoint the history of New England forms an important page in American history. The story of the growth of democracy in two of these colonies alone, Connecticut and Rhode Island, is of permanent interest. The leaders of the Connecticut colony had promoted migration partly to obtain wider fields and meadows and partly to escape the harshness of the religious intolerance which ruled in Massachusetts. To legalize it an "agreement" had been signed by the Connecticut men on one side and the Massachusetts General Court on the other. This agreement allowed the settlers the right to establish a commission form of government for one year.

Democracy in Connecticut

ROGER WILLIAMS (Statue at Providence, R. I.)

At the end of that year the people of this first American "West" were, therefore, without government. The agreement had expired and the commission government was at an end. Then, for the first time in our history, government was created by an individual group of American colonists. The "free planters" of Hartford, Weathersfield, and Windsor framed for themselves a set of laws which were called "The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut." They formed a government (Court)

The "Fundamental Orders" of Connecticut

similar to that in Massachusetts and Plymouth, with these exceptions: (a) no religious test was required of the voter; and (b) more power was given to the freemen and less to the magistrates. The court consisted of six magistrates and nine deputies. While government in all New England was always in the hands of a few, this Connecticut state was genuine government "by the people"; and the colony was ruled from the beginning of its history to the end by men of its own choosing only. After many years of argument Connecticut received a charter (1662) from the King; it then absorbed the New Haven colony.[1]

In Rhode Island Roger Williams gathered from Massachusetts other emigrants like himself and drew up a covenant by which they should be incorporated; but remembering their sorry experience in Massachusetts, they were particular to state in it that it bound them "only in civil things"! Here four towns sprang up and, to escape the jealous hand of Massachusetts, they united under the name "The Providence Plantations" and received a patent for their land from England in 1644. But this patent described no form of government for them and, like the Connecticut men, they fashioned one for themselves. It was peculiar in that, instead of the office of governor, they substituted a presiding officer with four assistants. These formed the Court. Later, an assembly came into existence, each town being represented by six deputies. After its share of disputes

The Providence Plantations

[1]An exception must be made to our statement that Connecticut was always self-governed. In 1686 James II put into effect a new colonial policy represented by the "Dominion of New England." Under this title he planned to make his American colonies (and Bermuda) one great oversea colony directly ruled by the King. Popular assemblies were to be abolished. His purposes were two: (a) a more strict enforcement of navigation laws and, (b) more united protection against the French. In actual practice the Dominion of New England was of small extent and duration. Its governing head, Governor General Andros, ruled New England, New York, and New Jersey from 1686 to 1689. He annulled the Massachusetts charter and abolished her assembly. This tyrannical effort to secure and destroy charters (especially Connecticut's) and Andros's eagerness to blot out local assemblies made him violently detested. "Charter Oak" at Hartford, Conn., gets its name from the story that Connecticut's charter was hid therein. (Map following p. 42 shows the change from "charter" to "royal" colonies).

with both Massachusetts and the authorities in England, Rhode Island, too, received a charter (1662). Like Connecticut it was a self-governing colony from the beginning.

New England thus took steps on the long road to independency in the very beginning of her history. She also, in a small way,

THE ADOPTION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL ORDERS. (Thomas Hooker is the central figure. From the mural painting in the Supreme Court at Hartford, Conn.)

set a pattern in the matter of unification which should not be overlooked. With Dutch neighbors on one side, French on another, and Indians all about them, it was natural for New Englanders to look quickly to the matter of defense. As a re-

sult, a union of the New England colonies (map p. 53) was proposed. This resulted, in 1643, in forming the "New England Confederation" by Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven; Rhode Island was omitted because of her quarrel with jealous Massachusetts. This confederacy was governed by a Council in which each colony had two representatives. In one sense this was a "make-believe" confederation because one of its members, Massachusetts, was very superior in wealth and population to the others. In important crises her two delegates outvoted all the other six! But the league served a real purpose for a time, perhaps more as a threat than otherwise. But in more subtle ways than men thought at the time, it exerted a greater influence than was supposed; it presented to men's minds a working theory of unity between jealous and quarrelsome colonies. In other days people remembered it when more active steps were being taken to form a larger Confederation which should one day win the approbation of a whole world. Thus the Fathers of New England, stern and uncompromising though many of them were, fought the good fight for democracy and unity in their corner of the world in the long, slow years of our colonial infancy. They laid powerful planks in a structure which, although at times it seemed a house of cards, proved, in the end, to be a Temple of Liberty.

The New England Confederation

MILES STANDISH

In this dogged contest the "Yankee" waged for his charters, in the wealth he accumulated in fisheries, ship-building, and commerce, in the establishment of the township system of government and land sales, giving every man a title to an exact number of acres and one good as against both the State and his neighbor, New England became the home of a proud and free people.

The growth of New England

But these accomplishments were not the great glory of the land. With the softening of religious scruples and the refining of religious sentiment New England became the religious and educational leader of the nation—strict and opinionated, it is true, but breathing an intellectual and spiritual masterfulness which has given her a worthy claim to leadership. Within six years of its settlement the General Court of Massachusetts voted over one half of the income of the whole colony for the support of the school which became Harvard College. With the rise of Harvard (1636) and Yale (1701), she began to set the educational standards of the nation at an early date. From her devotion to religion and education came the idealism which, though often eccentric and impracticable and sometimes cruelly bigoted, as shown by persecution of Quaker and Scotch-Irish, nevertheless sent into the veins of Americans-in-the-making a moral virility that in no small measure has made the nation what it is.

Her intellectual prowess and her bigotry

READING LIST

C. M. Andrews, *The Fathers of New England* (Chronicles of America, VI), Chaps. 1–5; E. P. Cheyney, *European Background*, Chaps. 12 and 13; Channing, I; H. L. Osgood, *American Colonies;* J. Fiske, *Beginnings of New England*, Chaps. 1–4; Winsor, III, Chaps. 8 and 9; E. M. Avery, II (maps); E. Eggleston, *Beginners of a Nation*, 98–219; J. T. Adams, *The Founding of New England*, Chaps. 2–7; R. G. Usher, *The Pilgrims and Their History;* R. D. Payne, *The Old Merchant Marine* (Chronicles of America, XXXVI), Chap. 1; Josiah Quincy, *Figures of the Past*, 1–16; Fox, *Map Studies* No. 6.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

What was the difference in the belief of the Pilgrims (Separatists) and Puritans? Compare the geography and climate of New England and Virginia. How does climate influence intellectual pursuits? In what way may the New England Confederation be compared with the League of Nations? In representation? In methods of coöperation? Did New England church discipline make strong men? Insurgents? Explain the close relationship between education and religion in New England.

CHAPTER III

THE OLD THIRTEEN: THEIR STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS

As we proceed to outline the completion of the founding of the full thirteen English colonies which finally became our Republic, we note at once two important factors. The later colonies were established more easily than were Virginia and New England, for the older colonies could be, and were, called upon at times for supplies and other necessaries of pioneering; again, the Middle Colonies were not of the pure English strain. America became a "melting-pot" very early in its history.

Yet with all the mixture of racial stocks these later colonies, whether royal or proprietary, passed through about the same political experiences as the older ones of purer strain. Everywhere democracy combated royalty with sturdy persistence. In Dutch wooden shoes, under Quaker hats or Amish bonnets, the spirit of the New World forests seemed to be brewing a new race of men in the pot which suddenly received so many unexpected ingredients.

Section 8. The Gateway of Old New York

THE curious policy which allowed the London Company to occupy "Virginia" only up to the Potomac River and the Plymouth Company to occupy "New England" only down to Long Island, left temporarily unoccupied the rich inland regions tributary to what are now the great ports of the states of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York.

The unoccupied zone

On two counts this dense ignorance of the coastline promised to be costly to England. Here lay three of the most excellent harbors of the New World. And behind the present sites of

Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York lay the best soils for general agriculture within reach of Old World immigrants. Neither New England's sterile hills nor her little meadows could furnish the grain needed in young America; Virginia was ill-fitted, until she found her rich valley behind the Blue Ridge, to meet this need. But behind the ports named lay the valleys of the Mohawk and Hudson, of the Susquehanna, Delaware, Schuylkill, and Lehigh.

The granary of early America

Of all this, of course, Henry Hudson, who nosed into New York Harbor ahead of the English, in 1609, was ignorant; but his finding the Hudson and laying the foundation of New Amsterdam (now New York) in 1626 was a bold and spectacular feat and one which promised large profit, commercial and military, for Holland's proud banner which this Englishman in her employ flew at the masthead of his famous ship, the *Half Moon*.

Hudson's gift to Holland

THE "HALF MOON." (Replica used in the Hudson-Fulton Celebration.)

Splendid were Holland's opportunities as she founded her "New Netherlands" along the magnificent waterway between New Amsterdam and "Fort Orange" which she planted, at Albany, to command the profitable fur trade with the Iroquois. She was, however, too eager in her desire for trade and too slow in developing sturdy colonization. Her able mariners found the beautiful Delaware River, and, opposite what is now Philadelphia, they also built a fort (1623). At the same time enterprising Sweden (1638) attempted to seize a slice of this rich unoccupied country and planted a colony on the present site of Wilmington, Delaware, which region she called "New Sweden." In 1655 the Dutch in New Amsterdam objected and captured this settlement; but sea-might determined land-right in these rollicking days, as the Dutch found out, in turn, when an English fleet

Holland and Sweden on the Delaware

took from them both New Amsterdam and also the Delaware settlements in 1664–5.

Short as was the existence of New Netherlands, however, our whole New York region received an impress that proved distinct and lasting. For one thing, the Dutch gave unique names to hundreds of creeks, rivers, hills, and valleys in the Hudson-Mohawk country. They introduced types of architec-

THE MIDDLE COLONIES AND VIRGINIA, ABOUT 1700

ture and arts of farming that have not wholly disappeared. They gave to a charming country the grace of a quiet, home-spun quaintness of life-type and manners which was fortunate in its origin and doubly fortunate in its historian, Washington Irving.

More important, however, the Dutch régime laid substantial beams in the building of a princely Empire State. The States-General in 1629 granted to the Dutch West India Company

what were called patroons' manorial rights—land grants which were held by individuals at a rental paid to the company and sublet to tenants; thus New World feudal baronies arose beside the Hudson as well as the James. In granting a few great families, such as the Van Rensselaers, Schuylers, etc., immense plantations, a political bent was given to the future colony and State of New York which is only in our day losing its grip.

The Dutch land system

NEW AMSTERDAM, ABOUT 1630. (From an old print.)

Of equal moment, the Dutch occupation of the Hudson-Mohawk key to the important Iroquois homeland (soon inherited by the conquering English) kept it from being occupied by more troublesome foes. Little was it realized at the time that the Hudson-Lake-Champlain-Richelieu passageway to the St. Lawrence was to become preëminently important in the struggle for the mastery of the continent. And as little was it comprehended that, in welding to English interest the formidable Iroquois confederacy, a deathblow was being prepared for French hopes of continental mastery.

Importance of Holland's amicable relations with the Iroquois

The English took New Amsterdam in 1664 and "New Netherlands" became the Province of New York because the King gave it to his brother James, Duke of York. It was, already, a miniature of our present-day metropolis in population; its laws had to be printed in three languages in order to be understood by a majority of the one thousand inhabitants! The feudal system which existed along the Hudson's tidal arm which reached to Albany was untouched, and the portly patroons smoked their long pipes in peace within their *bouweries*, the native name for plantation, not a whit more dissatisfied at paying their rentals to English authorities than to Dutch.

The Province of New York

But when it came to paying what they considered unjust taxes, these stolid patroons formed a backbone of democracy which had much to do with the fact that New York became a stout champion for what we now know as American liberty. The people demanded and received both a Charter of Liberties and a Provincial Assembly in 1683; in Leisler's Rebellion, six years later, they showed that neither New Englanders nor Virginians should be an iota ahead of them in championing the rights of the common people. King James II was now succeeded at home by the bloodless revolution which placed William and Mary on the English throne. The new rulers confirmed the right of the people in Parliament, a tenet the Stuarts had doggedly denied. Instantly the New Englanders ousted former King James's hated representative, Andros, from the governorship. In New York, Andros's deputy, Nicholson, was equally despised and under Jacob Leisler, a successful German merchant, Nicholson was forced to flee the colony, leaving its government in the hands of three deputies. Leisler called a convention of delegates from the counties of the colony; this convention chose Leisler commander-in-chief and during two years this popularly chosen official ruled the colony. Leisler's movement for popular rule was typical; in fact, the whole history of the colony, except when its people were united to ward off the French enemies in the North, is a story of

Backbone of New York democracy

Leisler's Rebellion

constant struggle between royal governor and popular assembly over matters of revenue, control of courts, and church problems.

Along with the establishment of a New York colonial assembly in 1683 also came the signing of an alliance between the colony

Lower New York To-day. (View from an airplane.)

and the great Iroquois Confederacy in 1684. We have seen (p. 13) what a strategic position the tribes of that nation occupied. They held the balance of power between the French on the Lakes and the Dutch and English on the Hudson. Trebly fortunate it was that they now became, and long remained, the allies of the English. Otherwise it is hard to see how it would have been possible for the loyal colony of New York to have prevented

the fearless troopers of New France from coming down Lake Champlain and the Hudson and splitting the New England colonies off from the English of Virginia, thus, perhaps, conquering England-in-America piece-meal. It was New York's position, not her size, that was all-important in these early years. Happy it was, therefore, that the population remained consolidated on its strategic Manhattan Island and in the great valley opening northward. If it was for Virginia to expand, it was for New York to stand fast. This diplomacy was not less successful because it was unpremeditated. Each colony in those days played its natural part toward a final and a grand consummation: in each case environment was one large dominating factor. The pacts made with the Iroquois, it is true, deprived New York of being much more than a city surrounded by its outlying settlements in New Jersey—and a thin wedge driven up the Hudson and Mohawk (to Rome) as a protective barrier to French advance. But for this successful holding of that vital frontier American history might have had an entirely different development.

Meaning of Iroquois friendship for the English

READING LIST

M. W. Goodwin, *Dutch and English on the Hudson* (Chronicles of America, VII), Chaps. 1–12; C. M. Andrews, *Colonial Self-Government* (American Nation, V), Chaps. 5–9; Fiske, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, I, Chaps. 4–9; E. M. Avery, *History*, II (maps); W. Irving, *Knickerbocker's History of New York;* Fox, *Map Studies* No. 7.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Why is the Hudson Valley called the "Gateway to the Continent"? Is this equally true from historical and geological standpoints? Give some geographical names that have come down to us from the Dutch. What tales of Washington Irving's give the best pictures of Dutch life in America? Give some reasons, geographical, economic, etc., for the early cosmopolitan character of New York City? Compare the early land systems in New York, New England, and Virginia. How did they influence the character of the people? Religious and political systems? Education? Which favored the growth of aristocracy? Democracy? A better "Middle Class"? Con-

sider what might have been our future history had Spain or France taken and held the mouth of the Hudson? Describe the part played by the Iroquois in helping New York to "stand fast."

Section 9. Penn's Forest King Empire

Pennsylvania was given by Charles II to the Quaker, William Penn, in lieu of a debt of £16,000 which the King owed to Penn's father. Scholars have never decided whether the King was moved to give away this giant forest empire in the New World, which came to bear Penn's honored name, as much because of the debt that he owed as because he thought it might be a way to get England rid of her pious, troublesome Quakers who would be sure to follow Penn to America if the grant were made.

Pennsylvania granted to William Penn

William Penn

Pennsylvania, as the splendid realm came to be known, was almost as large as England and Wales combined. No other single proprietor on this side of the Atlantic ever owned such a rich empire. It is probable that either "Prince Charlie" had never learned from the Dutch and the Swedes (who had trapped and hunted within it) what a splendid country lay behind the Delaware, or else that these quaking, tax-resisting disciples of conscience had gotten on his nerves as much as had the Separatists on the nerves of the rulers of their day.

The value of the gift

In 1681 Penn received his deeds and proceeded at once to advertise and settle his "free commonwealth" in America for all who were oppressed. He founded Philadelphia the year following, and showed in his "Frame of Government" the greatest liberality and breadth of spirit portrayed up to that date in the colonial history of

Philadelphia founded

America. This "Charter of 1701" has been declared by Professor Channing the "most famous of all colonial constitutions" because it embraced so many workable theories. A council was established with executive powers to assist the governor who was appointed by the proprietor. A one-house Assembly was created which had full control over its sessions—it could be dissolved only by its own vote. To illustrate how these liberal views influenced Pennsylvania history it is interesting to note that in that state Roman Catholics had political rights in the seventeenth century. The combination that made Pennsylvania important was wholly unique in (a) the type of immigrants secured; (b) the democratic conditions under which they were allowed to settle; (c) the liberality of the proprietor's terms for land; (d) the superb quality of the soil and climate; (e) the healthful and commanding position that the metropolis on the Delaware occupied. These factors combined to make the early chapters of Pennsylvania's history unlike the harrowing story of the beginnings of either New England or Virginia.

Penn's "Charter of 1701"

Reasons for Pennsylvania's prosperity

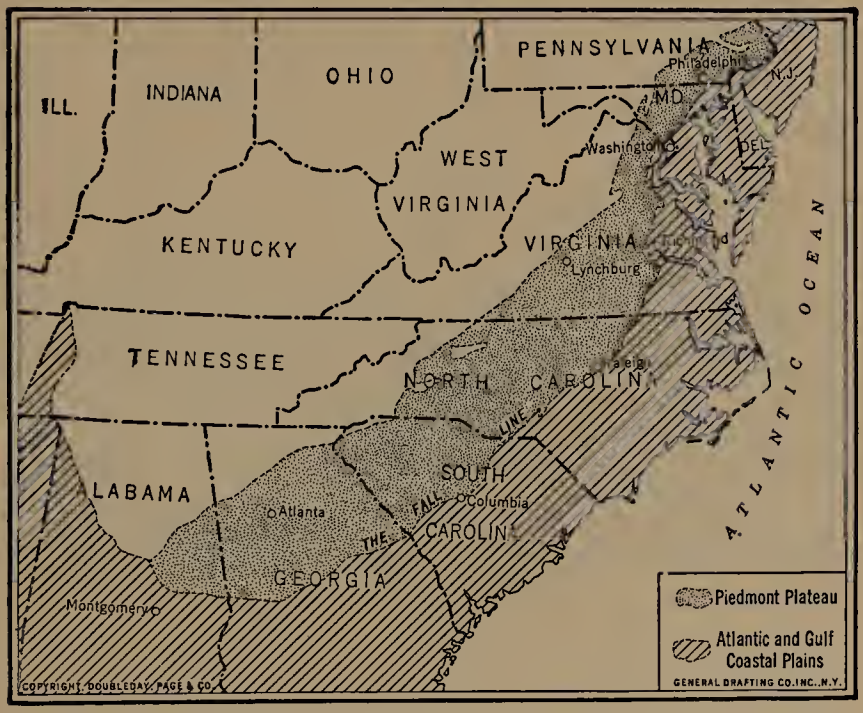
The steady home-building, home-loving Quakers made ideal pioneers in a land rendered safe for them by Penn's wise handling of the natives. He made fair treaties with the Indians and kept them. Penn had looked with grave eyes on the forlorn condition of the Palatine Germans along the Rhine and, through influential agents, like the good minister Pastorius, now invited them to the "feast of liberty and freedom" across the seas. Soon a thin stream of settlers came over, led by Pastorius, who founded Germantown in 1682. They heartily rejoiced in the opportunity to escape the economic disturbances caused by Europe's religious wars and rumors of more war. Equally important, they likewise rejoiced in the opportunity of sending back word to the Rhine of their wholesome satisfaction with their lot.

Penn encouraged migration from the Palatinate

The vital factor in the rapid growth of Pennsylvania's pop-

ulation and wealth was its soil. By following up either the Schuylkill or Lehigh rivers, or by crossing overland direct from Philadelphia to luxurious Pequea Creek in famed Lancaster County, pioneers found (map p. 107) belts of limestone soil—the best soil for wheat and diversified agriculture in eastern United States. Lancaster County, as we know it to-day, lies not fifty miles from Philadelphia; it soon became, and still is, the richest

The soil factor in the colony's growth



Soil Map. (Showing upland and lowland soil provinces east of the Alleghenies.)

county between the Atlantic and the Pacific for diversified agriculture. Within a generation Pennsylvania became the granary of America and every road (in a land where good roads could so easily be made of limestone) focused on the colony's metropolis, making Philadelphia ere long the most important port on our Atlantic seaboard.

The news of the happy and prosperous condition of Old World exiles in Penn's forest empire spread by leaps and bounds. The tide of migration of unfortunates from England and Europe widened steadily, and into the pleasant vales streamed some of many nationalities: English (Quakers), Germans, Welsh, Irish, Scotch-Irish, and sturdy Huguenot—men of every faith and every sect. It is not to be supposed that—this side of the millennium—such a mixture of races and faiths could long be content with any given "frame" of government. Penn was not long in finding out that these people, too, were very "governmentish," as he called it. Despite the proprietor's liberality, Pennsylvania came, in the end, to take her place also, with New England, New York, and Virginia, as a battleground, where American liberty was to be established. The council that Penn left to govern the colony during his absences did not get along very well with the general assembly which he had early established. Under Penn's heirs the struggle between this assembly and the governors who represented the Penn family is the keynote of the early political history of the colony.

Composite character of immigration

The council *vs.* the general assembly

Other factions and factors entered into these conflicts. Racial and sectional bickering was not uncommon; the Germans were clannish and the Scotch-Irish[1] were clannish; a powerful anti-Quaker English colony grew up in Philadelphia to help make that sturdy town the chief city of our colonies; it took the proprietor's or royalist side against the Quaker assembly. If the assembly passed laws thought to be too liberal, the governor vetoed them; on its part the assembly would refuse to pass laws granting him his salary. Thus, in their turn, all down to the Revolution, did the suave, kindly, but dogged Quakers do their bit in fighting kingly rule, aiding to fix, still more clearly, the principles at last made glorious in our American Constitution.

Rivalry of races and sects

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[1]Scotch-Irish is the familiar name applied to the descendants of Scotchmen who had long lived in northern Ireland. As a rule they were Scotch in blood, although some had intermarried with the Irish.

As the acacia puts out a sweet gum on the ends of its leaves to attract colonies of ants which will defend it from injurious parasites, so the Quakers gave out rich lands on their frontiers to the doughty Scotch-Irish who would defend them from red-skinned enemies.

Of these Scotch-Irish, who formed such a sterling frontier defense from Indian depredation on one side and royalist oppression on the other, special mention must be made. From northern Ireland, whither their ancestors had been carried from Scotland by King James, came an increasing army of this strong race, anxious to escape cruel economic conditions imposed upon them by the English

The Scotch-Irish

A Lancaster County (Pa.) Farm

government. Many of these had been prejudiced against limestone soils in their homeland, knowing them as "dry lands" in Scotland and Ireland. These were ready enough to push on across the limestone soils of eastern Pennsylvania which were so much admired by the Palatine Germans who knew them in the Rhine Valley; lack of capital, too, doubtless helped thus to populate Pennsylvania's outermost frontier between the Susquehanna and the Alleghenies.

At any rate, a staunch, proud human barrier of stern Scotch-Irish was built up here in the first decades of the eigh-

teenth century, which had a lasting effect in the political, religious, and educational history, not only of Pennsylvania, but of the nation. Most valiant defenders of the land from the red man they proved to be. As opponents of what they felt was unjust taxation and legislation, no Old World emigrants from across the seas played a more distinguished part in our nation-building. For their Calvinistic interpretation of the Bible, for their devotion to education—shown by the fine line of colleges and academies which they founded from Princeton to the University of North Carolina—America has been greatly indebted to them. Love of religious discussion naturally bred in these men the art of excelling in political debate; this, with their devotion to independence (born of severe

Their contribution to development of American democracy

THE CONESTOGA WAGON. (Philadelphia to Pittsburgh 20 days.)

economic unhappiness suffered in northern Ireland) induced them to take a leading part in the wrangling with representatives of King and Ministry in every colony in which they settled.

Even the casual reader must agree that Pennsylvanians have valid excuse for considering the history of their Keystone State the most interesting and important of any state in our Union. The reports of Pennsylvania's enormous acreage of rich soil brought thousands to this land of plenty. The number of

indentured servants in Pennsylvania in time outnumbered those of any other colony. The bountiful crops of grain grown were easily marketed over the natural roads focusing upon Philadelphia. As time went on other methods of transportation developed faster here than elsewhere in the colonies. Pennsylvanians built the first macadamized road in our country, the Lancaster Turnpike; they constructed the first important American canal; on a Lancaster County stream sailed the first steamboat built by John Fitch—whose models were useful to Robert Fulton, himself a native of Lancaster County. By crossing the American pony with the English hunter the colonists of Pennsylvania developed the stout packhorse on whose back the bulk of the first trading with the Ohio Indians was done. Purchasing the lean kine from surrounding colonies, Pennsylvanians fattened them in their wheat fields for market until, by legislation, rival colonies put an end to this. The granary of Pennsylvania and its stockyards became a vital link between the English colonies and the West Indies. At the time of Penn's first arrival horses were being shipped thither from the Delaware and in provisioning those islands Philadelphia merchants soon controlled a very lucrative trade. The attempts of the Mother Country to block it played a part in making Pennsylvania "rebellious" in spirit at an early day.

Pennsylvania's development of transportation

Hand in hand with thrift went respect for law and, as we have seen, an appreciation of the higher things of life, liberty, and education. The University of Pennsylvania originated in 1740 as a charity school; it was chartered thirteen years later as a higher institution of learning. Noteworthy is it that the Quakers were the first to institute in our land humane criminal laws and penal institutions. Lastly, as a recruiting ground for the grand advance of American migration to the South and West, Pennsylvania played a preëminent part. Here the tools of migration, so to speak, were first fashioned in quantities—the packhorse, the Conestoga horse and wagon; here iron work,

America's first humane criminal laws

especially fire arms, so indespensable on the frontier, were made in quantities unknown in other colonies; to the enterprise and daring of her Boones, Lincolns, and Finleys the West, and the whole nation, came to owe a debt to Pennsylvania difficult to repay.

READING LIST

S. P. Orth, *Our Foreigners*, Chap. 6; S. G. Fisher, *The Quaker Colonies* (Chronicles of America, VIII), Chaps. 1–5; Andrews, Chaps. 11 and 12; Fiske, II, Chaps. 12 and 16; Fisher, *The True William Penn;* A. B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States;* C. A. Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish;* H. J. Ford, *The Scotch-Irish in America;* Articles on New Jersey and Delaware in J. Winsor, *Critical and Narrative History*, III and IV; Fox, *Map Studies*, No. 7.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Compare the predominant soil sections of Pennsylvania, New England (pp. 53–54), and Virginia (pp. 45–46). It is said that the King's most troublesome subjects made the best pioneers. Explain. Discuss the vital contribution to the building of the colonies made by the Scotch-Irish, Quakers, and Germans. Which people would you rank highest in political influence? Educational influence? Industrial influence? Literary influence? Catalogue the factors which made Philadelphia our chief colonial seaport. How have crops or mines influenced development of transportation in your section? Have other factors exerted a greater influence? Why do Pennsylvanians call their state the "Keystone State"?

Section 10. The English Tighten Their Grip

Little could these men imagine as they laid, so to speak, in the dark, the foundations of these English colonies, that they were forming States which should some day be assembled into a giant Republic. Such, however, was the case, and what were now created little colonies became, in after years, little states, and what were now cast in the mould as big colonies in the seventeenth century are big states in the twentieth century. The Thirteen Colonies which eventually fought the War of Independence came together, therefore, as a kind of strange picture-puzzle; in between the large colonies established along the coast, men organized little colonies in odd shapes, odd

The mould in which our "States" were first cast

ways, and at odd times, until, at last, all the seacoast from Maine to Florida was occupied.

It is important to remember that there was nothing uniform about men's ideas of geography in these budding years except their lack of understanding how to reckon longitudes. Even Magellan's and Drake's circumnavigation of the earth did little to make people understand how wide our continent was. North and south boundaries of our colonies were described in supposedly fixed terms; in most cases the western boundary was the "South Sea." As the little colonies came to life within the small spaces left between the greater, their boundary lines were far more definite. This fact, as well as their smaller population, led afterward to much wrangling, for they were found to be not a whit less proud and independent because of being small.

Boundary lines

Massachusetts lost territory when Connecticut received a charter and drew her own boundary line; Roger Williams' settlement in 1636 at Providence developed into Rhode Island under the name of Providence Plantation (1644) when other people also fled thither to escape Massachusetts' strict rule. New Hampshire broke away in 1679, thus dividing the Old Bay colony from her province of Maine which she held steadily, however, until that section entered the Union.

The New England "States"

South of New England the little colonies of New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland were early planted. When the English took New York and New Jersey the Duke of York granted the latter region to two of his friends, Berkeley and Carteret, in 1664. Under wise management that pleasant land became a favorite region for immigrants, many New Englanders (among them Abraham Lincoln's ancestors from Hingham, Mass.) joining to make the Newark district a Yankee stronghold. What is now Delaware was secured by William Penn in order to give him freer access to the ocean; it became a distinct province in 1702. The Penns also acquired New Jersey piecemeal, the southern portion first ("West New Jersey") and the northern part ("East New

The little Middle Colonies

Jersey") later; finally, however, that entire region was made a royal colony in 1702 (map following p. 42).

Maryland

Maryland has had, from the beginning, an interesting history. King James gave the province to two loyal Catholics, George and Cecilius Calvert, in 1632, and its charter was, from a religious standpoint, the most liberal written up to that time for any colony. Calvert, being a Lord Baltimore, named the metropolis of the Chesapeake,

THE SOUTHERN COLONIES IN 1732

Baltimore (1729). Here Protestants and Catholics lived in temporary harmony and built the second most important of our colonial seaports. The Crown took Maryland back to its own rule once; but, from 1715 on, it remained a proprietary colony. No love was lost between Maryland and Virginia between which flowed the Potomac, and, as we shall see (p. 176),

the final settling of their disputes was an incident of great moment in our national history.

The Carolinas

At a very early date Virginians recognized the fertility of the territory to the south of them and some settled in both North Carolina (Chowan River) and South Carolina (Ashley River). In 1663, however, King Charles II granted a province called Carolina to some staunch adherents who immediately engaged Locke, the famous philosopher, to draw up a "Grand Model" of a charter for them. In practice this document proved artificial, not allowing room for growth. The colonists who came thither, many of whom were of Scotch-Irish ancestry, were too progressive to be governed by it and, in their struggle against it, did their part, also, to encourage colonial rebellion from governmental oppression.[1] The advent of slavery and the development of the sea-island cotton region brought increasing prosperity, especially to South Carolina and her port of Charleston. The accidental introduction of rice from Madagascar in 1684 was, perhaps, of greater economic influence. For two centuries American rice crops were grown only along this South Atlantic shore.

Founding of Georgia

The Carolinas extended toward New Spain to the 29th degree of latitude, south of the old Spanish town of St. Augustine. To people this borderland, and to defend it from the jealous and sensitive Dons, a nobleman in spirit as well as in rank, James Oglethorpe, proposed to bring from England some thousands of the forlorn and luckless people who were cumbering the jails and prisons. Some of these had been jailed only for being in debt and were good material with which to found what became, in 1732, the colony of Georgia.

With the planting of beautiful Savannah, another great southern seaport took its place on our Atlantic coast. The rich character of the land behind this port served to make

[1]The Grand Model established practically a caste system. The upper or ruling classes were to consist of earls and barons; the lower class of people were to be nothing less than serfs—"under the jurisdiction of their lord *without appeal.*" It is readily seen why such a semi-feudal system was nicknamed "The Grand Muddle" by New World pioneers!

the colony successful. But, as was true elsewhere, however, the limited charter rights first conferred on the trustees were objected to by the Georgia pioneers, and in 1752 the territory became a royal province—the last to be formed by an English king in America. The Spaniards deeply resented this settlement of Georgia, but after one sound thrashing in 1739 they learned that the English could hold the border successfully as far south as the St. Johns River. And little did wise men of the time doubt that a day would come when the possessors of Savannah would

Rivalry with the Spaniard

CHARLESTON, S. C. (A view of the city and the harbor.)

dispute the Spaniard's right to fair Florida—a land that had not in two centuries seen the advance that the Carolinas witnessed in twenty short years!

Thus developed the mighty drama of the English tightening their grip on the whole American seaboard from Acadia in Canada to the St. Johns in Florida. It is seen that the colonies, large and small, were in great measure utterly different in size, in shape, in origin, and in the quality of their early settlers, though most of these were of the English stock until after the eighteenth century dawned.

The thing of greatest importance, however, is to note that, without an exception, there was one marked resemblance: everywhere the authority of royal and proprietary rule was sooner or later resented and rebuked. The record of these

colonies is one long story of objection to a governor's harsh ruling, to a proprietor's high-handed acts, or to a council's mockery of New World democracy. In no time at all England found that these Englishmen who were Americans-in-the-making could be just as troublesome as her kings had found the Commons and their Parliament to be from the time of King John down to Oliver Cromwell.

Theoretically there were three kinds of colonies: (a) charter colonies, (b) proprietary colonies, and (c) royal colonies. The differences between them are indicated by the names; charter colonies were governed by their written charters or constitutions; royal colonies were governed by the king through governors sent by him; proprietary colonies were governed by the proprietors or by governors whom they appointed. In 1682 Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island were charter colonies and elected their own governors; Virginia and New Hampshire were royal; all the rest were proprietary. In the next fifty years all had become royal except Connecticut and Rhode Island, which remained charter, and Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, which remained proprietary. The important fact is, therefore, that similar forces were at work everywhere leavening the whole lump—the forces of democracy. And, wherever possible to thwart these forces, the colonies were changed by the Kings of England by turning corporate colonies into royal, as in Massachusetts, or proprietary colonies into royal, as in Carolina and Georgia (map following p. 42).

The three types of colonies

Thus in the shadows of the American forests, an old, old process was going on. The extreme width of the Atlantic tended to make long-distance royal control weak. So long a time passed between the sending of letters and the arrival of replies that governors and other officials were often compelled to act according to their own discretion. All this tended to loosen royal hold. But this process was the hope of English institutions; for if the Mother Country had not learned from these wilfully insurgent colonists what she could, and what she could

The difficulties of long-distance control

not, do to make colonies strong and free, there might have been no British Empire.

This development, however, might not have been successful if these seaboard colonies had lacked the unity which they possessed, and if the solid system of English occupation had not been what it was. True, the line of English colonies was a long, thin one, stretching from Maine to Florida. But it should be noted that these colonies were at every point contiguous. The break in the long chain which was threatened by the Dutch and the Swedes in New York and Delaware was very timely thwarted. Moreover, all the colonies fronted the Atlantic Ocean, that broad, free pathway of which England's navy was absolute master. These factors of contiguity, and the ease with which the Mother Country could protect her children, lessened the danger of a far-flung colonial line.

The solidarity of the English colonies' position

Although the region occupied by the English was comparatively small, its population grew rapidly, reaching a million and a half by 1750; at the same time the rival, New France, could count but eighty thousand. Again, unlike the population of the rival Canadian empire, the English rapidly developed diversified interests, and their colonies slowly but surely assumed a far sounder economic basis. Fisheries and shipping in the North, general agriculture and cattle raising in the Middle Colonies, and staple crops, lumber, and tar in the South, gave a solid basis for colonial wealth. This was increased by the slow but sure growth of manufactures and the opening of other natural resources. England laid severe restrictions on colonial manufactures and trade, but the wealth of her colonies increased rapidly after the first hard years of settlement were over. This prosperity tended to tighten steadily their grip on the continent's fringe.

READING LIST

MARYLAND: M. Johnston, *Pioneers of the Old South* (Chronicles of America, V), Chap. 9; Fiske, *Old Virginia*, I, Chaps. 8 and 9; L. G. Tyler, *England in America*, Chaps. 6 and 7; E. Channing, *History*, I, Chap. 9.

THE CAROLINAS: M. Johnston, Chap. 14; Fiske, II, Chap. 15; Andrews, Chaps. 9 and 10; Fox, *Map Studies*, No. 8.

GEORGIA: M. Johnston, Chap. 16; H. Bruce, *General Oglethorpe;* E. B. Greene, *Provincial America* (American Nation, VI), Chap. 15.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

In what sense is the Atlantic no wider to-day than was the English Channel three centuries ago? To what extent was Massachusetts correctly called "the Mother Colony of New England"? Explain the industries of the northern, middle, and southern colonies on the basis of soils and natural resources. Which had the strongest resources aside from those? Give the reasons for the more rapid growth of population in the English colonies than in New France or New Spain. Had England and France exchanged colonies would the relative growth have been just the same? Compare religious toleration in Maryland, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. Was political liberty achieved faster in the tolerant colonies or otherwise? Why are the differences between "royal," "proprietary," and "charter" colonies of minor importance? In which did liberty make the most rapid advancement?

Section 11. Friend and Foe of Unity

In these seventeen decades from the founding of Jamestown to the Revolutionary War a uniform struggle, as we have seen, went on against autocracy. It is impossible to understand how we came in the end, however, to unite these colonies into a mighty Republic if the reason is sought only in the contest waged by the people and their representatives against royal governor or proprietor. We must, rather, see these years as a long period of testing and trial, of the slow settling of the people of each colony into their environment, and of the play of the factors of jealous rivalry which seemed all the while to be tearing down what was being built up. There was hardly a subject over which some of the colonies did not quarrel among themselves. Benjamin Franklin was doubtless right when he once went so far as to say of the colonies: "'tis well known they all love [England] much more than they love one another."

Years of testing

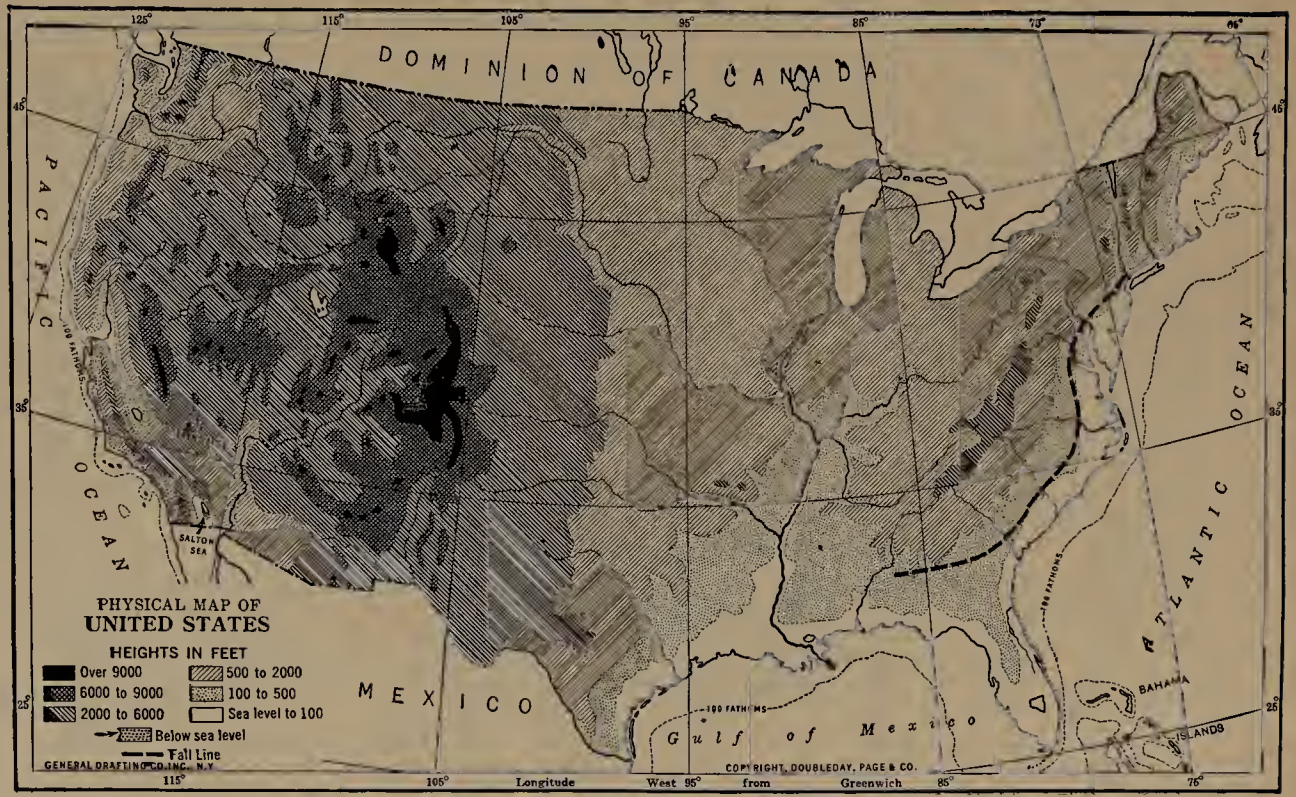
For instance, boundary lines were, usually, a constant subject of debate, hot discussion and, sometimes, open warfare. There

was probably no inland boundary line of any colony which did not cause some friction. There was confusion over boundary lines which were definitely named, as in the case of Rhode Island's line on the "River of the Narragansetts"—there being no such river! And there was confusion confounded when the position of lines described could be disputed. The Pennsylvania-Maryland line was a cause of much trouble until commissioners were sent from England to settle it. These surveyors, Mason and Dixon by name, ran the line (1764–1767) far enough westward to allay trouble in the settled eastern region. Later it was extended its full length, five degrees. As it afterward came to be the line between the slave and the free states this "Mason and Dixon Line" is perhaps the most famous in our history. When the Duke of York was given New York, did the Massachusetts and Connecticut lines to the "South Sea" pass underground and come up again west of New York? When the southern Pennsylvania boundary line was run the capital of the colony, Philadelphia, was found to be outside of it! Virginia's east and west lines ran (map following p. 42) "west and northwest" into the continent; if the upper line ran northwest and the lower ran west, Virginia could claim the major part of the continent; but if the upper line ran west, and the lower line northwest, Virginia was a small triangle. Of course every colony interpreted every vagueness of description in its own favor. When we consider the mixed character of their populations it is remarkable that these sources of rancor did not prove more troublesome than they did.

Boundary line disputes

The colonies were, very largely, a law unto themselves. Each could make its own intercolonial shipping laws, take its own census, and make its own money. Since on the census each colony took depended how much would be required of it in quotas of money and troops and supplies for any common undertaking (as fighting the French), fair counts were essential. The moment one colony thought another was not counting noses correctly (in order to escape its proper tax) there was trouble. So angry became the

Census troubles



Physical Map of the United States

feeling that, in some cases, census-taking was actually prohibited by law!

Colonies having good ports held neighboring colonies which had none in a kind of subjection to them by the regulations adopted as to navigation of local waters. It was a serious dispute over an intercolonial question of this kind between Maryland and Virginia which led to the Annapolis Convention in later years.

Commercial discrimination

Disputes all their own were waged between the "big" and "little" colonies. The small colonies which, as we have seen, were crowded in between greater, had very definite boundary lines. The greater colonies claimed vast stretches of the western wilderness—some of them on the flimsiest of grounds. When the rush of population poured inland, these larger colonies could offer rich lands for sale at trifling prices. The little colonies could not compete on these terms and saw, with anger, their populations, in part, drawn away from them. If, for instance, their enterprising citizens founded mills and factories, they discovered a peculiar labor problem on their hands; with the large neighboring colonies offering rich tracts of western lands wholly or almost free, hundreds who would otherwise have proved excellent workers were lured away and those who remained behind demanded a higher wage than would otherwise have been the case.

Claims to the "West"

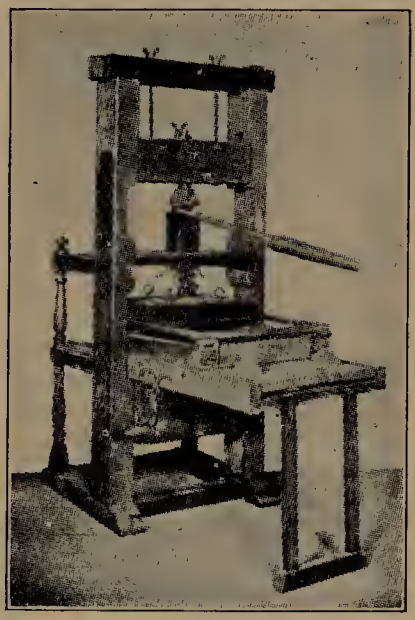
Early colonial labor troubles

On the other hand, over and against these forces which were centrifugal, making for disunion, are to be placed others which were centripetal, making for unity and solidarity. Three of these were of marked power, although to over-emphasize them would be to commit an error.

Perhaps the most important of these was similarity of physical environment. While the climates of Maine in the North and Georgia in the South are dissimilar, all of the English colonies lay within the temperate zone where the white man can do his best work. All, too, as we have said, faced the Atlantic, a factor

of enormous importance in intercolonial trade and association. The colonies were not separated on the landward side by mountain ranges nor by arid deserts. In numerous instances goodly rivers gave access from the sea to two or more colonies. Physical barriers which might block coöperation for defense in time of danger or for trade in time of peace were unknown. The absence of such handicaps as these tended to promote economic interdependence, the easy establishment of business relationships, the rapid circulation of common ideas, customs, and intelligence. Had such a range of mountains for instance as the Pyrenees, which separate France from Spain, divided New England from New York, or Pennsylvania from Virginia the story of our colonial economic and social advance might have been notably altered.

Similarity of physical environment



THE STEPHEN DAYE PRESS. (The first printing press in the United States, brought from England in 1638 and set up by Stephen Daye in Cambridge.)

A second factor making for unity was the common enemy, the menace of the Indian and the French which was felt in every colony to a greater or less degree. From earliest days this danger drove the colonies to form unions which helped to pave the way to the glorious union made in 1776. The first of these, as we have seen, was the New England Confederation (p. 58) which united Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven to fend off Indian, Dutch, and French. Looking across the years we find that at some time almost every colony united with some neighbor for purposes of defense; these

The beginnings of federation

unions tended to soften intercolonial rivalries and jealousies. George Washington's great-grandfather in Virginia was one of the leaders in a coöperative action with Marylanders against the Indians of the Susquehanna region, and, bitter as these two colonies were in their quarrels on some matters, friendshps formed in such mutual efforts for defense brought home the lesson that strength lay only in unity.

Most notable of these coöperative efforts was Benjamin Franklin's "Plan of Union" of 1754, which was outlined at a congress of colonial delegates held at Albany, N.Y. The organization as formed bore a likeness to our present national House of Representatives, but a royal executive with veto power was to be its chief officer. The scheme did not go into actual operation but it was valuable because it presented a design of a colonial union for men to think about and work toward.

Franklin's "Plan of Union"

The third factor, and one of greatest welding power, however, was the information which came from all colonies alike that an almost ceaseless struggle was taking place against that common enemy of liberty, the representative of royalty. It seemed at times that it was because the colonies were so jealous of each other that they often refused to answer fair and honest appeals of the Mother Country for aid in defense against common enemies; but we know now that upon the waging of that very battle depended the hope of democracy, and, not only a free America, but a freer England.

The contest against alleged oppression in one colony incited the men of another to gird up their loins for their own battle. The news that royal commands in the North, or a governor's orders in the South, or a proprietor's whim somewhere else had been flaunted, gave people heart. The report that an assembly had been told to go home and not come back until they could do as they were bid, or that a governor's salary bill had been laid on the table, circulated surprisingly fast in a day of few roads and mail-coaches. It unwittingly bred the feeling that these Americans-to-be were not lacking in powers of self-government; it increased a consciousness of latent ability; it created a "United

States" in spirit generations before such a thing could actually arise from the ashes of colonial hatreds and jealouseis.

Ere long a miracle began to be wrought. Despite all the medley of colonial bickerings, new sentiments began to fill men's hearts—a common pride was awakened in the valor and stamina of the men of other colonies. The Yankee applauded the memory of the uplanders of Virginia who arose in wrath under Bacon and won needed reforms. The Virginian relished the hatred the New Yorker and Yankee exhibited for all that the despotic Andros represented; and both Virginian and Yankee, in many cases, cheered on the stolid Quaker when he vetoed his governor's salary bill or the New Yorker who arose in wrath in Leisler's Rebellion.

First showing of inter-provincial admiration

These species of patriotism, fostered through the ups and downs of many years, were fired to whiter heat when Patrick Henry cried "Give me liberty or give me death," and when Morgan's swarthy borderers from a land as distant as Europe is from us to-day, the "Greenbrier Country," strode in their Indian dress, armed with their long squirrel rifles, to the Cambridge Elm to fight under Washington in 1775.

The actual thing that finally made the union of the colonies possible was long growing, not a sentiment which was aroused at the moment. It is of prime importance to note and remember the many handicaps that tended to oppose its development; only by realizing to the full their number and power and their distracting influences can we properly understand the astonishing vitality of the unifying forces that at last overcame all obstruction and made possible a united Republic.

Unity a growth

READING LIST

Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, II, Chap. 13; *Beginnings of New England*, Chap. 6; *Old Virginia*, II, Chap. 11; Andrews, Chaps. 15 and 16; Johnston, Chaps. 12 and 13; Greene, Chaps. 2–6; W. M. West, *American History and Government*, 193–196; C. Becker, *The Declaration of Independence*, Chap. 1; C. R. Fish, *American Diplomacy*, Chap. 2; Fox, *Map Studies*, No. 9.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

In what sense are we a nation of sections as well as a nation of states? Which means most to you, your city or section or your state? Why might the mountaineer of Vermont, South Dakota, Colorado, or California have a deeper affection for his section than for his state? Is he to be criticized? Do you know of any recent national legislation that has awakened opposition in a distinct section of our country? What virtues are developed by intense local patriotism? (Remember Athens and other city states of ancient times.) Have you any experience with intense local jealousies and rivalries of towns, cities, sections, or states? How may they be constructive? Destructive? In what ways might colonial rivalries in the olden times be likened to national rivalries in Europe to-day?

Section 12. Colonial Life

Amid all the noisy tumult of political development and religious, educational, agricultural, and economic advance of these colonial days, the life of the people in each one of the provincial zones took on a type and color of its own. The same seed, if planted in various soils, brings forth, oftentimes, plants that differ; so the English seed planted in New England, New York, Virginia, or Georgia produced somewhat different human plants. Soils and types of agriculture were factors; climate coöperated as a factor; the comfortable way to make a profitable living was a vital factor. Esquimaux do not build adobe houses nor do folks in the semi-tropics build huts of ice; people living on prairies do not build clipper ships nor do those who must barricade themselves against a New England winter live after the manner of those occupying softer climes.

Influences of environment

In a measure this matter of climate drew a definite line between the social life of the North and that of the South, outwardly marked plainly in the architecture of their buildings. At first, of course, simple huts arose alike everywhere, but as years crept by substantial homes began to be erected in both North and South. The Yankee contrived to get everything under one roof, and the long

Provincial architecture

New England house came into existence, so that, in the five or six winter months, one could walk from the "parlor" to the barn without being exposed to the elements. In the South the home of the planter came to stand apart from the outbuildings; the kitchen came to be another building, while the cabins of the slaves were grouped at a distance or scattered on the fields or plantations of the master. In the Middle Colonies variations of these systems came into being, but the big, red German barn

A Colonial House in New England. (The Macy house at Nantucket.)

dominated the landscape in the limestone regions of Pennsylvania and southward; these were often built on a hillside, allowing room for the stock in what would be called the basement. Beside and south of the Potomac the long drying sheds and warehouses for tobacco were as common as the big German barns or the long white New England home in the North.

Pioneer household arts

The arts of everyday living were brought from the homelands of the various stocks of people but they changed, of course, to meet the necessities of the New World environment. The ideal was to make each farm in the North and plantation in the South as

near self-sustaining as possible. Spinning, weaving, cobbling, making of crude utensils needed in home, granary, barn, and shop engaged the pioneer's hands; numberless "tricks of the trade" were passed on from adepts of one race to those of another. In all cases the "main chance" of making a good living was adopted; in New England ship-building and the fisheries became the staple industries for the simple reason that here grew excellent timber and here, as far south as Long Island, was the main zone of cod fishing. At length the Indian canoe was discarded for the all-conquering ketch and the schooner, to be followed by the yacht-like clipper ship which gained such international mastery. The old-time fishing ports of Dover, Salem, Marblehead, and, finally, Boston, sprang into thriving towns and, with Rhode Island ports, dominated the northern seas and laid the basis of New England's wealth and town development. Her fleets brought her into quick touch with the markets of the world, especially those of the West Indies, and her captains and ships served the trade of every Atlantic seaboard metropolis and played a part in the increasing coastwise trade. This trade was a bond helping to weld the colonies together by the strong bands that commerce can create; it was a vital factor in cementing colonial friendships and creating mutual respect and confidence.

The fisheries

Coastwise trade a force for unity

Life in the middle and southern colonies was dominated, as we have seen, by agriculture, especially the raising of grain in the former and tobacco and rice in the latter. Towns were few and far between south of Baltimore, save for Charleston and Savannah; the people's attention was given to the art and technique of tobacco and rice growing, and the sale of these products almost wholly in England kept the Southerner in a closer touch with the homeland than was true elsewhere. In exchange for his staples the Virginian received from England almost every utensil, necessary, and luxury he required, and he followed the conceits and whims of London fashions in a way never dreamed of in the North. The value of the tobacco crops became increasingly great, and the

Southern agriculture

credit thus annually established for a hearty, chivalric race of landowners, fond of the out-of-doors and its Americanized type of English country life, fond of entertaining, and well served by a devoted race of servants, created a type of life hardly known north of the Potomac.[1]

The Southern mansion

The southern mansion, sometimes built of bricks which were brought from across the seas, arose finally in the forests of Virginia and the Carolinas; it was more largely furnished from English shops and cabinet-makers than was true elsewhere and its graceful hostess and urbane host matched closely in their manner of coming and going, of riding abroad, and of entertaining, both in action, ornament, and costume, the prevailing ways of fashionable England.

The Southern overseer

However, it so fell out that just in proportion as these men of the South treated their slaves with generosity and obeyed those sterling instincts that make a man a gentleman, just to that degree did they fall under the evil spell of the chief enemy of Southern prosperity—the plantation overseer. The average landowner was above the task of driving black men to work; this was shouldered off on the overseer and, as men are made coarse by coarse work, these, in many cases, came to be experts in thieving, with little care for the saving tricks of upkeep and maintenance without which no farm or plantation can be made prosperous.

In a lower social stratum, however, we find men like the first Washingtons of Westmoreland, hard-working, painstaking men of the more democratic upland; these made ends meet as Yankee

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[1]One bond which closely united the South, especially, to the Mother Country was the bane of the slave trade. In 1713 Spain agreed by a contract, called the *asiento*, to let England supply the Spanish colonies with slaves. England then became the chief slave-trading nation of the world. The surplus slaves were forced upon her English colonies; some of these wanted them and some did not. Those, like Virginia, which came to object to the traffic, passed laws restricting or prohibiting the trade; but such laws were declared null and void by the Crown. The most eloquent portion of Jefferson's original Declaration of Independence was a denouncement of England's policy in this respect. The paragraph, however, was stricken out by the committee which revised the original draft.

farmers did—and from their lowly roof at Wakefield beside the Potomac came the great Virginian who could be what he was to a nation because executive and administrative ability had been developed in him beyond the average.

A Colonial House in Pennsylvania. (Washington's Headquarters at Valley Forge.)

Progress in the development of transportation systems often reflects the influence of environment, as we have seen (p.73) in the case of limestone Pennsylvania. To the southward, in heavy soil cut by deep-flowing rivers, the task of establishing roads and communications was more difficult, affecting the development of vehicles and the processes of building up interior trade. The valiant Virginia family coach, ploughing hub-deep in Virginia roads, filled with its gentle passengers, journeying from one hospitable mansion to another for dinners and balls,

Southern transportation

presents a contrast to the Concord coach of the North rumbling over its stony New England highway with its prim occupants of Puritan type. These pictures are characteristic of the two sections, and in neither was seen the great creaking wain or red-and-blue Conestoga wagon, pushing along from Hagerstown or Lancaster to Baltimore or Philadelphia—clearly significant of another colonial type of character and of other institutions.

We have noted the effect of long winters on the employment of tasks within doors and on intellectual habits, of reading and study. While it has been common for writers to point out signs, as the earlier adoption of public school systems, of faster advance in learning in the North than in the South, most persons neglect to weigh the factor of a great black population which rendered the South less fitted for such schemes. As to the education of the average Virginian of English ancestry, it is worth while to recall that George Washington, product of an "old fields" school and indifferent tutoring, at twenty-one years of age turned over to the Virginia Assembly the written report of his journey to the French forts on the Allegheny (p. 109) on twenty-four hours' notice. For clarity of expression and exactness of statement, for balance of judgment and for poignant grasp of essentials and the ignoring of unessentials, we doubt if it could be equalled by the average college boy of to-day or excelled by the best. True education is to be measured by what it fires one to be and inspires one to do. Alice Morse Earle has said: "When the war of the Revolution broke out, the noblest number of great statesmen, orators, and generals, who certainly were men of genius if not of conventional school education, came from the Southern provinces." In the climax of colonial experience when the hour came to make a United States Constitution, the South gave its share, if not more than its share, of the scholarly men of brains and faith for the work.

Sectional education

Illustration from Washington's journal

Thus colonial life was a fair reproduction of colonial environment. Yet, while certain types like the minister of the North

and the rich planter of the South, stand out clearly, it must be recognized that the blending process was always very strong.

A uniform blending

Had you seen the men of Jamestown and old Plymouth at work you would have noted virile differences; but if you had heard them talk and seen them apart from their fields, shops, shipyards, and churches, the differences would have seemed quite small after all.

If, however, you had ascended a little way almost any one of the fine Atlantic Plain rivers you would have found yourself among a people who did not resemble the folk of the urban, tidewater regions. Here were the frontiersmen; and whether you went up the Connecticut and found them in what is now Vermont or went up the Potomac and found them in what is now West Virginia they were, everywhere, much alike—though differing in marked ways from the men and women of the tidewater districts.

This people left few written records of their struggle for existence in their shadowy, Indian-infested borderland—this first American "West." We can, however, get a hint of their life and its conditions by studying the life of our "poor whites" in the present landlocked vales of the Alleghenies. Their huts, their rough clothing, their coarse tools can be imagined. Their battle for food in this Land-of-Do-Without is not so easily pictured. It was a gruelling contest with harsh Nature. It made them thin, gaunt, and tall. "I named that boy after one of the finest men that ever walked God's footstool," said a mountaineer in the southern Alleghenies of his son, regretfully, "and then he went and got fat on me"; a fat son in such an environment seemed to be an unpatriotic individual—a person untrue to tradition and country. From their little patches of Indian corn, or maize, these people obtained most of the food for themselves and the mainstay of their existence, their hogs.

The Land-of-Do-Without

Someone has said, extravagantly, that the hog was the pioneer of American western advance. Yet certain it is that our early expansion in colonial days was controlled in part by the regions into which the famous "razor-back" hog could go and still find sustaining food that provided the "sow-belly" which, every

day, appeared on the rough tables of his masters. No other animal could have survived on what the forests afforded, doubled his weight every few months, and then gone to market on his own legs and brought a good price. In his corn and hogs this American "westerner" had a means of revenue. But his only "roads" were rough Indian trails; and, if you pressed up these rivers a little farther you found the wilderness inhabitants

The backwoodsman's food

A Colonial House in Virginia. ("Monticello," the home of Thomas Jefferson.)

were too distant from the marts of trade even to use the faint trails that connected them with a market.

Thus removed from civilization these people ate what they could raise, wore what they could make and, for the rest, they went without. Perhaps, as they saw visitors (too often these were tax-gatherers!), they were impressed with their own shabbiness. If they had to "go to town" to borrow money to pay taxes or buy seed they realized that they belonged to another century as compared with the fat, prosperous, dapper men who owned the banks and churches and colleges of the lowland country. This nat-

A debtor region

ural dislike of a debtor class to a creditor is as old, probably, as the human race. Of course, when the Indian was on the war-path and the border flamed red, the townspeople called these borderers a "thin, red line o' 'eroes"; but in times of piping peace they constantly reminded them that "all notes, bills, and similar obligations" must be honored and that taxes must be paid.

A Mountaineer's Cabin. (Bell County, Kentucky.)

The backwoodsman's pride

Yet, for all their forlorn condition, these peoples of the backwoods, like our mountaineers to-day, were proud as fire; every American "West," whether it was one hundred miles up the Potomac or one hundred miles up the Yellowstone, has given the world proud men as if to prove and prove again that a "man's life consisteth not in the abundance of things which he possesseth." In many of these communities, when local government was

formally established and a "poor fund" was created, no one applied for relief for many years. There were no "poor"!

We shall meet often in these pages with these proud uplanders, particularly when trouble is brewing and men—*viri* not *homines*—are needed. Our object here is gained merely by pointing out this region and showing how, in its main features, it differed distinctively from the tidewater region of which it was a real, if shadowy, appendage.

A large proportion of colonists in all the colonies were agriculturists. A very vital point is missed if some of the soil and vegetation influences on men in these formative days are ignored. Our forefathers judged the richness of soil partly by color and partly by the vegetation it produced. Generally black soil was rich soil. Red soils came next in value; where these retained their color good drainage could be expected, the iron rust (which gave it its color) being preserved only where drainage was good. Where it was not good this color disappeared and white "putty" or "cray-fish" soil was found; this was, generally, the poorest of soils.

The color of soils

As a rule soils flashed out plain signals to all knowing men as to their fertility by the vegetation they produced. The nut-bearing trees were for the most part true guides to good soil; the oak indicated favorable soil, better when mixed with hickory and poorer when mixed with pine. Yet the same trees in different localities were not alike, as those who had confidence in oak soils in the East found out when they entered the poor "post oak flats" and "oak openings" of our West and Southwest. Everywhere big trees were taken to indicate rich soil, as the sycamore on the Ohio measured by Washington in 1770 (having a circumference of near forty-five feet a yard up from the ground) truly did. Soils came to be known by their trees and "piney soil," "white oak soil" and "chestnut oak soil" were, and are, common terms.

Soils judged by trees

Plants, weeds, and grasses were, also, indicators of good and bad soils. The cotton plant was a trustworthy guide to good soil in the South, as the juniper tree and the sunflower

plant were in the West; wild clover could be trusted to indicate soil good for wheat, whereas, in the South, the Devil's Shoe String was a reliable warning of poor soil. The New England aster, the polar plant, the prairie plant, the swamp rose mallow, and the wild indigo, all indicated soils above the average to immigrants to the West.

Soils judged by plants and grasses

Our forefathers who lived amid the "hard woods" of the North came to have prejudices in favor of that type of forest and soil unknown to their Southern brethren who favored prairies. Consequently, as migration spread westward, the man of the North seemed to cling to the regions supporting the hard woods and had an aversion to the prairie areas in states like Indiana and Illinois; in politics the northern (forested) portions of those states have shown marked differences from the southern (prairie) sections. In the day when most men were agriculturists they came to have prejudices for or against the wood with which they were acquainted; in scores of ways they employed such woods in building houses and barns and making the many tools and implements used in carrying on their farms and plantations. Probably the knowledge that woods or prairies like those with which they were acquainted existed in the wilderness beyond made it easier for men to say good-bye to old homes and stride off confidently in search of new.

The hard woods

The tree factor in migration

But soils exerted the greatest influence. The advance of population into our continent was favored by the fact that our excellent soils are widely dispersed. Knowledge of this came, of course, but slowly. Yet when men learned that toward the setting sun lay lands covered with trees, plants, and grasses with which they were familiar the bugbear Distance lost its terrors; this fact inspired confidence by making men sure that all their experience gained in the older communities would be of use to them out yonder and that their "tricks of the trade" would produce the same results in Ohio or Missouri as they had

The soil factor in migration

produced in Massachusetts or Virginia. These soils came, easily, to bear definite reputations; and, while changing elevations and air currents made differences, our standard soils were generally reliable in their reaction to weather conditions as well as in their ability to withstand drought, turn water, recoup themselves after constant tilling, or defend themselves from toxic (poisonous) influences (map following p. 426).

Grain soils

Soils favorable to grain were strewn across our whole nation; not only do our famous "Hagerstown" and "Clarksville" soils bring forth wheat as readily as they did for the Pennsylvania Dutch in Braddock's day, but, beyond them, the "Chester" and "Penn" soils of the upland proved fair grain-growing soils.

Corn soils

Our corn lands proved, also, to have an unguessed extent when our Fathers took up their march to the Pacific; growing wider as the Alleghenies were spanned, the great "Corn Belt" of "Marshall," "Miller," "Miami," and "Wabash" soils created a provincial region which, through its cattle and swine, made its large impress on the world's markets.

Fruit soils

For a while it seemed as though our fruit soils, as the "Dunkirk" soils along the Lake Champlain and Great Lakes borders, or the "Placentia" soils of the Pacific coast, were limited and isolated. Time has shown, however, that not only the "Porter" and "Cecil" soils of the supposedly barren wastes of the Appalachians are fitted to bring to the world's market enormously valuable crops, but, by irrigation, the desert wastes of our arid plains can be made to produce giant crops of apples, peaches, and other fruit.

Sugar, cotton, and tobacco soils

The part played by our cotton and tobacco soils is well known. The empire of "Crockett" and "Laredo" for lowland cotton and the wealth of "Houston," "Orangeburg," "Wabash," and "Miami" soils in the uplands later made cotton "King" in a sense no one expected before Whitney's cotton gin was invented and when the "Norfolk" soils of the sea-islands were giving to the pioneers of the industry their feathery wealth of stalk and boll.

In these same lowland soils, especially the "Laredo," sugar-cane, corn, and tobacco luxuriated.

These factors dominated colonial life until industry and commerce grew to a commanding position after the first quarter of the nineteenth century and still have a great importance in our national life.[1]

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QUERY AND DISCUSSION

What industries dominate the life of your community? What changes would be made in the architecture of the houses and barns in your section if the winters became twice as severe as they are? Only half as severe? Some one has written a book on American barns; why should there be so many varieties of barn architecture and how are these types interpretative of different kinds of farming conditions? What is the character of the chief kind of soil in your neighborhood? Does it affect the industries of the people of the region? Upon what other communities is yours dependent for markets? For raw materials? To what extent does such interdependence make for closer acquaintance? When was your community in the pioneer stage? Whence came the first settlers? What relics or memorials of their time exist? Why does patriotism demand that we treat such with careful respect?

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[1]Professor Turner's article entitled "Sections and Nation" (*Yale Review,* XX, 45) should be studied by those interested in the modern phases of American sectionalism.

PART TWO
INDEPENDENCE AND GROWTH OF NATIONALITY

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUGGLE FOR CONTINENTAL MASTERY

Luckily a long century intervened ere the English colonies were called upon to fight out the question as to whether they or the French were to hold the mastery over the eastern and most fertile half of the American continent. Yet, in the larger view, this struggle, now to be treated, must be glimpsed as a training school for a more important contest to follow, for from both a political and military standpoint the contest with France proved a useful preparation for the later struggle for national independence.

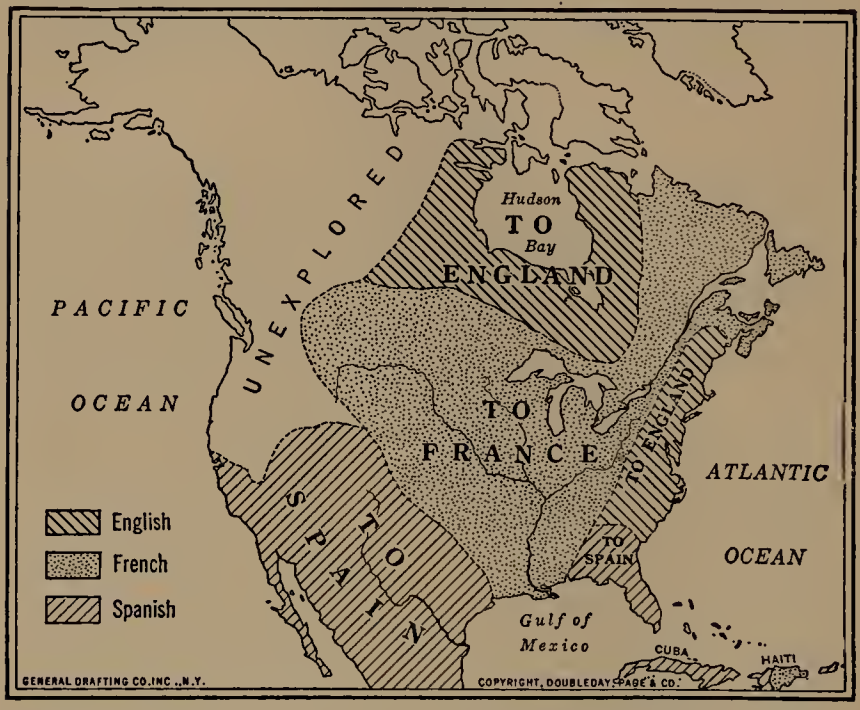
France's passion for superiority over the House of Hapsburg led to her bringing on the Seven Years' War and gave Prussia's ally, England, now led by the Great Commoner, William Pitt, her chance to challenge France in America and to lay a noble cornerstone of the new British empire. The Old French War and Wolfe's crowning victory at Quebec were the results.

The unexpected results of war are often the most important. In waging campaigns north and west against the French our forefathers for the first time really explored the mighty wilderness to which they were to become heirs. Distance lost its terrors; rich lands were found in every direction; and slowly the vision dawned on men that the great continent was marvelously fitted to be the home of a great, free, independent nation.

Section 13. The Ring of Fire at the North

THE long contest between the colonies and the French and Indians from the years 1689 to 1763 must be looked upon not

only as a struggle for mastery of a continent but also as a training school for the Revolutionary War; in the latter part of the contest, in fact, certain vital principles of the Revolution itself were being discussed quite seriously.



English, French, and Spanish Spheres of Influence in America, about 1700

The French avoid the Iroquois

When Samuel de Champlain made the Iroquois (p. 37) the sworn enemies of the French, and when the Dutch and the English in New York established friendly relations with that Confederacy (p. 65) the first chapter of the French and Indian War was written. The seventeenth century saw the French fairly balked by the Iroquois in their attempt to ascend the St. Lawrence River. As we have noted, those bold *voyageurs* gained the "back door" of the Great Lakes by way of the Ottawa River and Georgian Bay. This bay gave easy access to the two keys of

the northern lakes, the Straits of Mackinaw and the Sault Ste. Marie. By this route trader and missionary sped westward, to the conquest we have studied.

The cruel northern winters soon bade the French to seek lower and milder pathways. When under the great governor, Count de Frontenac, La Salle planted Fort Frontenac in 1673 on Lake Ontario (Kingston, Canada) despite both Iroquois and English, he was hurrying on the day of the mighty struggle for the continent.

Both French and English monarchs treated lightly at first these rivalries of their respective colonists in America. When the mother bears fought in Europe, W. H. H. Murray has aptly said, the cubs fought in the New World. The parent nations were fighting for baubles, at the beck of ministers and mistresses, to defend false pride and for vainglory. But these New World cubs were fighting for one of the world's great prizes—the St. Lawrence and Mississippi basins.

In 1689 France and England began a struggle that really never ended until Napoleon was crushed in 1815. The American phases of this long period of alternate quarrelling and open war were (a) King William's War (1689–1697), (b) Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), (c) King George's War (1744–1748), and (d) the French and Indian War (1754–1763). The first two of these struggles concerned the northern colonies only. New Englanders, sure of England's sea-mastery, again and again attacked by water both the French colony in Nova Scotia, Port Royal (now Annapolis), Louisburg on the Island of Cape Breton, and even the frowning rock of Quebec itself, far up the St. Lawrence. Most of these posts were captured at one time or another; yet of so little consequence did the "Mother Bear" (England) reckon the triumphs of her cubs that, when truces were made with France, the gains in America were usually sacrificed. Thus the colonists had the cold truth thrust home upon them that if they stood between the Mother Country and her imperial ambitions they would be brushed aside. To the New Englanders

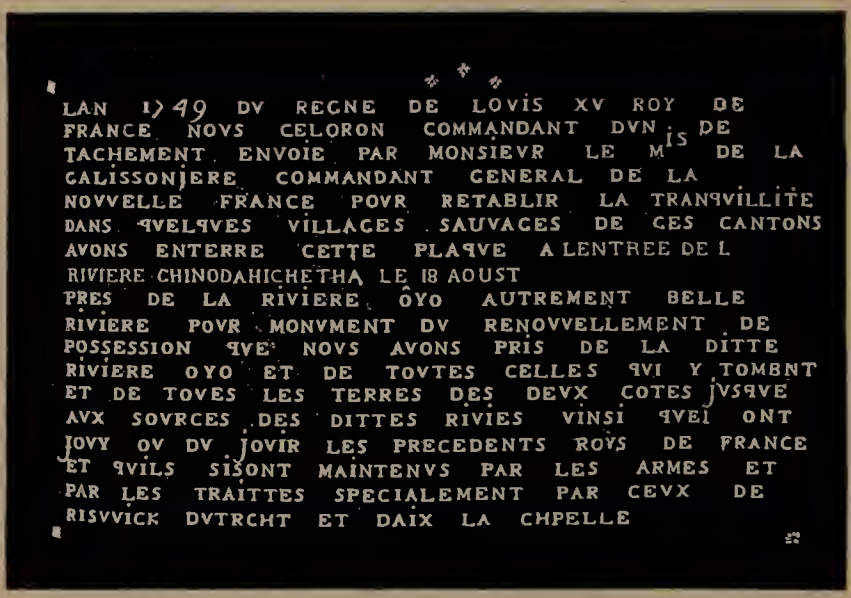
American phases of Europe's wars

New England's valor not repaid

who had fought loyally along the Canadian coasts this was a never-to-be-forgotten lesson.

These maritime battles before Louisburg and Port Royal should have given England a reliable cue to conquer Canada by sea. But that curling western line of (map p. 39) French forts running through the Great Lakes into Illinois, attracted an unmerited attention. From those outposts came the savage raiding parties which worked devilish havoc at Schenectady, N. Y. (1690), Deerfield, Mass. (1704), and at many other points.

French attacks on New England



A Céloron Plate. (This plate, which was found buried at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, is one of the leaden plates buried at different points and claiming the Ohio Basin for France.)

Naturally the inflamed colonists desired to send back (over the same routes) as good as the French gave and hack to pieces this snakelike line of posts. Their just anger seemed to blind them to the fact that the one victory worth while was to be gained the way New England had pointed out—by chopping off the serpent's head, Quebec. Only when that great citadel and base of

supplies was conquered could this line of inland forts be made weak, for Quebec supplied Frontenac and Frontenac supplied Niagara; from Niagara guns, ammunition and troops went to Illinois by the Maumee and to the Pittsburgh region by the Allegheny. As a military line of posts it was of marvelous length; but it was never one bit stronger than its capital-fortress, Quebec.

Short-sighted policies of war

This was plain enough later on. At the time, however, the various colonies were driven desperate by the stinging attacks made upon their borders and could not see the thing in the large. The northern colonies first met the French and Indian onslaught and felt that everything should be done to help them withstand it. Virginia in 1716 first began to be interested in the West which she then jealously heard the French were seizing. In that year Governor Spottswood of the Old Dominion made an official journey toward the Blue Mountain wall at the heads of the Potomac and James. Pennsylvania also took the hint, and her German, Irish, and Scotch-Irish soon challenged the right of the French to the furs of the West. These Indian traders were crossing the Alleghenies by 1725. Governor Spottswood's idea of Virginia's expansion westward bore fruit for, in 1748, a company of Virginia gentlemen—including George Washington's two half-brothers—secured from England's king a definite grant of half a million acres in the Ohio Valley; this company was known as the "Ohio Company."

The Middle Colonies face the French in the West

The news of this grant soon reached Quebec and showed the French that something more than La Salle's brave claim and a line of posts on the Great Lakes and Illinois were necessary if they were to hold the West. The Governor of Canada sent Céloron to bury leaden plates in the rivers behind New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, to claim that region for France and, in swift order, detachments of troops were sent to erect forts from Lake Erie down the Allegheny toward the site of Pittsburgh.

France reinforces her western claim

Neither France nor England had really made good her claims to the Mississippi Basin, which were based on the explorations

of La Salle and Cabot. France had far the most to her credit in this line, however. Yet the English of the seaboard, in their less spectacular way, had moved into a position in these years (1732–1750) of great latent power. With the rise of the price of land in Pennsylvania, and because of their fondness for slate and shale soils, the Scotch-Irish went over into the Susquehanna region of Pennsylvania, as we have seen, and had advanced beyond it to the Alleghany Mountain wall.

The Scotch-Irish strengthen the Anglo-Saxon claim

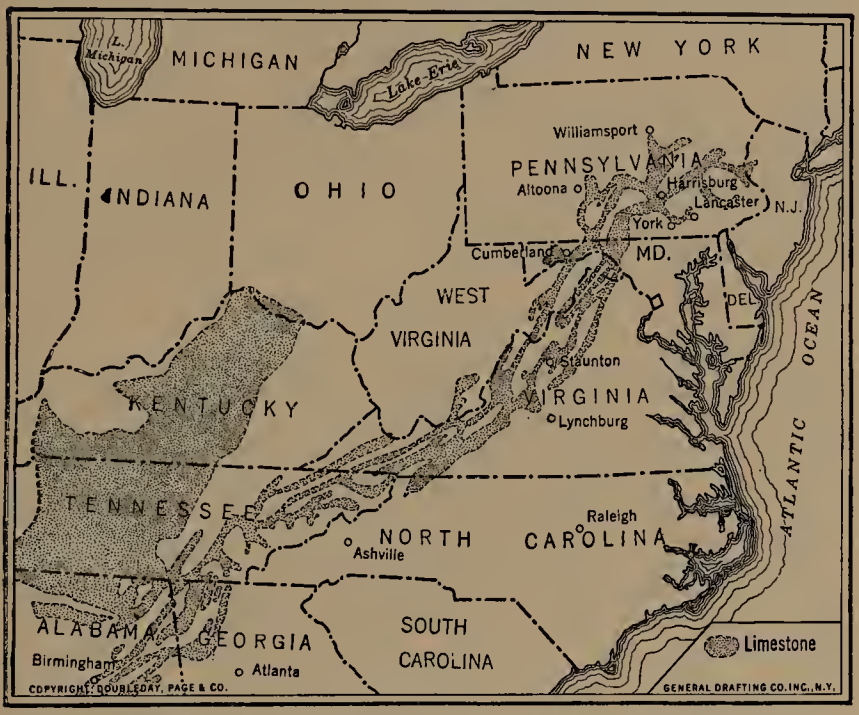
Pennsylvania's great belts of good limestone soil turn southward (map p. 107), cross Maryland and the Potomac River, and reach down long fingers on the line of the Shenandoah River toward Tennessee. In 1732 the vanguard of the great army of westward migration struck out on this line to the southwest, marked by the Virginia towns Winchester, Staunton, and Radford. At the same time a thin line of settlements was creeping up the Potomac to the Cumberland, Md., region where lay a famous, distinct break in the Allegheny Mountain barrier. So rapid and lusty was this migration that, in the time of Braddock's defeat, twenty-three years later, English settlements on the Shenandoah line of advance were located farther west than Fort Duquesne, although much to the south of it. The English had not gone so far west as had the French—whose bold captains by this time had explored to far Calgary in the Saskatchewan country—but they had built more solidly as far as they had gone. And when it came to the hour of testing, solid building was to prove an asset of vastly greater value than much aimless running about and heroic exploration. The French, so to speak, had looked at everything, but had solidly secured nothing. The English colonists, the tortoises in the continental race, had crept slowly west, but they had come "to have and to hold." From their outposts redskins might drive these pioneers to-day—but to-morrow they were, as likely as not, back again. Thus, doggedly and loyally, the borderers of central Pennsylvania and the Valley of Virginia gave the British crown a better claim to the

The extension of western settlements

The solidarity of the English advance

West than the pompous but vague one handed down from John Cabot.

The Seven Years' War was declared between England and France in 1756. The cause of the war was France's insatiable desire for continental expansion in Europe and her wish to surpass her ancient foe, the House of Hapsburg. With France were



LIMESTONE PATHWAYS. (Marking the route of migration from Pennsylvania to the limestone zones of Tennessee and Kentucky.)

allied Russia, Sweden, Saxony, and Austria, while England lamely aided the brilliant King Frederick the Great of Prussia, whose overthrow was France's chief ambition. Frederick was, however, more than a match for his enemies, countless as they seemed to be. Meantime, England "at last produced a man," as Frederick the Great exclaimed when he perceived the genius of William Pitt who now came into power in England. France had struck at Prussia; it was a strange turn of fate that Prussia's

supposedly weak ally, England, should suddenly produce a man who should make himself the true founder of the British Empire by bending his energies to plant England's flag in India on the one hand, and, on the other, to crush French power on our own continent. All this was Pitt's ambition and the story of its fulfillment is one of the famous chapters of both English and American history.

The Seven Years' War

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QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Why were the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi river basins two of the "world's greatest prizes"? Along the southern shore of Lake Erie (on a French map of 1749) was written: "This shore is almost unknown." How can you explain this ignorance when most of the Great Lakes were well explored by that date? Why was such ignorance favorable to English expansion? Explain the strategic importance of the site of Pittsburgh to both French and English. What is meant by the "solid building" of the English? What was the effect on English colonists of being ignored by the Mother Country when she made treaties with France at the close of the early colonial wars? Have nations ignored their colonies when making treaties in more recent days?

Section 14. The Conquest of New France

When the hour now struck for England and France to settle who should control the destiny of this continent, the latter was handicapped in numbers but was favored (map p. 102) by her interior location. New France contained only 80,000 souls, while the English colonies counted over a million and a quarter. But, so long as the English forgot or failed to attack Quebec by sea, and tried to fling armies across the wilderness upon Oswego, Niagara, or the Ohio, there was hope! In almost

France's league with the Alleghenies

every case the question of victory was a question of transportation; the real foe was the wilderness—not the enemy at the trail's end. Upon those leagues of forest, mountain, and swamp France placed supreme reliance.

The Ohio Company to which Washington's half-brothers belonged opened the forest prelude to the struggle by sending (1749) the North Carolina explorer, Christopher Gist, to seek out and locate their claim to western land. When the Virginia Governor heard that the French were fortifying the route from Lake Erie toward the Allegheny River he chose the young surveyor, George Washington, to carry thither a message ordering a withdrawal. The message was spurned by Legardeur de St. Pierre at Fort La Boeuf. This soldier had led the expedition which had planted the flag of France on the Saskatchewan two thousand miles farther west! What could a Virginia lad, just out of his teens, tell him about French claims? But that lad returned west the next year (1754) with three hundred men to challenge the French, who by now had driven away the Ohio Company's warehouse builders from the site of Pittsburgh and themselves had erected there Fort Duquesne, at the strategic junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. The young Virginia major of militia was forced by the French to surrender at Fort Necessity, amid the mountains, but was allowed to withdraw with the honors of war.

Washington's tour to the Ohio

Washington capitulates at Fort Necessity

In 1755 England planned a real campaign in America, one phase of which was to send General Edward Braddock to strike up the Potomac and across the Alleghenies at Fort Duquesne. It was a poorly conceived plan but its results, misjudged at the time, were important. France laughed in her sleeve at the notion of an English army crossing the Alleghenies. She did not know Braddock. Considering the fact that few of the colonies respected the royal orders sent by King George to raise troops, money, and provisions, and to build roads for Braddock, his campaign ought to have made him famous. Deceived and humiliated by his

Braddock's campaign

treatment in America, he yet did the seemingly impossible thing. The kind of warfare called for was new to this trained European soldier, but no officer with him (of whom we know) but praised his methods of campaign. Slowly, however, he mastered the one ally France had thought was unconquerable—the mountains. The defenders of Fort Duquesne were amazed at this exploit, and had made every preparation to fly. But a party sent out July 9th to try to delay the English caught their vanguard on the summit of a ridge, the favorite Indian trick-of-war. Lying in the ravines on either side, the lucky French and Indians slaughtered the bewildered redcoats in their tracks, the Colonials under Washington being unable to overcome the murderous handicap of position. "We shall do better another day," said the dying Braddock, not realizing that, in transporting that army to within seven miles of the Ohio, handicapped as he was, he had done a brilliant thing. Could the wilderness be conquered thus, France's main ally was mastered. Yet the unexpected victory gave the French three years more of freedom on the Ohio, and their red allies carried fire and pillage without mercy across the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers (1756–7). In these months it was that the young Washington, defending the Virginia frontier, received additional lessons of great value to him in the bitter years to come.

He conquers the Alleghenies

His defeat

His real victory

Better luck, however, lay with the northern colonial army which, under the resourceful General William Johnson, met a French army sent down the Lake Champlain passageway in 1755, and defeated it in the "Battle of Lake George," at the foot of that lake. France luckily now found in Montcalm a general fit to meet the crisis, and through 1756 and 1757 he proved himself greatly superior to the English generals (Loudon and Abercrombie) who opposed him. He captured both Oswego on Lake Ontario and Fort William Henry on Lake George. Later, under General Amherst, the colonists recaptured both of the forts on Lake George and Lake Champlain, and Sir

Johnson's victory in the 1755 campaign

William Johnson successfully attacked Fort Niagara on the New York frontier (1759). Better still, General John Forbes led a large army across Pennsylvania and took Fort Duquesne without a struggle (1758). In despair the brave Montcalm saw the league France made with the wilderness broken. Braddock's dying words had been made good. Pitt now caught the real vision which spelled final success; and "found a man" fit spiritually, if not physically, for a crowning English victory. The vision was the capture of Quebec and the man was General James Wolfe.

Pitt and Wolfe

Brilliant but doomed, Montcalm recognized now, as his foe at last turned upon Quebec, that the fight was to be for the "trunk of the tree," as he picturesquely called the St. Lawrence. His struggle to hold that fortress is one of the tragedies of history. His stainless honesty and his sterling bravery shine out in a pure and lasting light against a background of perfidy, wickedness, and graft which now ruled the court of France and most of her King's representatives in Quebec and Montreal. In vain did he send a messenger to France to plead the cause of her New World empire. He met only with indifference and quibbling. On his return to Montcalm, this messenger brought full reports of Pitt's plan to capture Quebec; already (May, 1759) an English fleet under Admiral Saunders, bearing an army commanded by the sickly but indomitable Wolfe, had entered the St. Lawrence. Wolfe's one last wish was soon to be gratified—to get as near the "wily old fox," as he called Montcalm, as he could.

The nobility of Montcalm

The English turn to Quebec

Ascending the river the English planted batteries across the river from the frowning rock of Quebec, but their shells could come nowhere near the fortress itself, situated, as it was, high up beside the "Plains of Abraham."[1] Formal attacks on the lower town netted nothing but repulse, and the feverish young English general recog-

Quebec invested

[1] Abraham Martin, a Scotchman, one of Champlain's mariners of the long ago, had laid out on this height a plantation and thus given to one of the world's most famous hills his name.

nized that no victory could be gained unless he could corner the "wily old fox" on the plain at the rear of his fortress. To guard against this very thing Montcalm had issued firm orders; only one narrow trail led up from the river to that height.

This trail—Wolfe's "path to glory and the grave"—left the river's shore at what is now Wolfe's Cove; it had been used by the French to bring water up to the fort and was well-known and well-guarded. On the night Wolfe chose for his daring attempt (September 12) the English made as if to attack the lower town again and the ruse attracted their foes' attention. For some reason Montcalm's orders to guard the pathway from the river

Wolfe scales the Heights of Abraham

THE CITADEL OF QUEBEC. (Just around the point is the place where General Wolfe's army scaled the heights to the Plains of Abraham.)

to the heights above were disobeyed and the guard was removed. Luckily Wolfe moved now to the uncovered pathway and up it streamed five thousand English soldiers confident of victory.

No decisive battle in history was fought so quickly, perhaps, as this eventful morning combat on the Plains of Abraham. Montcalm bravely formed his army of four thousand with their

backs to the walls of the citadel and ordered the attack. The redcoats superbly withheld fire until it would count for most; every musket was loaded with two balls; at the critical moment they echoed and the advancing lines were mortally broken. A supporting party of Canadians and Indians on either flank fired but lay down to reload. The bayonet charge which the ingenious Wolfe instantly ordered carried the day and made victory complete—after fifteen minutes of fighting.

Wolfe's victory

Montcalm and Wolfe both fell but Montcalm lost nothing his sordid king was worthy of holding and Wolfe died exultant in the thought of England's continental victory. The dust of these heroes fittingly lies to-day in adjoining graves under a noble shaft near the field on which they fought—two stainless soldiers whose memory is a heritage to every son of France and England. In the year following Montreal surrendered. Spain came weakly to France's rescue, fearing Pitt's potent dream of a British Empire. She was defeated and Havana in Cuba and Manila in the Philippines were taken from her. When the famous Treaty of Paris was signed, on February 10, 1763, however, the clever Pitt returned the islands in exchange for Florida; to repay Spain for her belated act of friendship France ceded to Spain the town of New Orleans and all the region known as Louisiana.

The Treaty of Paris

By this treaty England came into possession of all the rest of the territory of the United States east of the Mississippi River. Though the head of the serpent (that line of French forts) had been severed, the long body, marked by the line of posts through the Great Lakes, squirmed vigorously before it was subdued. Loyal French-Indian allies, led by the famous chieftain Pontiac, recaptured all the western posts from the English, except Detroit and Fort Pitt, a year later (1764). Two expeditions, one sent into Ohio and the other to the Great Lakes, reëstablished the English flag over the entire land from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.

Pontiac's Rebellion

READING LIST

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QUERY AND DISCUSSION

If the case had been reversed, and the English had possessed the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi basins, do you think more "solid building" would have resulted in the West beyond what France had done? How did New York's "standing fast" for nearly a century count heavily now when France struck hard at the English colonies? What battles turned the tide in this sector of the war? What events determined the English authorities to send Braddock to the Ohio by way of the Potomac River route? Explain the strategy which led to his defeat? Was it successful at a later date against another British leader (p. 162)? What statesmanlike qualities were shown by Pitt in planning the last campaign of the war? What did Spain acquire as the result of the war? How would the removal of the French menace be likely to affect the loyalty of the English colonies to the Mother Country?

Section 15. Armies of Exploration

War reveals new worlds to the colonies

It is worth while to see clearly that these wars with the French and Indians were very valuable to our colonies for making better known the nature of the country which lay about their inhabitants on every frontier. Except for (a) New England's pressure into the Connecticut Valley, (b) New York's slight movement up the Hudson and Mohawk, (c) Pennsylvania's growth toward the Susquehanna and (d) Virginia's extension toward the Blue Ridge, the expansion of our colonial people had been slight and their knowledge of the magnificent lands lying all about them was very limited. The most notable single line of expansion had been the stream of Germans, Scotch-Irish, and Irish from Pennsylvania and neighboring colonies across the Potomac and up the Shenandoah—the Valley of Virginia—on the long trail to Draper's Meadows (Radford, Va.).

As the war came on every frontier colony had been forced to build chains of forts and blockhouses far out on its borders. It was the adjacent inhabitants, of course, who manned these fortifications, for the most part; yet others from a distance came to assist. In the parties of raiders and rangers which were sent out in all directions, lands, hitherto unseen, became known. Thus, unthinkingly, New Englanders became acquainted with valleys in western Massachusetts, in New Hampshire, and in Vermont that they had never known. The fact that they were often driven back was considered at the time the matter of most vital importance; but perhaps it was of even greater moment, in the long run, that keen-eyed men, supposed to belong to armies of conquest, were really members of a yet more important army—armies of exploration which took careful note of choice lands, excellent meadows, valuable forests, good springs, and streams. Their successes as armies of conquest varied, but as armies of exploration there was no variation—for most of these armies were made up of farmers and it was second nature to them to "size up" new lands with a practised eye.

Armies of exploration

English Colonies in 1763. (Showing the Proclamation Line.)

One great line of frontier posts was erected, with the coöperation of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, across the western flank of the colonies from Rome, N. Y., southwest to the tip of the Valley of Virginia. The manning of the southern extremity of this line (with headquarters at Winchester, Va.) gave the young Colonel Washington as desperate and trying hours as he ever experienced—proving an invaluable school for the dark years of 1776 and 1777. In equipping and manning such border forts, and in sending out parties of rangers to scour the forests, many a new valley was seen and reported. Even escaping prisoners, returning from Quebec to Boston or from Fort Duquesne to Philadelphia or Williamsburg, brought reports of fine lands never seen before; by such a fugitive, for instance, was the fertile Missisquoi Valley in Vermont first reported.

Fortifying the frontier was a factor in discovery

But armies and armed outriders went still farther afield. In the campaigns in the Lake Champlain region that entire country came under the observation of many eyes; in those against Oswego and Fort Niagara the whole rich homeland of the Iroquois—the famous butter, cream, and apple region of New York State—was fairly well explored and along the very line a great migration should, one day, take place. The armies sent across the Alleghenies, from Alexandria or Philadelphia, made known the excellent lands in the glittering network of rivers which focus at Pittsburgh, and the founding of Fort Pitt made that point a metropolis for the fertile "Monongahela Country." Hereabouts scores of settlements sprang up immediately, Pittsburgh itself being laid out as the Treaty of Paris was being signed in 1763.

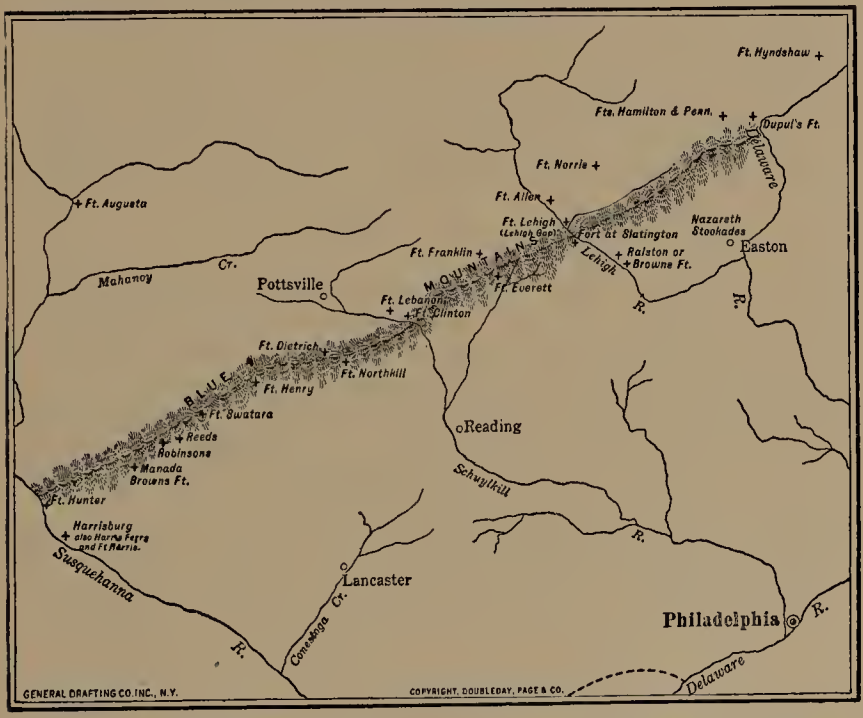
New York explored

In fact, wherever armies went in these years in search of the French, there farms were soon after being laid out. In Pontiac's Rebellion these armed touring parties had gone as far west as Lake Huron in the northwest and the Muskingum Valley in the "Black Forest" of Ohio. And in every army or party there were some eyes which saw the future glory of American agricultural development and some tongues which talked of it enthusi-

astically when the war was over, around many a cottage fireplace and in many a country store in their home towns.

Moreover, in manning and provisioning these scores of outlying fortifications, and in sending armies over what seemed at first impassable forests and mountains, the greatest problem in American expansion had begun to be solved—the problem of transportation. Routes were now opened for carts, wagons, or batteaus which probably would not have been traversed for many years except for this war. These tracks were afterward

Problems of wilderness transportation mastered



MANNING THE FRONTIER. (Showing how the rich Lancaster, Pa., region and Philadelphia were protected by frontier forts, 1755–1763.)

altered somewhat as to course, but for the most part they were never wholly closed up; in numerous cases, as the waterway route across New York State to the Niagara frontier, or across the Alleghenies to Fort Pitt, they became avenues of national expan-

sion of momentous importance. Daniel Boone, the teamster who scurried away from Braddock's defeat, may have had enough of the West for the moment; but the knowledge that he had done his bit to conquer those wilderness miles was a moral asset that influenced his later life when he should become the hero of Kentucky.

This result of the war was of permanent importance. To a considerable extent it had been fought by the Colonials themselves, and it brought to them a confidence which later showed itself clearly. In coöperating together they forgot some of the old jealousies that had been so prominent a factor of colonial life, and England never found them just the same after that Treaty of Paris was signed. Green, the English historian, has said: "With the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham began the history of the United States." If making our forefathers certain that their English civilization could not be overthrown by England's greatest enemy (France) can be said to have been the beginning of our national history, the war did that. But something more important also took place; a new public sentiment, a new patriotism for a common cause had been created, and with it came a consciousness that something better lay ahead of them than a colonial existence. If the leaping out into the wilderness (which their armies had unexpectedly discovered while looking for the French) was the first step toward getting a continental mind in exchange for a colonial mind, the years following Wolfe's victory proved that a real nation was in the building.

Hand in hand with this dim glimpse of a national future, and a dim assurance of a half-guessed unity, came the feeling that the colonies, once united, were unconquerable. A United States had to be created in spirit before it could be created in fact. A vital factor in creating a nation in spirit came with the consciousness of physical power based on this better knowledge of the greatness of the empire which could be occupied. This was never seen until all the hundreds of troopers in all those armies came home to tell of the wonders of frontiers which lay beyond—everywhere.

Progress toward unity

But a nation's worst foes, as may be true of a man, are those of its own household. A more dangerous enemy lurked within the colonies themselves than ever built a ring of forts on the St. Lawrence or Great Lakes. The years immediately following the Treaty of Paris were filled with an anxious struggle with this enemy within the Englishman's own household—autocratic rule. The combat waged with it, and the simultaneous strides which the colonies made into the frontier which their armies had reported—this latter episode having an important bearing on the former—now demand our attention.

READING LIST

C. L. Skinner, *Pioneers of the Old Southwest* (Chronicles of America, XVIII), Chaps. 1–3; L. K. Mathews, *The Expansion of New England*, Chaps. 3 and 4; C. A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail;* F. J. Turner, *Frontier in American History*, Chap. 1. See references in preceding section giving accounts of the various expeditions in the war.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

What great armies of conquest in the world's history do you remember as armies of exploration also? Explain the knack of the Scotch-Irish, Irish, and Germans for exploration and pioneering. Why does it happen that we find few names of English colonists who rank as explorers along with Champlain, Nicolet, Marquette, Joliet, Brulé, and La Salle? What did the historian Green mean when he said that United States history began with Wolfe's victory on the Plains of Abraham? Some advocate that our college board examination questions should not cover any events prior to 1763. Do you think American history can be understood properly without a good knowledge of the leading events prior to that date? Into what "kingdoms" are "armies of exploration" being sent to-day? Electricity? The air?

CHAPTER V

THE REVOLUTION AND THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

In this chapter we study how our colonies became a free and independent nation. There was a cause for this—and an occasion for it. They should be distinguished one from the other. The causes have been described in preceding pages; from earliest days and through all our colonial history the struggle for freedom from autocracy had been going on. A crisis was now reached. The British Parliament began to enforce the collection of taxes which had not been regularly collected before. In order to do this laws and ordinances were made which the colonies felt were unjust. This was the occasion of the trouble.

In a "revolution" what really "revolves"? Men's hearts—and the charters or constitutions under which men live. It was, therefore, evolution. Our forefathers' hearts had long been revolving; the "overt act" was now performed when they went to work to rewrite the constitutions of their various colonies and to turn those "colonies" into "States." The "revolution" was then completed. Would the new constitutions stand or fall? Only a war could settle that question. Thus a "Revolutionary War" followed to make England agree to the independence of the United States.

The authorities in England, as it happened, were glad of the opportunity the threatened war in America offered. Whig leaders were making demands for the reform of Parliament so that it would really represent England; great cities like Manchester were not represented in Parliament while make-believe boroughs, "rotten boroughs" they were called, whose population had in part vanished, were represented. The American colonies were making demands similar to those of the political opponents of the King at home. He preferred to fight out the question across the seas rather than at home. He knew opinion was divided in America and in England.

Thousands of colonists ("Loyalists") were unfavorable to war. These, he thought, could be so rallied that victory for the Loyalists in America would be certain.

This is made clearer by the fact that the war was not wholly won or lost where it was fought—in the colonies. True, the campaigns in America resulted disastrously, for the most part, for the British. But the heroic patriotism and undying faithfulness of the "embattled farmers" of the Thirteen Colonies was in no small measure aided by the reaction in public sentiment in their favor in England. The fact remains, however, that our forefathers little considered this "civil war" phase of the Revolution. Had England acted as she did they would have precipitated war just as they did, whether representation had been a problem in England or not. Greatly aided they were by Whig activities, at least until 1778; but they "stood on their own legs" and fought their own war. Their convictions were cemented by home affairs—not by foreign affairs; their patriotism was fired by their own vision of liberty—not by somebody else's. And the contest lost England the fairest colonial possession any nation ever owned.

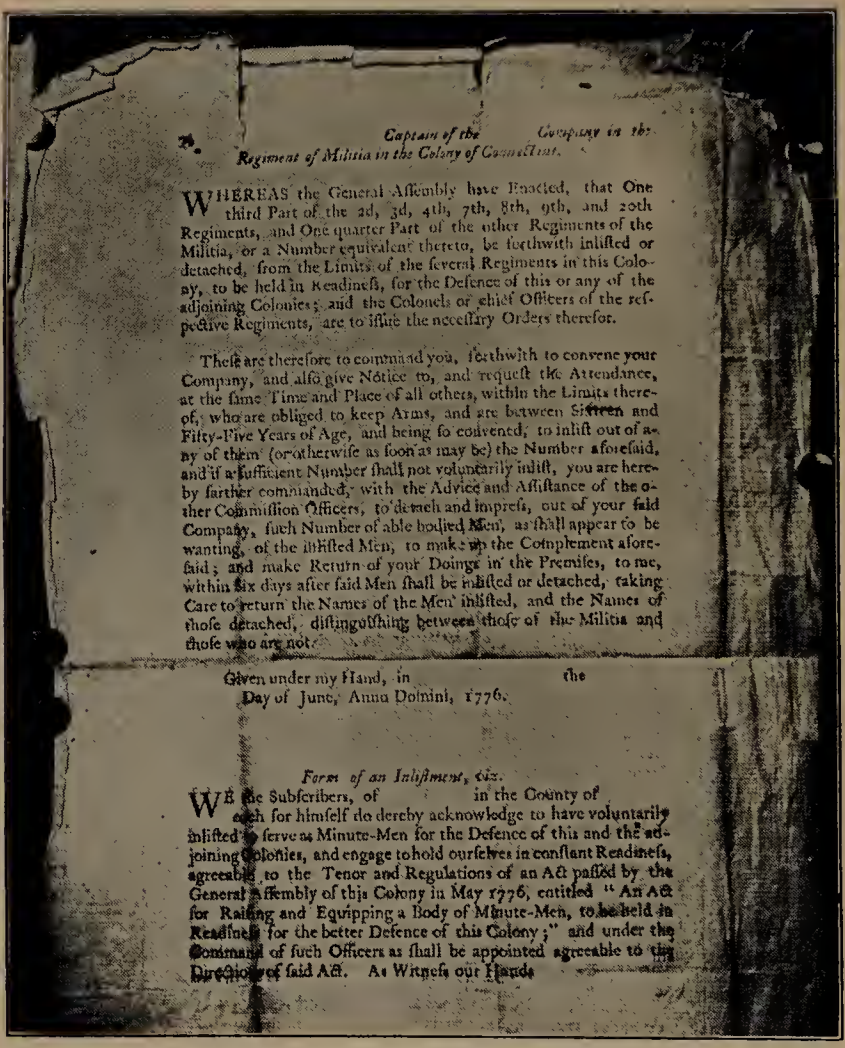
Section 16. The Prelude of the Revolution

A GREATER England arose from the battle-smoke of the Seven Years' War in Europe, an empire with new princely possessions in America and India. The hour and its tasks demanded great genius, great men, and greatly increased revenues to pay new expenses as well as to pay a debt of 140 million pounds. Unfortunately King George put aside the man who had made the empire possible—William Pitt—and chose those of inferior caliber to meet the crisis at hand.

The New British Empire

The need of more revenue was the vital need of the hour, and it was only human for England to try to fashion a scheme by which some "other fellow" should help pay the bill. European nations, generally, had expected their colonies to "pay their way" and return a goodly profit in addition. England had been

English theory and practice in laying duties



Captain of the Company in the Regiment of Militia in the Colony of Connecticut.

WHEREAS the General Assembly have Enacted, that One third Part of the 2d, 3d, 4th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 20th Regiments, and One quarter Part of the other Regiments of the Militia, or a Number equivalent thereto, be forthwith inlisted or detached, from the Limits of the several Regiments in this Colony, to be held in Readiness, for the Defence of this or any of the adjoining Colonies; and the Colonels or chief Officers of the respective Regiments, are to issue the necessary Orders therefor.

These are therefore to command you, forthwith to convene your Company, and also give Notice to, and request the Attendance, at the same Time and Place of all others, within the Limits thereof, who are obliged to keep Arms, and are between Sixteen and Fifty-Five Years of Age, and being so convened, to inlist out of any of them (or otherwise as soon as may be) the Number aforesaid, and if a sufficient Number shall not voluntarily inlist, you are hereby farther commanded, with the Advice and Assistance of the other Commission Officers, to detach and impress, out of your said Company, such Number of able bodied Men, as shall appear to be wanting, of the inlisted Men, to make up the Complement aforesaid; and make Return of your Doings in the Premises, to me, within six days after said Men shall be inlisted or detached, taking Care to return the Names of the Men inlisted, and the Names of those detached, distinguishing between those of the Militia and those who are not.

Given under my Hand, in the
Day of June, Anno Domini, 1776.

Form of an Inlistment, viz.

WE the Subscribers, of in the County of each for himself do hereby acknowledge to have voluntarily inlisted to serve as Minute-Men for the Defence of this and the adjoining Colonies, and engage to hold ourselves in constant Readiness, agreeable to the Tenor and Regulations of an Act passed by the General Assembly of this Colony in May 1776, entitled "An Act for Raising and Equipping a Body of Minute-Men, to be held in Readiness for the better Defence of this Colony;" and under the Command of such Officers as shall be appointed agreeable to the Direction of said Act. As Witness our Hands

A Revolutionary Broadside

quite lenient with her American colonies as the times went. In theory she had laid taxes and tariffs and had made restrictions in trade favorable to herself. In practice, all regulations had been loosely enforced. To such a degree, in fact, was this true that the duties laid on the colonies hardly paid the bill for

collecting them! Lord North found the profit from duties in America was less than £300 a year, while military expenses there amounted to £170,000 a year.

"Navigation Laws"

Since Cromwell's time (1651) what were called "Navigation Laws" had now and again been passed for the purpose of making colonial trade profitable to the Mother Country. This "Mercantile Theory," as it was called, may be summed up as follows: (a) foreign goods which did not come to the colonies through England were heavily taxed; (b) only English or colonial ships could do the carrying; (c) colonial manufactures were restricted so as not to hurt the Mother Country's manufactories. England wanted to manufacture all the goods the colonists needed. Also, she demanded that the colonies should export certain goods nowhere except to England. In order that there should be no mistake as to just what these goods were to be, a list of "enumerated commodities" was published. At first the colonies could not export tobacco, cotton-wool, or sugar anywhere except to England; later on naval stores, rice, copper, and furs were added to this list.

Salutary neglect

As the colonies grew more and more robust, capable, and self-confident, it was evident that serious friction would naturally arise—and not, particularly, through any one's fault. Friction did arise, but, since England did not strictly enforce tariff rules, it was allayed. Laws which hurt most were very laxly enforced. The colonies did not dispute England's right to pass them but fell into ways of ignoring and avoiding them. Smuggling became common and to it government officials learned to shut their eyes. The "Molasses Act" of 1733 is a good illustration.

The "Molasses Act"

England did not import molasses enough to supply the rum manufacturers of New England. The additional raw material which they needed was secured by barter from the French and Dutch islands. The Act mentioned forbade this and demanded that New England buy her molasses from British sources no matter how high the price. Such a foolish piece of legislation did harm in

two ways. The law was not enforced by English officials in the first place and, more harmful, the passage of it weakened the confidence the colonists had in the good sense of English lawmakers.

Navigation Acts to be enforced

To meet the great expenses of the new empire and to pay its enormous debt (incurred in good part in defense of the colonies) King George's ministers now proposed to make the Americans contribute to the Imperial treasury by strictly enforcing the various duties which had not been collected heretofore with any regularity. These taxes were not exorbitant. That on tea (which occasioned in time so great an outcry) would have produced but £40,000 revenue. It was the autocratic method adopted to collect this tribute which occasioned alarm and opened up the larger question of the Mother Country's right to lay any taxes which the colonists had not themselves first authorized in colonial legislation.

The right to levy taxes questioned

One way to collect duties which had not heretofore been collected systematically was by the issuance of "Writs of Assistance" to ascertain the whereabouts of smuggled goods. English officers were authorized by these writs to search *anywhere* for suspected smuggled goods. The issuance of general warrants of such a kind had been made illegal by act of Parliament.

Writs of Assistance

James Otis, a brilliant Boston attorney, gained wide fame for keenly arguing a test case on this Act; his speech marked the beginning of formal American objection to such Acts, and first gave expression to the idea that "an Act of Parliament against the constitution is void."

Otis's argument against writs

One of the taxes now laid on the colonies was the Sugar Tax. The French West Indies paid for imports from our colonies, in part, in sugar. A new "Sugar Act" of 1764 (substituted for one of 1733) was more than a mere tax; it revised the whole navigation acts system for the stated purpose of raising a revenue. It absolutely prohibited trade between the English colonies and the

The Sugar Tax

PATRICK HENRY ADDRESSING THE VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY

French West Indies. Another method of raising revenue voted for by the English ministry in 1765 was the "Stamp Act." Writs of Assistance hit the commercial class. The Stamp Act hit everybody. By its provisions business documents were not legal unless made out on specially prepared paper which bore the government stamp and which had to be purchased from

government agents and paid for in currency. The colonists' objection, in this case also, was not based on the severity of the tax nor on their unwillingness to contribute for their defense, but on their right to refuse to pay taxes which they themselves had not levied. In this instance a Virginian became the "James Otis" of the South. An up-country democrat of His Majesty's "most loyal" Old Dominion, Patrick Henry, made a startling speech before that colony's assembly and put through, by one vote, a set of stinging resolutions opposing the Stamp Act. Henry left Williamsburg the next day (clad, 'twas said, in "leather breeches, his saddle bags on his arm, leading a lean horse") and did not know that on that day the assembly revoked the fifth, and most radical, of his resolutions.

Patrick Henry's Resolutions

Nevertheless, the five, as originally passed, were published in newspapers along the whole seaboard and, coming from Virginia, had great weight. They encouraged the organization of "Sons of Liberty," as societies formed to fight the Stamp Act were called. Thus sprang up the first organized effort to resist the English parliament's decrees. Additional legislation only increased the tumult. In Massachusetts scenes of violence followed, such as hanging in effigy the detested stamp collector. Special proof of opposition flared out in New York (where British troops were quartered) over a Mutiny and Quartering Act which compelled the people to house and to feed these English soldiers.

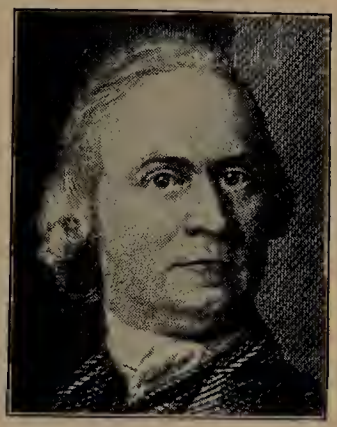
Sons of Liberty

Of signal interest in this drama was the summoning of a Stamp Act Congress by representative men of all the colonies (except four, which, however, favored the movement) to meet in New York in 1765. This Congress voted that the colonists should not import or use goods on which taxes were laid. As a result King George's parliament repealed the Stamp Act. It showed, however, by passing a Declaratory Act (1766) and a series of Townshend Acts (1767) (so named from His Majesty's Minister of the Exchequer), that Pharaoh's heart had not softened. The Declaratory Act asserted Parliament's un-

Stamp Act Congress

Townshend Acts

limited right to legislate for the colonies. The Townshend Acts laid new duties on necessaries and declared that the ministry still believed the Stamp Act to be legal. It was at this time that Samuel Adams and John Hancock became prominent "rebels" in the King's eyes by sending letters out broadcast in the colonies, bidding the people sturdily to resist any infringement on their rights as freeborn Englishmen. These letters helped to unify sentiment and clearly marked a steady step toward united resistance.



SAMUEL ADAMS

"Traitors" to be tried in England

About this same time Parliament asked the King to decree that Americans accused of treason (probably thinking of Samuel Adams) should be brought to England for trial. If any one in England expected to frighten into obedience the Adamses of the New World by a threat which outraged every precedent of English common law, he was disappointed. By English law no one could be tried for any crime outside the neighborhood or district in which he lived.

The legality of King George's decrees

It is time now that we took up the main question at issue. Were these Acts and decrees of Parliament legal? Professor McLaughlin of the University of Chicago has well said that the dispute was one between logic on one hand and commonsense on the other. Acts of Parliament of every character had always been the supreme law of England. Parliament's power was absolute and indisputable. Its every act was "legal." In only one colonial charter (Pennsylvania's) was the question of taxing the colonies mentioned. Their assemblies had legislated on local affairs only; Parliament had "regulated" trade by legislation of various kinds since 1660. Such being the case, Parliament could legally tax the colonies; but to do so now showed a mon-

strous lack of commonsense. Had it been attempted wisely; had the colonies diplomatically been induced to take the initiative; had England's foolish threat to deport those accused of treason been avoided, the crisis might have been passed over peacefully.

Inadequacy of "Taxation without representation" cry

But logic, not commonsense, ruled in London. "Taxation without representation" was declared illegal by long-established English law. Enthusiasts in America, like Otis, took up this cry, but it was soon abandoned by clearer thinking men who realized that representation in Parliament would net the colonies little or nothing; the votes of their representatives could not prevent taxes being laid for they would be in a hopeless minority.[1]

The activities of such patriots as Otis and Adams at once made Boston a "marked" city, and British troops were sent there to keep order and enforce the objectionable acts. In March, 1770, these hated troops, for whose support the local legislature would pass no law, fired upon a crowd which was taunting them, killing or mortally wounding five citizens. The news of this "Boston Massacre" spread like fire through the colonies, bringing men everywhere to glimpse clearly the fact that the struggle might end in something more bloody than a street brawl.

Boston Massacre

The Townshend Acts were only part of a long series of "regulating" laws passed by Parliament. The harm was that they did more than regulate; *they raised a revenue.* John Dickinson of Pennsylvania now replied to England, saying that laws for regulation only were legal—not those for revenue; and to all the colonies he sounded the warning that nothing but eternal vigilance could keep the people's rights from being invaded. This declaration

Dickinson on laws for regulation

[1]The word "represent" did not mean the same thing in England and does not even to-day that it does in our country. When we say a man represents a district or state we mean he lives there. In England a man may not live near the district or constituency he "represents" in Parliament; he represents it in the same sense that a lawyer living in Massachusetts might represent the State of California before our United States Supreme Court. The geographical idea in the word "represent" was of American origin.

converted Dickinson's famous fellow-Pennsylvanian, Benjamin Franklin, who had formerly declared that Americans would not oppose the Stamp Act. Franklin denied that Parliament had any right to pass any laws for the colonies. These loyal patriots had some good friends in England, the Whigs to whom we have referred. Many discounted the value of these friends at first. Jefferson was one of these and he wrote: "The pusillanimous idea that we had friends in England worth keeping terms with, still haunted the minds of many." This was written while the Declaration was under discussion in Congress. But some of these oversea allies proved staunch indeed.

Franklin's view changes

This fierce spirit of liberty [thundered one of these friends, Edmund Burke, in Parliament's ears] is stronger in the English colonies probably than in any other people of the earth . . . and, as an ardent is always a jealous affection, your colonies become suspicious, restive, and untractable whenever they see the least attempt to wrest from them by force or shuffle from them by chicane what they think [is] the only advantage worth living for.

Edmund Burke

Also, too, the official representatives of the City of London, assembled at Guildhall in the latter part of March, 1775, voiced in these strong words their objection to Parliament's arbitrary treatment of the colonies:

We . . . declare our abhorrence of the measures which have been pursued, and are now pursuing to the Oppression of our Fellow Subjects in America. These measures are big with all the consequences which can alarm a Free and Commercial People—a deep and perhaps fatal wound to Commerce, the ruin of Manufactures, the diminution of the Revenue and the consequent increase of Taxes, the alienation of the Colonies, and the blood of your Majesty's subjects.

The City of London opposes arbitrary rule in America

But your Petitioners look with less Horror at the consequences, than at the purpose of these measures. Not deceived by the specious Artifice of calling Despotism Dignity, they plainly perceive that the real purpose is, to establish arbitrary powers over all America.

Your Petitioners conceive the Liberties of the whole to be inevitably connected with those of every part of an Empire, founded on the common rights of Mankind. They cannot therefore observe, without the greatest concern and alarm, the Constitution fundamentally violated in any part of your Majesty's Dominion. They esteem it an essential, unal-

terable principle of Liberty, the Source and Security of all constitutional Rights, that no part of the dominion can be taxed, without being Represented. Upon this great leading Principle, they most ardently wish to see their Fellow Subjects in America secured, in which their humble Petition to your Majesty prays for Peace, Liberty, and Safety.

But neither this taunting of the Opposition (Whigs), the academic masterpieces of Adams or Dickinson, the bitter showing of colonial rancor, as, for instance, in setting fire to His Majesty's ship *Gaspée* (1772) in Narragansett harbor, or the "Boston Tea Party" (1773) when a cargo of tea bearing the hated tax was thrown overboard in Boston harbor, served to move Pharaoh's hard heart. The latter episode should, however, have solemnly warned Parliament, for the beginning of boycott was "the beginning of the end." In reply to all this Parliament in 1774 sent out next its five "Intolerable Acts"; these (1) closed the port of Boston until the Yankees would promise to be good and prove it by paying for the tea; (2) created a new charter for rebellious Massachusetts, increasing the King's despotic rule; (3) ordered that royal officials accused of serious crimes could be tried outside the colony in which they were committed; (4) reasserted the right to quarter troops on the people; and (5) extended over the trans-Alleghany country north of the Ohio the despotic laws of France by making it a part of the colony of Quebec.[1]

"Boston Tea Party"

The Boston Tea Party

Five "intolerable acts"

[1]The Quebec Act created many fears which the Act did not really warrant. It legalized in Canada the Catholic religion and restored old French civil law. It was enacted in order to pacify the Canadian-French; it created an alarm in the American colonies neither expected nor intended.

This latter act bids us to recall the fact that nowhere did that "fierce spirit of liberty," of which Burke spoke, flame out more brightly than in the borderland on either side of the Alleghenies, that region into which Williamsburg men saw the homely form of Patrick Henry depart in his leather breeches, his saddle bags on his arm, leading a lean horse—the intensely democratic frontier.

READING LIST

C. Becker, *The Eve of the Revolution* (Chronicles of America, XI); G. E. Howard, *The Preliminaries of the Revolution* (American Nation, VIII), Chaps. 1–15; C. Becker, *The Beginnings of the American People*, Chap. 2; E. Channing, *History*, III, Chaps. 1–9; J. Fiske, *The American Revolution*, I, Chaps. 1 and 2; H. Robinson, *The Development of the British Empire*, Chap. 7; orations of Otis, Adams, Henry, Dickinson, and Witherspoon in S. B. Harding (ed.) *Select Orations*, 1–39; Fox, *Map Studies*, No. 11.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Which father of a family is likely to have the hardest time in the long run, the one who passes firm rules of conduct and deportment and enforces them or the one who passes harsh rules and does not enforce them? What is the effect of an uninforced rule in a family or law in a nation? Ethan Allen said "common law is common sense." What did he mean? Why do you suppose the third provision of the Intolerable Acts was inserted? Why would it be resented? Look up the provisions of the *Magna Carta:* wherein do the Intolerable Acts infringe the rights emphasized in that document?

Section 17. The "Fierce Spirit of Liberty" in the West

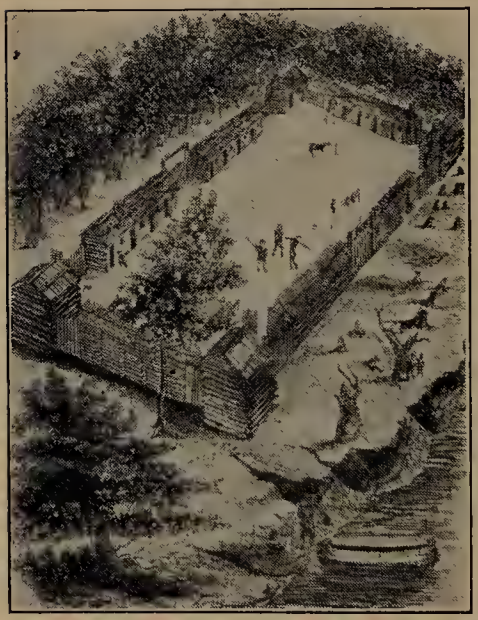
From earliest years the American colonists who passed across our Atlantic seaboard region and went on deep into the forests of the New World felt less the control of established government than did those who remained nearer the old centers of colonial life. The wilderness compelled them to acquire something of the self-dependence of the Indian. Whether they pressed into western Massachusetts, central Pennsylvania, or upland Virginia, a spirit of independence was bred by their environment, as we have seen. Being thrown upon their own re-

The frontier environment bred independence

sources, they found that, very largely, the question of life or death, success or failure, wealth or poverty, was in their own hands. Such men naturally lose touch with fashion and custom, form habits and codes of their own, and sink or swim according to their native ability. The "West" was a state of mind rather than any particular spot on a parallel of longitude.

Yet these early frontiers differed in matters of detail. The compact form of settlement, established in New England, compelled towns to be formed under the eye of both the orthodox Church and the State. Pioneers here grew up somewhat different men from their southern frontier brethren. This frontier in the North was narrow; Church and State could more easily hold control and, too, the people here were of a purer English strain. The quarrel we have seen developing between the Mother Country and New England or New York was largely fomented by the people of busy towns whose economic liberty was "invaded."

The northern frontier



The Old Fort at Boonesborough, 1775

The case of the people of the frontier farther west and south was somewhat different. Here thousands, many not of English stock, were settled; they had come from the lowlands of Europe, from England (Quakers), from Ireland, and from Scotland, as well as from various other European countries. Numbers of them, or their fathers, had felt the "fierce spirit of liberty" blaze out in olden

The southern frontier

days in their homeland through contact with kings, tithe-gatherers, "gougers" (revenue officers), and sheriffs. Among these the Scotch-Irish, whose ancestors in many cases had been deported from Scotland to north Ireland and there subjected to harsh taxation, were found on all our bleak frontiers; prejudices and hatreds were "bred in the bone." Of the Irish and their attitude nothing need be said; though few in number at the time, that fact would not have been recognized by the tumult they voiced! Thousands of all these, including pure English, had parents who had been put in English jails for debt and then deported to all the southern colonies as redemptioners or indentured servants. The sons and grandsons of such men preserved anything but affection for "Merry England."

To tell the truth, many of these uplanders lost a good deal of respect they had ever had for any kind of authority. Life on the border was a struggle; the borderers felt that they were "paying their way" by merely occupying dangerous frontiers and defying the Indian and that gaunt ghoul, Starvation. They felt that they were once more selling themselves into another period of servitude merely by forging into the forest "on their own." Even the most just colony and the most upright governor had plenty of trouble in extending the "blessings of law" over many of these settlements; while unjust governors and proprietors found these intense democrats very devils when discriminated against or unjustly taxed. Time and again the "fierce spirit of liberty" had flared out against tidewater aristocracies which, too often, denied the uplands equal representation in colonial assemblies. In many instances, interior settlements were swindled by dishonest tax-gatherers; this made the people look upon all tax collectors as thieves.

The upland-er's dislike of authority in general

The frontiersman felt he was paying his way

Other influences tended to make insurgency more a rule than an exception on the upland border. It was a debtor region, in large part, and everywhere a debtor region, as we have seen (p. 95), has its own opinion of a creditor region—a deathless suspicion that constitutions, ordinances, and laws are merely new

schemes of financial slavery. Again, the religions of the lowlands tended everywhere to uniformity, orthodoxy, and conservatism. Too often how a man prayed, and the things he prayed for, determined his social and political, as well as spiritual, salvation. Some frontiersmen, or their fathers, had experienced sorry clashes with religious sects on the seaboard. Quakers had been hanged on Boston Common; the church of the Scotch-Irish in Worcester, Mass., had been burned "with the best people of the town" looking on with folded hands; the established (Episcopal) church in Philadelphia had been a piercing thorn in the side of the Quaker and Scotch-Irish assembly. As the Scotch-Irish migrated up the Valley of Virginia they met, near Elizabethton, Tenn., the other line of migration of their fellow-countrymen from Charleston, S. C. These, too, were filled with wrath at the active persecution waged upon them by royalist tithe-gatherers; while, all along both lines of advance, no love was lost between the upland Presbyterian and lowland Episcopalian. In turn, the orthodox, conservative fathers of the seaboard, North and South, looked with pitying condescension upon the babel of sects and the followers of -ists and -isms in all the valleys which pierced their shadowy frontiers.

A debtor region

Religious prejudices

Daniel Boone

As the colonies now entered the period of this epoch-making dispute with Parliament, the peoples of our frontiers had decided opinions in favor of "liberty and equality." Wherever men had fought local tax-gatherers, there were found men very outspoken on the question then uppermost in Boston, New York, and Richmond. All the pent-up anger of generations went into resolutions now passed, May 31, 1775, by frontiersmen of

Watauga and Mecklenburg resolutions

Watauga (Tenn.) and Mecklenburg (N. C.) who annulled the King's rule in their hard-won country; and when Morgan's men from the far Greenbrier Country marched under the Cambridge Elm to Washington's support, the frontier gave assurance that it was as ready to fight as to sign resolutions.

The Mecklenburg resolutions, referred to above, declared all commissions of civil and military officers in that county null and void. These were sent directly to England; it is interesting that the first most outspoken formal communication between the Mother Country and the colonies should have come from a far interior settlement of which, probably, few in England had ever heard.

The spread of the frontiers in these crucial years led to important results. At the end of the Old French War, England had sought to preserve the West as an Indian hunting ground. The King issued a "Proclamation of 1763" which forbade settling westward of the Alleghenies (map p. 115). The idea was benevolent; and it promised to reduce the cost of colonies to the Mother Country in the matter of defense! But the King might as well have proclaimed that the laurel buds should not burst in the Alleghenies as to try to stop the rush of migration toward the "Monongahela Country," at the head of the Ohio, or toward Tennessee or Kentucky. Too many land companies had already been formed by royal favorites, such as the Ohio Company, the Loyal Land Company, the Walpole Company, and the Greenbrier Company; all these had encouraged migration. An outlaw company, now projected by Colonel Richard Henderson of North Carolina, was of influence in these crucial days before the Revolutionary War burst. With Daniel Boone as agent, Henderson purchased a tract of land of the Cherokees in Kentucky early in 1775. It provided an outlet for the crowding pioneers of the Watauga region, and the proprietors led the way at once through high-flung Cumberland Gap and built Boonesborough on the Kentucky River. As soon as Henderson and Boone proved

Proclamation of 1763

Spread of the frontier

The Henderson purchase in Kentucky

that a foothold could be had in that region several "stations" were built on the track from the Gap to Louisville on the Ohio. Virginia disowned the purchase, but, with the bit in their teeth, migratory throngs poured through the Gap into the rich "Blue Grass Region." Virginia ousted Henderson from his land, after repaying him for his outlay, but this planting of a colony of born fighters so far down on the Ohio as this at that moment meant, as we shall see, that England was not to control, unchallenged, the redskins who occupied the country between

The value of the early settlement of Kentucky

Sycamore Shoals. (On the Watauga River, near Jefferson City, Tenn., where Daniel Boone purchased part of Kentucky.)

the Ohio and the Great Lakes. Without the firm foothold then gained in Kentucky we shall never know what British agents at Detroit might not have done in the rear of the colonies during the war that followed; nor how unsuccessfully we might have demanded a Mississippi River boundary line for the new nation at the end of the war.

A band of Kentuckians, it is said, heard of the battle of Lexington, from a passing courier, in their camp in the midst of the Blue Grass country. With honest pride in the firmness of the embattled farmers, they named the site of their camp "Lexington." Thus was expressed the "fierce spirit of liberty" in the most westerly of American settlements, which plainly indicated the wide extent of fervor for the patriot cause.

READING LIST

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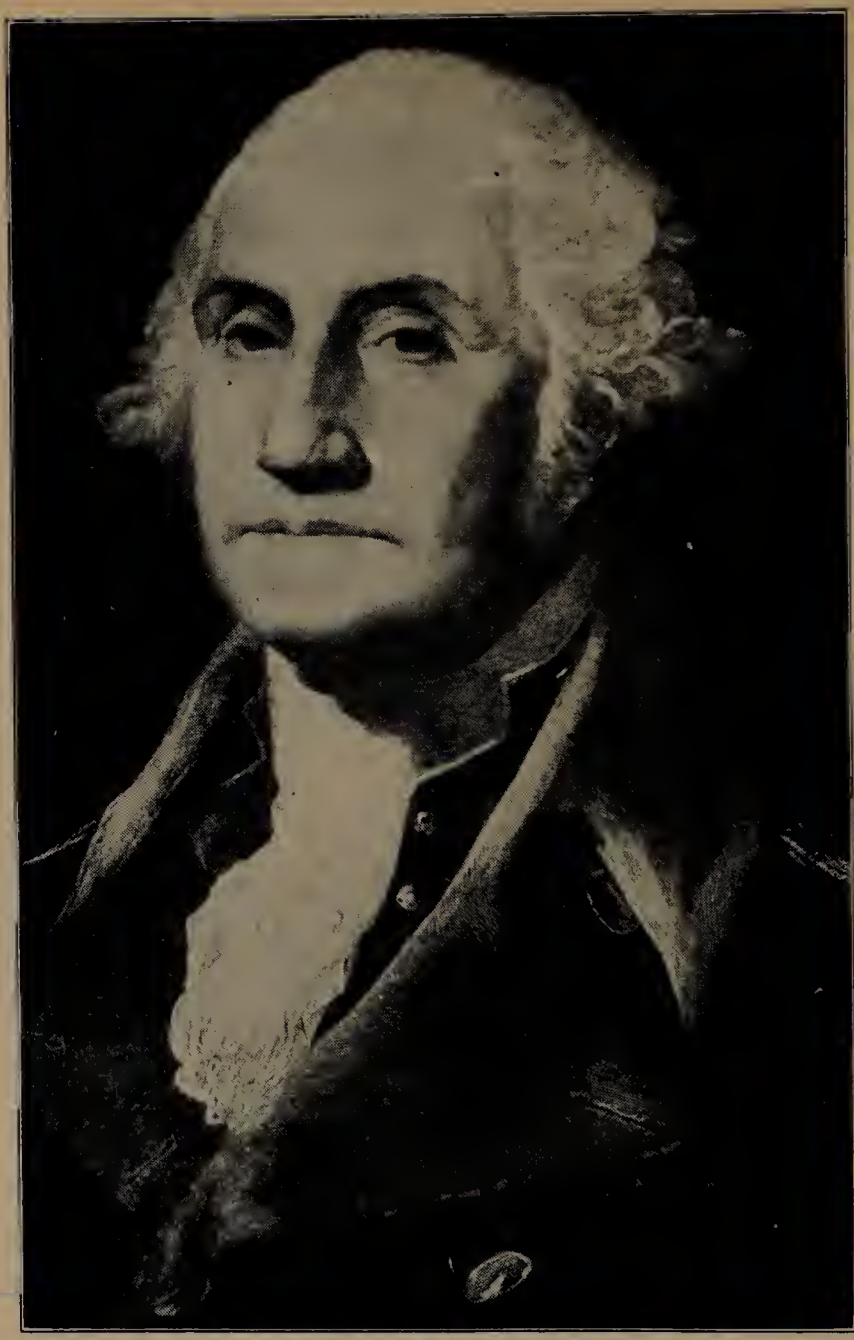
QUERY AND DISCUSSION

What kind of people make the best campers? Describe how camp life makes one forget some of the conventions of ordinary life? Increases hardihood and independence of character? Under such conditions how long would it be before one became an old-time frontiersman in habit and outlook? In such environment do customs and laws of "civilization" have the same hold upon one? Does it foster individuality and independence? Hitherto we have received from our frontiers an impulse toward independent thinking, radicalism, and insurgency. How may these be constructive or destructive? With the passing of our frontier what will take its place in furnishing similar stimulus?

Section 18. The Revolutionary War in the North

The organization of the colonies to oppose the five "Intolerable Acts" of King George's ministry paved the way for the real revolution that was to take place—the changing of the colonies into states, each with its own constitution. Naturally there followed the formation of a confederacy of these states in order to fight a war for independence. The political ability to change colonies into states was not lacking. But to secure unity of action and coöperation, the knack of sinking differences of opinion and the jeal-

The revolution



GEORGE WASHINGTON. (In the buff and blue uniform of the Continental Army.)

ousies and hatreds of all the old years and establish a central authority with power to act—that was a monumental task.

In George Washington, the Virginia planter, the colonies had a leader of poise and nobility of character. His military training had been varied, though in formal warfare he had had little experience. In shrewd ability to employ a modified form of Indian tactics, in the arts of doing without necessaries, of adopting compromises and meeting exigencies with native capacity, he was the mainstay of the colonial cause. But beyond any technical ability stood the poise of his character, his ability to create confidence, to unify the jargon of mettlesome men, and to compel them to sink rivalries and jealousies and reach agreements. In this rôle—though he often seemed to fail of success—he was well-fitted for his herculean task. From his father, who developed new plantations, opened his own iron mine and piloted his own ship across the Atlantic, Washington received a heritage of executive and administrative ability which formed one chief trait of his character.

Washington's fitness as a leader

The first step toward forming a genuine confederation was made when the colonies chose delegates to what is known as the first Continental Congress, which met in Philadelphia September 5, 1774. These delegates were divided in opinion as to what action should be taken. But an "Association" was formed not to import goods from England after December 1 and not to export goods to any English port after September 10, 1775. The Association was ratified by all colonies except New York and Georgia—both torn by factional fights. It served the great purpose of cementing together all delegates and colonies which were eager to fight, if necessary, for liberty. In every colony local committees were appointed by these patriotic "whigs." Also this first Congress issued a ringing "Declaration of Rights"; this document claimed for the colonies (a) the exclusive right to legislate on internal questions (subject to the King's veto) and (b) promised obedience to Acts of Parliament which regulated external trade when made solely in the interest of the empire at

The first Continental Congress

large. In its last session the Congress called a second meeting to be held May 10, 1775—if matters had not improved meantime.

The New Englanders, confident that matters were only going from bad to worse, began to gather military stores at various points. On April 19, 1775, General Gage, in command of British troops in Boston, sent out a party to destroy one of these depositories at Concord.[1] The redcoats fired on a body of colonials drawn up on Lexington Green. At Concord a larger body of militia was encountered, whereupon the British retreated hastily to Boston, pursued by patriotic militiamen who rushed from all points to take pot-shot at the hated red uniform. The next month twelve hundred colonial militia took a position on Breed's Hill in Charleston; on June 17th Gage assaulted the hill and finally carried it at great loss in the Battle of Bunker Hill, as the extremity of the ridge was called.

Lexington and Concord

THE BOSTON ENVIRONS, 1775–1776

The command of the colonials in this engagement had been offered to Major-General of Massachusetts Militia Joseph Warren but he declined in favor of Colonel Prescott who commanded in this immortal engagement. About where Bunker Hill Monument stands a mortally wounded private, bravely dressed in his

Bunker Hill

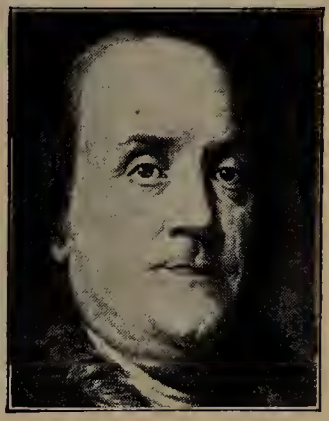
[1]The countryside between Boston and Lexington was warned of the British raid in that direction by Paul Revere, William Dawes, and Samuel Prescott. The last two were captured by British scouts before reaching Concord but Revere got through with the timely message. Revere's brave service was made immortal by Longfellow's poem "The Midnight Ride of Paul Revere."

wedding-day suit, was seen to fall during the battle. It was General Warren. His face, cold in death, might well have been marked by England's king. When Major-Generals are content to fight as privates, and go to their death in gala attire, it is significant of a faith that is unconquerable.

The resoluteness of these New Englanders in these skirmishes was the talk of the country, and many from now on were certain that a war must be fought to compel King George to revoke the acts that imperiled his colonists' liberty. These, however, were in the minority. Perhaps two thirds, as John Adams at a later date said, were in favor of non-resistance. Class divisions in the colonies were very marked; the commercial element had felt the actual pressure of Parliament's acts far more severely than the great agricultural class. Again, the conservative people of the middle seaboard towns, in which the Established Church was strong, rallied slowly to the principles advocated by the radicals. In general three parties existed: (a) the radicals who were out and out for independence at the cost of war; (b) those who were firm for the colonies' constitutional rights, even at the price of war, but who did not favor independence; (c) those who opposed war even at price of continued humiliation put upon them by the Mother Country, in whose ultimate fairness they had a steady faith.

Radicals in a minority

Three parties in the colonies



Benjamin Franklin

But by May, 1775, when the Second Congress met (presided over by that firm patriot, John Hancock), the bloodshed in New England altered the feelings of both conservatives and radicals. The former were less sure that they were in the right; the radicals, however, were so certain that the Concord episode had proved that armed resistance was the only hope of the country that

The Second Continental Congress

they were willing to let matters take their own course without forcing them. Both parties therefore agreed to sign a declaration which stated "the Causes and Necessity for taking up Arms"; also to make one last petition to the King. This petition the King refused to accept. These events rapidly unified sentiment. Many conservatives who had cried out in alarm when Patrick Henry exclaimed "Give me liberty or give me death" now agreed with the more even-tempered, but equally aroused, Jefferson when he said: "I will cease to exist before I yield to a connection [union] on such terms as the British Parliament proposes." Public sentiment was, also, greatly unified by the publication of a tract entitled *Common Sense* written by an Englishman, Thomas Paine, who had just arrived in this country. It was the most outspoken radical plea for independence made prior to the famous Declaration.

Making an army

Washington, chosen commander-in-chief by Congress, now came to take command of the Continental Army which surrounded the British in Boston. It was an army in name only at this time, but as the year passed the severe training Washington had had in the Valley of Virginia (1756–7) stood the commander in good stead and some proficiency in arms was developed. In the spring of 1776, a method of driving the British from Boston was discovered. An English manual on engineering fell into the hands of General Rufus Putnam, one of Washington's engineers, and from it this officer learned how to fortify a frozen hilltop by "chandeliers." Long narrow crates or racks were to be built in Roxbury orchards and transported bodily to the hill; when filled with bales of hay or faggots they would form substantial breastworks. Washington adopted the scheme and General Howe, now commanding in Boston, awoke one March morning to find near-by Dorchester Heights bristling with cannon and

THE CHANDELIER. (Used for the fortification of Dorchester Heights.)

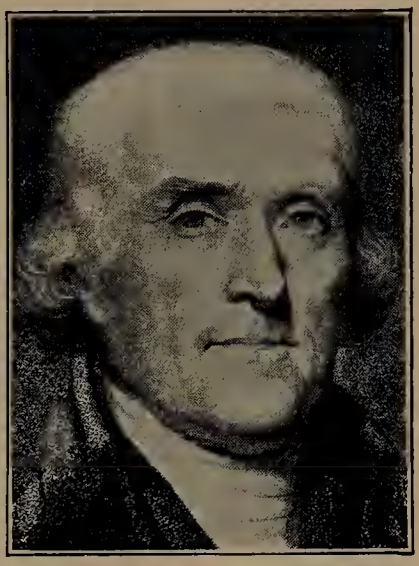
Boston captured

alive with troops safely hidden behind solid breastworks.[1] Weak efforts to dislodge the Americans failed, and on March 17th the British evacuated Boston.

This freeing of New England was hailed with unbounded glee; but the British generals expected to conquer the rebellious Yankees in another way. This plan was the one tried by the French against the British in the Old French War—of sending an army down through Lake Champlain and the Hudson to split New England off from the other colonies. Washington turned at once to New York to meet the threatened invasion (map p. 144). He ordered General Israel Putnam to fortify Brooklyn Heights and attempted to hold Long Island but was compelled so to divide his feeble forces that General Howe beat him piece-meal (August 27th) in the Battle of Long Island. By very clever maneuvering, however, he got his armies around into New Jersey. A General Wolfe would now have struck a telling

The threatened invasion from Canada

Washington's defeat on Long Island



THOMAS JEFFERSON

[1]One of the outstanding examples of bold initiative in the first year of the war was the capture of Fort Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain by Ethan Allen and his "Green Mountain boys," May 10, 1775. This brave deed gave to the colonists guns and ammunition for the siege of Boston; forty guns were hauled across New England over the winter's snow and some of them were planted on Dorchester Heights behind Putnam's chandeliers. Still bolder, but less successful, were two expeditions for the capture of Montreal and Quebec led by Generals Richard Montgomery (by way of Lake Champlain) and Benedict Arnold (across Maine). Montreal was occupied but an assault on Quebec, by the two parties combined (December 31, 1775), ended in failure, Montgomery being killed and Arnold wounded.

THE MAIN BATTLEFIELDS OF THE REVOLUTION

blow by capturing Philadelphia, but Howe was not a Wolfe. His brother, Lord Howe, commander of the British fleet, was not unsympathetic with the colonials; he had been sent over from England to make offers of conciliation and with power to grant the "rebels" pardon. His diplomacy was as fruitless as was his brother's poor generalship. The leaders of the patriot cause scorned the idea of pardon on the ground that they were innocent of guilt. Their pride and devotion were magnificently exemplified in these days by the dying words of a twenty-one-year-old Yale graduate, Lieutenant Nathan Hale. He had entered the British lines as a spy to secure information which Washington sorely needed. He was captured and executed by the British in New York City. His last words were: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country." With armies containing men of that type who would expect the Americans to ask for "pardon"!

The memorable event of the year—as well as the century—was the adoption of a declaration of independence by the Continental Congress. It was early seen that to fight a war successfully it was necessary for the colonies to proclaim themselves a nation and seek the aid of other powers, both military and financial. This had been anticipated by certain of the states; four states had authorized their delegates to favor such a declaration; three had forbidden their delegates to vote for such a measure, while the remaining states had said nothing one way or the other. Virginia had taken the lead in advocating a declaration. On June 7th Richard Henry Lee of that state offered three resolutions in Congress which represented well the determined opinion of the men of the Old Dominion. These resolves affirmed that (a) the colonies should declare themselves independent; (b) foreign alliances should be negotiated; (c) a confederation of the colonies should be formed.

The need of a declaration of independence

Lee's resolutions

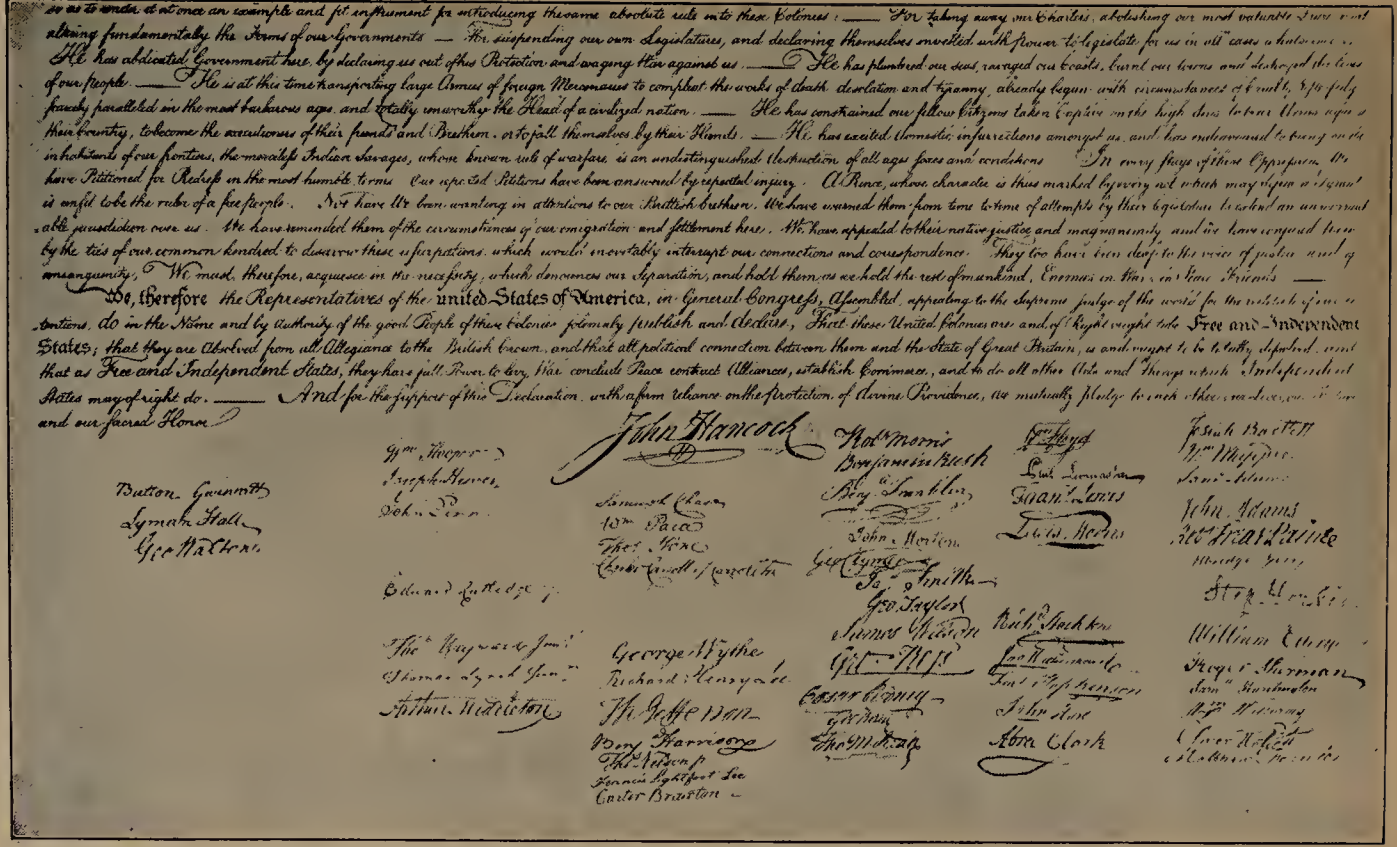
Many of the conservative members of Congress, as well as those uninstructed, were inclined to oppose the measure. Par-

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,

When in the Course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. — We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this let Facts be submitted to a candid world. —

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. — He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. — He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only. — He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. — He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people. — He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within. — He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. — He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers. — He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries. — He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people and eat out their substance. — He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies, without the Consent of our legislatures. — He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power. — He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: — For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: — For protecting them by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States: — For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world: — For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent: — For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by jury: — For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences: — For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries



THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. (Facsimile of the original document.)

ticularly ominous did the third of Lee's resolutions sound; at the mention of a confederation all the old ghosts of colonial rivalry and jealousy arose from their sleep! Yet these objectors did not oppose the appointment of a committee to take the matter under discussion and frame a declaration. Chief on this committee was that clear-thinking, patriotic student of political questions, Thomas Jefferson. The writing of the great document, it is said, was forced upon Jefferson by John Adams of Massachusetts because he affirmed that the Virginian could write "ten times" as well as he could. Deeply sensible of the great responsibility thrust upon him, Jefferson drew up the Declaration of Independence. The document itself should be studied carefully by every patriotic American. It cited minutely the causes which justified the colonies in demanding a separation from the Mother Country. It also laid down a theory of government based on two great ideas: 1. That all men are created equal before the law; 2. That no law could be just unless it came into existence by the consent of the governed.

The Declaration written

Old as these ideas seem to us now they were startling and radical in 1776. With some delegates ordered to vote against separation; with some uninstructed as to how to vote; and with almost all the delegates doubtful as to what kind of a confederation would satisfy the states—if any kind would at all—Jefferson's task was a very difficult one, and the destinies of our future Republic hung by a very slender thread.

With great patriotism, ability, and diplomacy did the Virginian rise to the occasion. In the first place, he put aside the question of a confederation—believing that time and patience would solve that knotty problem. With masterful ability he took up the main question of the hour, the question of the colonies declaring themselves a free and independent nation. When completed, this document, famous for its main proposition concerning government by the governed, voiced the noblest ideas of the past, especially those propounded by such leaders of schools of thought as Thomas Aquinas and John Locke. Many of its

Its New World spirit

words and expressions were old, but Jefferson breathed into them a life, a fire, they had never known in other days—a significance deeper, finer, truer than was possible in the olden times. A New World flavor of freedom transformed them from academic expressions of a philosopher into the battle-cry of a Son of Freedom; they throbbed with the spirit of the meadows, the mountains, and the plains of the new giant Republic-to-be.

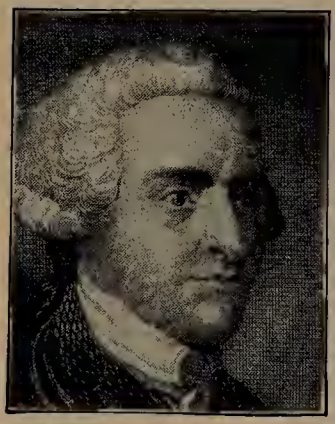
Never, probably, in history was the art of writing better justified by a result. Such were the differences of opinion in Congress at the moment that if just the right man had not said just the right thing in just the right way, agreement and willingness of the delegates to pledge their lives, fortunes, and sacred honor to the cause of independence could not have been secured. No great burst of determination could have been awakened by any stiff or commonplace treatise nor by any crude or snarling document. When, on July 2nd, Congress called for a report of the committee some conservative delegates refused to vote. Then it was that Jefferson's memorable document was produced and read. So perfectly was it written; so splendid was its clarity and poise; so unanswerable were its premises and its conclusion, that it swept opposition aside although not without some discussion. It not only won the day but it took—and still holds—a high place in the world's great literature. Accordingly, on July 4th, with slight verbal changes, the Declaration of Independence was adopted by Congress. Then, immediately, a new nation—based on noble ideals—took its place in history and asked for the world's judgment and friendship. England's ancient foes were sure to applaud the revolting colonists' action; but how such a monarch as Louis XVI of France relished the democratic spirit of the Declaration is another question.

Its adoption July 4, 1776

Against the background of British inefficiency, Washington's cleverness now shone out brilliantly. With Indian cunning he sent a storming party across the Delaware on Christmas Night to attack the Hessian troops occupying Trenton. The victory was complete. A similar attack on Princeton, January 3, 1777.

likewise succeeded and Morristown Heights were occupied. These brave forays, and Washington's steadying qualities, were about all that saved the Continental Army from vanishing utterly in these black months of the war.

In 1777 the British plan to divide the colonies developed fully in the Hudson Valley, but they underestimated the latent patriotism and fighting qualities of the New Yorkers and their New England allies. General Burgoyne was sent down from Canada; Howe was to send an army north to meet him, and St. Leger was to come on down the Mohawk and complete the "grand army" of destruction. Everything went askew. Howe left the work to Burgoyne and St. Leger, a fatal mistake; the former was to march through a sparsely settled country devoid of supplies, and St. Leger had to fight the brave General Herkimer, whose levies awaited him (map p. 144) on the Mohawk. Burgoyne's raiding party sent to Bennington August 16 was crushed by troops under bold General Stark. St. Leger, failing to carry Fort Stanwix (Rome, N. Y.) where "Old Glory" is said to have first been flown in battle, was defeated by Herkimer at the critical Battle of Oriskany, N. Y. Burgoyne was doomed; even the inactivity and inefficiency of General Gates, his American opponent, could not save him. Cornered at Saratoga October 17 he was defeated and forced to surrender (map p. 151).



JOHN HANCOCK

Burgoyne sent to split apart the colonies

The victory at Saratoga

The news of this victory had a very marked influence at home and abroad. The very extent of England's empire made the case difficult for her. Her old-time foes revelled in the opportunity to thwart her control of American trade. In this year America's good friend, Gardoqui, sent from Spain 18,000 blankets, 11,000 pairs of shoes, and 41,000 pairs of stockings, besides quantities

of other supplies. France, particularly, was influenced by the inefficient showing of British generalship and came now to put faith in the American cause. Benjamin Franklin in Paris had cleverly been paving the way for a French alliance, and, on February 6, 1778, a treaty was signed. It proved in the end the salvation of the American cause. France, always sympathetic with any enemy of England's, had been ready to side with the Americans whenever such an alliance promised actual victory. Secretly both France and Spain had furnished money (about $200,000 each) for the colonial cause. Gallant Frenchmen like Lafayette had crossed the seas to fight under the new banner of red, white, and blue, just as Prussia had given us Baron Steuben to help whip our eager yeomen into trained soldiers and as Poland had given us Pulaski to risk and give his life for liberty's cause. It has been believed that France came to our aid with the secret hope of gaining back something of our West which had been taken from her in 1763 by England. The best evidence, however, shows that her prime object was only to maim her ancient foe. This French alliance made it legal for Yankee privateers to have a base of supplies on the French coasts; by permitting this, France, as we shall see, was striking a very serious blow at the prosperity of Eng-

Alliance with France

The patriot cause aided by Lafayette, Baron Steuben, and Pulaski

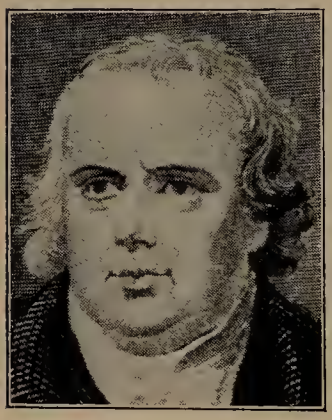
THE SARATOGA REGION. (Showing the forts on the Lake Champlain-Hudson River line of communication.)

land and one that did much to make her neglect the war in America. A latent fear that the American colonies might unite with England in a conquest of the French West Indies was one other reason why France favored the American alliance.

These years saw the completion of the real revolution that took place. One by one the several colonies drafted each its own constitution, and men like Jefferson did heroes' work in carrying on this important business. These constitutions breathed the very spirit of liberty; in Virginia, for instance, the old laws of primogeniture and entail[1] were abolished. In the work of unification of the states less progress had been made, yet the Continental Congress had used what little power it possessed in that direction; it was "government by supplication," but at any rate it supplicated unceasingly. The states were almost as fearful of their own centralized government as the colonies had been of royal power, but an army had been kept in the field, and Robert Morris, the financier of the war, won a fame which the country has recognized better as the years have passed, by lending or otherwise securing money to pay pressing bills. "Articles of Confederation" were passed in November, 1777; but it was several years before all the states agreed to them. Yet not much was lost for, when they went into effect, government under them was very weak. They provided no executive head

The state constitutions

The weakness of the Continental Congress



ROBERT MORRIS

The Articles of Confederation

[1]By old English law of primogeniture and entail the property of the head of a family could not be willed away but it descended in its entirety to the eldest son. By American law, in most of our states, one third of a man's property goes to the widow and the remainder is divided equally among the children.

for the government; they provided no national judiciary; they gave Congress no effectual way of (a) executing its own laws, or (b) of raising money, or (c) of collecting taxes from individuals, or (d) of laying duties on imports. Congress—just a legislative body—was the "Government." The most that can be said is that the weak government steadied the country through the war; but when we reckon what the war meant to English liberty we must confess it to have been a splendid service.

General Howe's failure to coöperate with Burgoyne was explained by the fact that he had become intent on capturing Philadelphia, the metropolis of our chief wheat-growing region; upon the product of this region, Washington once said, depended the outcome of the war. By winning the Battle of the Brandywine, September 11, 1777, Howe captured the city, but it was a hollow victory. In fact, Washington nearly won it back again the following month in the cleverly planned Battle of Germantown, October 4—another stroke at break of day not unlike the Trenton and Princeton victories. In the end, however, the Continental force was defeated (map p. 144).

Philadelphia captured by Howe

England, now at war with France, practically ceased for a time active campaigning against the colonies. One month after the news of the French alliance reached England, Parliament agreed to make a peace offer to the colonies. They were to have all they had asked for at the beginning, except independence. Of course, the offer was spurned; had acceptance been desirable, it would have been the height of discourtesy to France to repudiate our alliance with her. Our forefathers were not to be bought off!

England's offer of conciliation

General Henry Clinton, who succeeded Howe, chose to abandon Philadelphia in the summer of 1778, and Washington all but routed the British army in its retreat across New Jersey; but for the cowardice of General Charles Lee in this battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778, it might have been won, possibly ending the war.

Battle of Monmouth

Aside from such episodes as "Mad Anthony" Wayne's bold capture of Stony Point (July 15, 1779) on the Hudson and General Sullivan's successful raid into the home of the cruel Iroquois in New York State, no campaign took place during the remainder of the war in the North.[1]

No general in history had done better with troops so ill equipped than had Washington; and no man could have dealt more patiently or fairly with the feeble authority at his back than Washington had with the feeble Continental Congress.

READING LIST

G. M. Wrong, *Washington and His Comrades in Arms* (Chronicles of America, XII), Chaps. 1–8; C. H. Van Tyne, *The American Revolution* (Am. Nat., IX), Chaps. 4–14; Fiske, I; Channing, III, Chaps. 8–11; W. L. Stone, *The Campaign of Burgoyne:* S. G. Fisher, *The Struggle for American Independence*, I; E. S. Corwin, *France in the American Revolution;* J. B. Perkins, *France in the American Revolution;* C. Becker, *The Declaration of Independence;* Fox, *Map Studies*, No. 12.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

How far do the modern terms "radicals," "conservatives," and "progressives" apply to the three classes of Americans in 1775? Which of the three classes of those days would you expect to find on the frontier? In the cities? In the country? To which did Jefferson belong? Washington? Franklin? Henry? Which part of the Declaration is most lofty in tone and beautiful in unity of thought and expression? We say "History repeats itself"; compare the Battle of Lake George (p. 110) with that of Saratoga as to plan

[1] A pitiful incident in this period was the treachery of Brigadier-General Benedict Arnold. In Canada and at Saratoga he had performed with a brilliancy equalled by no other American commander, but our Congress had treated him with scant courtesy. When ordered to reprimand him for minor indiscretions, the even-minded Washington turned the rebuke into a eulogy. Arnold, dissatisfied, now commanded the post of West Point on the Hudson. This he agreed to surrender to the British for the sum of 10,000 guineas and a commission in the British army. The plot was discovered before it was too late and West Point was saved. Arnold, however, went over to the enemy, but his career thereafter was not a happy one. When he was dying in London years after, it is said, he demanded to be dressed in his old Continental uniform; "May God forgive me," he is reported to have sighed, "for ever putting on any other." High-spirited, temperamental men must be handled, like mettlesome horses, with better judgment than our Congress used in Arnold's case. But every man must learn to conquer himself or risk losing the honor due him for any other conquests, no matter how brilliant they may have been.

of campaign. What is the difference between a rebellion and a revolution? Which does the Declaration say is justifiable? Does the present League of Nations agree with the sentiments of the Declaration in this respect when it guarantees to its members the inviolability of their territory? What ground is there for saying that the Revolution was a "Civil War"? What dependence did Jefferson place in help from English friends in 1776? Were the same principles at stake in the American Revolution, the French Revolution, and the American Civil War? What world-wide influences did the American Revolution exert?

Section 19. The War in the West

The far-reaching importance of the part played in the Revolutionary War by the frontiersmen of the Alleghenies and the West deserves an attention it often fails to receive; it was one thing to fight a war for independence; it was another thing to fight a war for conquest of new territory if the new Republic was to be one of continental dimensions. Because few campaigns were waged away from the seaboard this fact in no wise lessened the vital importance to national growth of those that were fought.

Importance of the western campaigns

We have emphasized very briefly the eagle-like spirit of freedom which was bred in the frontiersmen by past experience and present environment. A Virginia historian has stated that it was the uplanders of the Old Dominion (north of the James) who "led in this movement, while the people of the Tidewater region remained aloof from the patriotic cause until the very last"; and the fact has been mentioned that the first public nullification of English rule had been made by local conventions on the frontier in the Mecklenburg and Watauga regions—then the farthest "West."

With the exception of the Delawares in eastern Ohio, who were diplomatically handled by the authorities of Fort Pitt, the Indian nations surrounding our frontiers on every flank, north, west, and south, were generally under the control of British agents or men representing themselves as such, during the Revolution. From three points Indian attacks were particularly dangerous:

The three Indian danger zones

(a) from central New York they came upon the settlers in the southern part of that state and northern Pennsylvania; (b) from the Great Lakes they threatened the Pittsburgh-Wheeling region and Kentucky; and (c) from the lower Tennessee they invaded the Tennessee region. But the point to be remembered and carefully weighed is this: no man knew from what direction stinging, murderous assaults might come or in what force and with what result. In certain cases English officers, as in New York, formally used Indian fighters in their campaigns but found them uncontrollable; in other cases rascally dare-devils, particularly American renegades in the West, used Indians without authority. In war a nation's conscienceless allies may make enormous trouble; England in this case found her redskins more a source of trouble than of profit. The result was that the whole six-hundred-mile frontier was never safe from fear; never for a moment could the borderers from New York to Tennessee be sure that murderous savages might not descend upon them any night. Those who stand firm in times like these do not get the credit that comes from fighting real campaigns and battles. But to stand thus and wait, never knowing what scenes of pillage may greet the eye another day, or knowing what red tide of murder may submerge one over night, requires a steadiness and a patriotism that are forgotten when only what *did* happen is recalled to memory in after days.

Indians as allies

The frontier peril

In the Southwest those brave fathers of the Tennessee-to-be, Sevier and Robertson, drove back the Cherokees and brought them to their knees. In the North the bloody massacres by British-Indians at Cherry Valley and Wyoming, were avenged by Sullivan's campaign (p. 154; map p. 144).

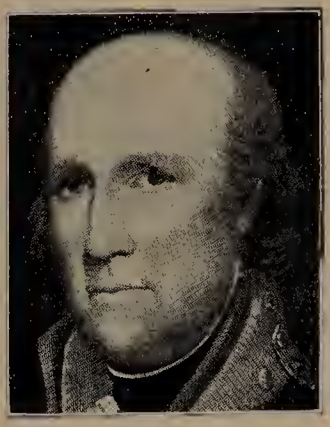
In the far West, along the Ohio and the Kentucky, the sturdy defenders of Fort Pitt at Pittsburgh, Fort Henry at Wheeling, and the numerous Kentucky stations, kept the flag flying despite the activity of British officers at Detroit and such were-wolves as the American renegades, McKee and the Girty brothers. Lack of men and means compelled the giving up of many plans

Plans to capture Detroit

to send an expedition across Ohio from Fort Pitt to capture Detroit. An advance step was made when Fort Laurens was erected on the Muskingum in Ohio in 1779, but the party defending it was soon withdrawn. The Indian raids on the Wheeling region and the danger of sterner attacks on Fort Pitt and the populous Washington County (Pa.) region absorbed all the means at the hands of the commanders in that sector.

Such was the ominous state of affairs along the Ohio when the war broke in the East and readily enough were the Indians induced to descend upon the stations of the "Blue Grass Country." This region Virginia had promptly annexed, calling it her "County of Kentucky," in 1776. A famous Virginian to enter Kentucky at this time was George Rogers Clark, one of six brothers of a notable upland Virginia family. Clark at once saw through the alarming situation and realized the necessity of planting the American flag in Illinois or seeing it, perhaps, driven out of Kentucky.

The "County of Kentucky"



GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

Our friend of the lean horse was now Governor of Virginia and, in Patrick Henry, Clark found an ally who could procure materials for the expedition and heartily bid it Godspeed. Clark listened well to spies who had been in Illinois and then with one hundred and seventy determined men sped down the Ohio from Louisville to the mouth of Massac Creek where focused numerous trails of bison, Indian, and French missionary—the keys of old Illinois. His small force compelled the ardent young leader to give over a cherished idea of attacking strong Vincennes on the Wabash. He was, however, morally reinforced by the splendid news (which had just arrived) that France had made her alliance with the

The invasion of Illinois

United States; that would be telling logic with the French in the towns to which he was going!

In four days the prairie trail to Kaskaskia, on the stream of that name, was traversed and the town fell without a blow.

Vincennes and Kaskaskia taken

The temperamental inhabitants received the news of the Franco-American treaty with glee and took such steps that their fellow countrymen at Vincennes were won over to hoist an American flag above their town. Clark's treatment of them, as well as of the Indians whom he met, differed wholly from their expectations. British agents had given them to understand that the "Long-Knives," as the Indians called the Virginians from their swords, were nothing less than murderous Huns!

Clark sent his able aide, Captain Helm, to command at Vincennes; others commanded at Kaskaskia and Cahokia (which was taken without a struggle), and a fort was begun on the Ohio to defend the long trail back to Virginia. That state rejoiced in the notable conquest of her young twenty-five-year-old hero and Virginia now added the "County of Illinois" to her other western possessions in October, 1778.

The "County of Illinois"

Governor Hamilton at Detroit, as might be supposed, looked with astonishment upon this occupation of His Majesty's "County of Quebec" by the upstart Virginians. Alarmed at the disloyalty of the inhabitants of the strategic town of Vincennes, he set out post haste, ere winter froze up the beaver dams of the Maumee and the Wabash, to rescue that fort; by breaking down those dams he floated his heavy barges southward and accomplished his mission, taking Helm and his men captive. Thus the winter of 1778–9 opened with Hamilton and Clark glaring toward each other across the brimming or frozen one hundred and sixty miles of Illinois prairie. Neither could be expected to cross that waste until summer came and the floods and ice should disappear.

Hamilton captures Vincennes

But George Rogers Clark was the kind of man to do the unexpected. Rallying a "grand army" of one hundred and sixty

men he struck straight out at his foe. Keeping on the old buffalo and Indian trail between the tributaries of the Kaskaskia on the one hand and the St. Mary, Beaucoup, and Big Muddy rivers on the other, he reached the Little Wabash and across it he led his drenched and half-frozen men. Beyond lay treacherous Crooked Creek and the flooded plains of the Wabash. Yet on, through Flat Prairie, Meadow-in-the-Hole, Corne de Cerf, and Yellow Bark, this grim (map p. 144) party strode, daunted by nothing but the fear of meeting a superhuman obstacle. The memorable march began on February 7th; at dawn of the 18th the morning gun at Vincennes was heard across the flooded plains. On the 23rd Clark, perched on Warrior's Island in the Wabash, sent forward a peremptory order for Hamilton's surrender. Surprised, outguessed, and trapped, the latter had no alternative, and Vincennes was taken on the following day.

Clark's Vincennes campaign

Vincennes captured

The campaign well illustrates, again, that military conquests at this period were largely questions of transportation and that gaining one's objective was often three fourths of the battle. The American flag, now restored over the chief settlement between the Ohio and the Lakes, stood for something very significant in the glad day when the American commissioners met in Paris to set the western boundaries of the new nation. It gave them ground for claiming western territory to the Mississippi River; "and such extension of territory," says Professor West, "was essential to our future development."

The meaning of Clark's victories

READING LIST

Van Tyne, Ch. 15; P. A. Bruce, *Daniel Boone;* C. L. Skinner, *Pioneers of the Old Southwest,* Chaps. 4–7; A. B. Hulbert, *Military Roads of the Mississippi Basin* (Historic Highways, VIII) Chap. 1; see references in Sec. 18 to works of Ogg (Chaps. 3 and 4) Roosevelt, Fiske, Speers, Thwaites, and English; Fox, *Map Studies,* No. 12.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Why has the war in the West received scant attention by historians until recent years? What qualities of military genius may be attributed to Clark?

What might have been the results of his campaign had the colonists lost the war in the seaboard sectors? What might have been the results of his defeat? In what sense may the Illinois campaign be said to have been a step toward the Pacific? What other Clark played a part in western history (p. 215).

Section 20. From King's Mountain to Yorktown

In 1780, when England renewed the struggle against the colonies, she changed her base of operations from the North to the South. The failure of English generals to corner Washington, despite the feebleness and ill-equipped character of his troops, made this transfer to a region in which many loyalists lived seem wise strategy. Little did they guess that they were to find there another "Washington" (General Greene) just as wary, just as patient, and just as unconquerable as the one they had left stubbornly watching, from the New Jersey and New York heights, the British in New York City.

British transfer the war to the South

NATHANAEL GREENE

Charleston, South Carolina, which the British failed to capture in 1776, now fell before the attack of ten thousand men (May 12, 1780). With Savannah, Georgia, in their hands—captured two years before—and their best general, Lord Cornwallis, in command, an auspicious day seemed to have dawned for King George in the South. Two other favorable factors rightly gave the redcoats fresh courage. General Gates was appointed American commander in the South, against Washington's advice; thus England had her best general face to face with our most incompetent. Moreover, the loyalists who had annoyed the upland Scotch-Irish of the Carolinas in every way possible in days of "peace" now relished the opportunity of heaping injury on insult in open war.

Cornwallis in command

The struggle which now took place, therefore, assumed the most terrible phase that war can take—civil strife. Uplander and lowlander here in this sunny land had, as suggested, been engaged in a sectional struggle for many years; slow and expensive court methods and unjust taxation had been forms the persecution had formerly taken. Open war had broken out in 1771 when Governor Tryon had defeated the "Regulators"

Civil strife in the South

MARION, THE "SWAMP FOX," AND THE BRITISH OFFICER

(colonists who had banded together to oppose taxation) in the "Battle of the Alamance," which is locally known as "the first battle of the Revolution."

Thus were sown the seeds of trouble which made the period 1780–1781 days of terror and revenge—when boys like the twelve-year-old Andrew Jackson were imprisoned, and when mothers, like Andrew's mother, died of prison fever contracted while visiting prisoners. Georgia and South Carolina were soon at the mercy of the British. One of the few patriot bands was over-

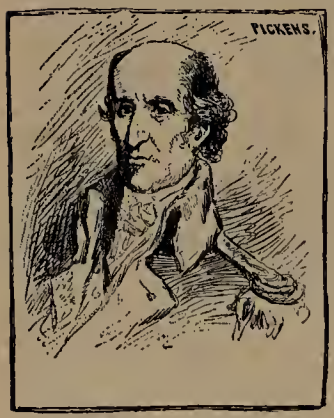
Tarleton in Andrew Jackson's country

whelmed by the raiding Tarleton in Andrew Jackson's Waxhaw country where 500 of the inhabitants asked for quarter; Tarleton massacred them, killing 113 and wounding a larger number. Gates, with an army of 3,000, attacked Lord Rawdon at Camden but was very soundly beaten, August 15, 1780 (map p. 144).

Battle of Camden

One event in these gloomy days stood out vividly. Cornwallis, flushed with his Camden victory, swept up into North Carolina to complete his conquest of the South. His aide, Major Ferguson, with 1,000 raiders scoured the upland country west of Charlotte, N. C., for supplies and reinforcements. The frontiersmen of the Watauga region arose and came over the mountain wall, their number being increased by enlistments to 1,800. They trailed Ferguson toward Charlotte. When driven to cover, he chose the flat top of King's Mountain on the North and South Carolina line for his battleground. Eagerly these mountaineers leaped forward to seize the advantage of turning on Ferguson the old trick by which the French and the Indians had crushed Braddock. Huddled on the high ground, with no pathway of escape, not one of the raiding British but was a fair mark for those hungry Watauga muskets; in the end seven hundred British surrendered (October 17). The news of this victory created hope all out of proportion to the numbers engaged and encouraged the people of North Carolina to hold fast until the "Washington" of the South could arrive and displace Gates.

Victory of King's Mountain



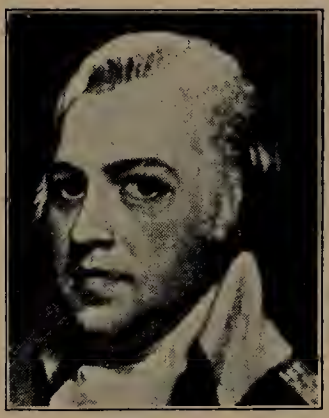
Andrew Pickens. (From an old wood-cut.)

This man was General Nathanael Greene of Rhode Island. Long a student of Washington's Indian tactics in the North, Greene had the patience, the courage, and the steadying qualities that shone so clearly in his great chieftain; whenever he

struck it was his purpose to make the stroke a death-blow; many of his retreats, like Washington's, were victories because they cost the British heavily in time, equipment, provisions, and spirit. But Greene could not have done what he did had the patriot South not brought forth men of the hour equal to its crying needs. In Francis Marion, the Robin Hood of the South, in "Light Horse Harry" Lee, father of that famous soldier and gentleman, Robert E. Lee, and in "Tom" Sumter, Marion's daredevil comrade, were found leaders of unexcelled courage and initiative. In the cunning of Indian warfare no Iroquois or Shawanese could out-rival Marion, the "Swamp Fox." With the memory of the triumph of King's Mountain in their hearts, with men like Greene, Marion, Lee, Sumter, and Pickens at their head, the yeomanry of the upland South rose splendidly to smite the octopus which had so nearly strangled it. By thrilling struggles at Cowpens (January 17, 1781) and at Guilford (March 15, 1781) the defeat of Gates at Camden was wholly revenged and the way paved for one of the prettiest pieces of military strategy ever executed (map p. 144).

Great Southern leaders

The victory of Cowpens



HENRY ("Light-Horse Harry") LEE

At Washington's suggestion Greene adopted the scheme of drawing Cornwallis northward into Virginia by means of pretended defeat and retreat. It was often more than a "pretended" retreat, however, for Morgan and Greene became separated; but the result was the same. With Greene "on the run," Cornwallis followed up each retirement of the patriot army convinced that it was the crowning event of his Southern conquest—this driving the hopelessly defeated Greene out of the South which he had come to reconquer and redeem! Thus the out-

Cornwallis lured northward

guessed Britisher swept, by a zig-zag course, northward into the Old Dominion where two small hostile parties under the traitor, Benedict Arnold, and the high-spirited French youth, Marquis de Lafayette, had been operating against each other during the past year. Cornwallis at once moved to Yorktown on the coast where he thought he could be reinforced and supplied by the British fleet (map p. 165).

Washington's plan now received, whether he had counted on it or not, the boon of capable and timely French coöperation;

The timely aid of France

Count de Grasse with a French fleet moved up Chesapeake Bay and cut Cornwallis off from his expected source of supply. Arnold and Cornwallis joined forces. Lafayette moved up and blocked them on one side. Then came the stroke that spelled the ruin of King George's hopes. Clinton was watching Washington's sentry fires across the river from New York anxiously; at this crisis certain signs caused the British commander to believe that an assault on New York was to be made simultaneously with the effort to conquer Cornwallis. He made every preparation to thwart it.

Thomas Sumter

But those sentry fires were a brilliant hoax! Four days before Clinton learned the truth, the wily Washington, reinforced by 4,000 French troops, was sweeping south (map p. 165) to help bag Cornwallis. Thus upon the doomed British army of 7,000 at Yorktown there converged 16,000 Continentals and French, supported by a French squadron under Count Rochambeau fully able to ward off any fleet Clinton could send against it. There was nothing to do but surrender, and this Cornwallis eventually did, October 19, 1781. "Posterity will huzza for you," said Washington quietly to his jubilant troops in this momentous hour of history, and at his request they refrained from

Cornwallis surrenders

demonstration when the surrender took place. Patient, reserved, and admirably poised through all the taxing years of the war, the Great Virginian was doubly so in this his hour of victory.

"O God," cried the ruined Lord North at the news of the surrender, "it is all over now"; for it was a foregone conclusion that the Whig party in England would now triumph and turn out the ministry which had handled the whole American matter with so little wisdom and so little judgment. Moreover, it was evident that, once in power, the Whigs would grant the successful colonists lenient terms in the Treaty of Paris which should make the United States an independent nation. These expectations were fully justified and peace was concluded in a preliminary form November 30, 1782. It set the boundaries of the new nation (map following p. 298) along the Great Lakes. It made the Mississippi River the western boundary line, not only including Virginia's western county of Illinois but the far Northwest above Illinois as well. In the South, Spain was given Florida, the line standing on the 31st parallel. It was agreed that the private debts owed by Americans to British merchants should be honored and paid and that Loyalists who had not taken up arms for the King should be treated impartially.

King George yields

Preliminary peace

The Siege of Yorktown

It had been a peculiar war. The immense extent of territory over which it had been fought, and the weakness of British generalship, made the winning of it by England impossible; for had it been lost at one point on the seaboard it might have been

won at another; and if lost entirely throughout the whole seaboard there was room for it to be won again in the home of the Gods of the Mountains back of that giant frontier. Well does Professor Bassett hit the nail on the head by saying: "It was, in fact, long marches rather than men and muskets that put an end to the British power in America."

The war on the sea

In good part, however, the war was won on the sea—a phase of the struggle which must not be overlooked, for it brought some curious international complications of lasting influence in our history. England was, then, a law to herself on the ocean. She forcibly reclaimed impressed English sailors from ships of other navies. She also called goods "contraband" (goods which cannot legally be sent into a belligerent country) or not, according to the whim of the moment without regard to the opinions of others. The colonial navy, which never totalled fifty small ships with about 800 small guns in all, was no match for England's fleets. But the hundreds of fleet cruisers, fitted out for privateering, proved veritable dirk-knives to British merchantmen and caused a loss in the very first year of the war more than 6,206 times greater than the annual profit from revenues England received from the colonies before the war.[1]

THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE

While New England played the important part in this phase of the war (to the great profit of her privateers) every colony had a part in it. With the signing of the treaty of alliance with France, American skippers gained a legal right to ply their

[1]That profit in 1770 was £295; the loss at sea the first year of the war was £1,800,000—not counting increased freight and insurance rates.

warfare from the French coast as they had been doing earlier—with the secret aid of French harbor-masters.

John Paul Jones

In 1778 John Paul Jones, America's chief hero in the war with England on the seas, received four ships from France. With this fleet he harried the coasts of England. Near Hull, on September 23, 1779, Jones, in his flagship, the *Bon Homme Richard*, sighted a fleet of British merchantmen being convoyed by the *Serapis*, a more powerful fighter than his own ship. The odds against him only redoubled his energy. At the outset of the battle two of his guns burst. He succeeded, however, in lashing the two ships together, and, in a hand-to-hand conflict, the Britishers were compelled to yield. The exploit gave to the American navy an heroic tradition for bravery and shocked England's confidence to its foundation stones.

League of Armed Neutrality

England retaliated on France for her American alliance by seizing French cargoes; whereupon France appealed to neutral Russia, proposing an "armed neutrality league" which was soon formed. Eventually it was agreed to by ten nations jealous of England, including the United States. The immediate result was that four powers were arrayed against England: France, Spain, and Holland, in addition to the colonies. This explains England's lack of interest in the war against the colonies in 1779 and, in large part, the political revolution which brought the Whigs into power in England, and the quick abandonment of the war and recognition of the new Republic.

The American victory a gain for England

But if the war was lost to England because of long marches, as Professor Bassett has said, it was won for America by the man who, more than all others, made those marches as costly and as exhausting as possible—by the patience, firmness, and never-failing courage of Washington, behind whom always stood—even if it tottered now and then—the faith of a God-fearing people in the English principles which the war re-established. England was, therefore, stronger, not weaker, for its loss. The most cherished traditions of the English were at

stake at Saratoga, King's Mountain, Bunker Hill, and at far Vincennes. Splendidly, indeed, has one of Indiana's poets, Maurice Thompson, put this matter:

> The whelp that nipped its mother's dug in turning from her breast,
> And smacked its lusty lips and built its own lair in the West,
> Has stretched its limbs and looked about and roared across the sea
> "Oh, mother, I did bite thee hard, but still thou lovest me."
>
> * * * *
>
> World-conquering mother, hard we bit in parting from thy breast,
> Yet still we smack our lusty lips and love thy milk the best;
> For the blood our mother gave us is the true imperial strain;
> She bore one cub, one only, but it wears the lion's mane.

READING LIST

Wrong, Chaps. 9–11; Skinner, Chaps. 8–11; Van Tyne, Chaps. 15–18; Fiske, II, Chaps. 12 and 15; Channing, III, Chaps. 11 and 12; R. D. Paine, *The Old Merchant Marine*, Chaps. 2 and 3; Fox, *Map Studies*, No. 12.

1. The Treaty of Paris: in addition to above see: J. B. Moore, *American Diplomacy*, 29–31, 88–90; J. W. Foster, *A Century of American Diplomacy*, Chap. 2; C. R. Fish, *American Diplomacy*, Chap. 5.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Explain the larger number of Loyalists in the South. What racial and religious differences determined the "civil war" character of the war in that section? This war has been called "conservative" in character: what is meant? Were our forefathers fighting for new principles? A high English official has said that while England "lost [the American] colonies from want of intelligence and sympathy she learned a lesson in the art of keeping the rest" (of her colonies). What would have been the effect on the "liberties of Englishman in England" if she had won? In what colonies did England practice the lesson she learned most successfully? Did Ireland profit by it? Quebec? (Look up the Quebec Act of 1791 and compare it with that of 1774.) Do wars ever "pay" unless they bring something that money can not buy? May the abolition (if it is permanent) of monarchy from Germany and Russia have "paid" the peoples of these lands for all the Great War cost? What trait in Washington and Grant (p. 367) in the hour of greatest success commends their characters to posterity? Can we acclaim it as a distinctly American trait?

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST CRITICAL YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC

It was one thing to outline a noble theory of government as Jefferson did in the Declaration of Independence, but a very different thing to bring it into existence. In the present chapter we observe how the poor, outworn machinery (Articles of Confederation) which carried the colonies through the war was put aside and how a genuine government with real powers was created and set to work.

Few sterner tasks were ever given to legislators, but the best testimony to their success is the fact that, despite all the changes of nearly a century and a half, we are still living under the government which they created. When we consider how marvelously the nation has expanded, how greatly its population has grown and how complex it has become, we appreciate the truth of Professor Channing's words when he said that this Constitution now formed was "the most marvelous written political instrument that has ever been made."

But it is one thing to write a document and another thing to have a common understanding of what its words really mean. Almost at the outset, as the first President, Washington, set the wheels of government going, there appeared to be two ways by which the Constitution might be interpreted; this gave rise to our first political parties, Federalists and Republicans, one advocating a strong central government and the other very jealous lest the central government should encroach upon the rights of the states and individual citizens.

It was difficult enough to start the new government with all varied problems of finance, public lands, taxation, and international relations to meet; the rise of this bitter political rivalry added greatly to the trials of the brilliant group of men who were, fortunately, placed in positions of trust and responsibility in this doubly critical period.

Section 21. Entering into Our Inheritance

Possibly Washington had an inkling of the difficult days ahead when he asked his men not to huzza at Yorktown. We saw after the Great War with the Central Powers that the problems following a war may be more difficult to handle than those of the war itself.

Such was the case in the critical days that followed Yorktown. The First and Second Continental Congresses which had "governed" the country during the war recognized each state as a law unto itself and as bound to do nothing that did not suit its own sweet will. These congresses had no real executive power. Scarcely one of the many influences which, as we have seen, tended to keep the colonies apart, did not now, in the glorious day of independence, come to be felt again—some of them with redoubled power. The situation was saved because of the influence of a few wise men who, amid the turmoil of sectional strife, disorder in foreign affairs, and financial chaos, kept steady and retained the confidence of the people. But for Washington, Morris, Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, Jay, Wilson, Sherman, Hamilton, and King, order might never have been established. True, they left some important questions unsettled but they made agreement possible on certain vital points.

The "Critical Period" and its men

Rufus Putnam

Maryland has been given credit for showing the way toward union in one important direction. She refused to sign the "Articles of Confederation" until every state had promised to give up all claims (map following this page) to the vast western wilderness. With certain reasonable reservations on the part of Virginia and Connecticut. this was agreed to, grudgingly. The weak Con-

Congress and the West

THE UNITED STATES IN 1789. (Showing rival claims of states to western lands, also lake ports not surrendered by England.)

gress found itself, therefore, at the end of the war master of the giant empire won by the war beyond the Alleghenies. Its wise handling of this great problem is one thing to the credit of this helplessly handicapped legislative body. It immediately took some radically constructive steps. It passed a resolution, for instance, that the region north of the Ohio River should be admitted piece-meal into the Union and that each state so admitted should have every right belonging to the original Thirteen.

Congress promises statehood in the West

This decree started men to thinking. It put before them a dim diagram of what the United States was likely to become. In 1776 and 1780 Congress had offered bounty lands to men who would enlist in the Continental Army. This diagram showed where these lands could be had—in a new country and one exceedingly rich. As early as 1783 the officers of the Continental Army, to the number of nearly three hundred, petitioned Congress that a new state be created for them in the eastern portion of this region, Ohio. The request that they be allowed to cash in their claims for land in that country was wholly reasonable, and the fact that they would move there in a body would assure everyone that it would be a genuine American state and be kept true to the principles for which the war was fought.

Army officers petition for western lands

But this Congress, which so firmly marked out a national policy in outline, was also wise in handling the problem in detail. Land could not be granted until a form of government and a land policy had been decided upon. Our northern land system was the township system common to New England. In the South the county system prevailed, from the Gulf to the Potomac. The Middle Colonies had prospered under a combination of both systems. The outstanding difference between the two was that in the township system the land was surveyed before it was sold. Every purchaser knew exactly the bounds of his land and had a title as against both the state and any adjoining neighbor. Which of these two systems should be adopted

Northern land system adopted

now by the Nation? The committee appointed by Congress to settle this important question contained more Southerners than Northerners; but it decided unanimously in favor of the northern system.

As Virginians had played the leading part in conquering this trans-Ohio country it was one thing for this "weak" Congress to establish a land policy and another thing to enforce it. It

The First Capital of the Northwest Territory. (Marietta, Ohio.)

seemed cruel business to destroy the huts of the many squatters who had crossed the Ohio, but this was done and surveyors were hurried westward in 1786 to the spot where Pennsylvania's western line crossed the Ohio River. From that point they began to run township lines and the system of line running now begun then and there progressed steadily through the following century until it touched the Pacific and covered like a net-work the far outlying islets of Key West off Florida.

Government over this territory beyond Pennsylvania was set up with equal promptness. By the Ordinances of 1784, 1785, and 1787 a frame of government, bill of rights for the future inhabitants, and a land system were adopted. That of 1787 was the one which actually went into operation, granting civil and

religious liberty, *habeas corpus*,[1] trial by jury, and debarring slavery in the region. It also outlined the method by which certain areas could become states in the Union when they acquired a population of 60,000 inhabitants. Of this splendidly constructive act Daniel Webster once said that he doubted "if any law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character." By prohibiting slavery in this territory it set a precedent of far-reaching influence.

Ordinance of 1787

Of importance in the passage of this Ordinance of 1787 was the influence of a group of Revolutionary officers, who, failing in the plan to get Congress to grant land as at first proposed, formed an Ohio Company of Associates in Boston in 1786. They offered to take their capital stock of Continental certificates ($1,000,000) and purchase from the United States a section of the proposed territory (map following p. 170). The offer won some friends in Congress because, if accepted, it was certain that the western country would by such means get the benefit of the best pioneers the original Thirteen Colonies had to give. It won other friends because it bore out the argument that the West was, as they had contended, an asset which could help pay the Revolutionary War debt. So strong were these friends combined that the agent of the company, the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, was allowed to edit the Ordinance of 1787 to suit the ideas of these prospective first settlers. The Ordinance of 1787 and the Ohio Company purchase, therefore, went hand in hand. The first settlement of the new territory was made at Marietta, Ohio, April 7, 1788, by Generals Rufus Putnam, Tupper, Varnum, Parsons, and others; here the temporary capital of the territory was established three months later by the formal inauguration of General Arthur St. Clair, formerly president of the Continental

The Ohio Company and the Ordinance

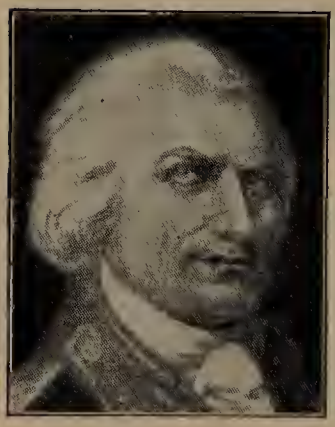
The first settlement of the territory

[1] A *habeas corpus* is a writ addressed to an officer of the law (as constable or sheriff) who has charge of, or is detaining, a prisoner. It orders him to produce the body of such a person at a certain time and place and to name the day and cause of his "caption and detention." The writ makes impossible the illegal holding of a prisoner.

Congress, as first Governor of the Northwest Territory. Thus definite American rule was established over what is now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and a part of Minnesota. Weak and inefficient the Congress that did all this may have been in affairs over which it had little control; but the verdict of history has been well voiced by our premier authority of this period, Professor McLaughlin, when he said of the Ordinance of 1787 "it was one of the wisest documents ever issued by a deliberative assembly."

Ohio Indians aroused

Indian problems at once arose as migration into this Northwest began to increase. The government attempted to treat honorably its red children. It drew fair boundary lines, but white renegades, young redskin warriors, and headstrong immigrants made peace impossible. An unprovoked attack of mischievous Indians on the Ohio Company's outpost at Big Bottom (Stockport, Ohio) in 1791 resulted in a campaign led by General Harmer northward from Cincinnati toward Lake Erie. It brought no relief. General St. Clair in 1792 was roundly whipped on the same track by warriors under skillful Little Turtle the following year. But the trouble was ended by "Mad Anthony" Wayne, who, obeying Washington's command to forget rashness and work with Indian cunning, crushed Little Turtle at Fallen Timber on the Maumee River in northwestern Ohio in 1794. The Treaty of Greenville, the year after, was signed by all the hostile tribes, bringing peace, for the time being, to the Northwest. Simultaneously Jay's Treaty and the Treaty of San Lorenzo, both to be mentioned later, coupled with the Treaty of Greenville, served to bring a new era of expansion into the Great Lakes and Mississippi basins.



Arthur St. Clair. (First Governor of the Northwest Territory.)

The Battle of Fallen Timber

Thus, in outline, did we enter into our inheritance and extend national control over the physical body of the then United States, lying between the Atlantic, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi River. By the land system adopted in the Ordinance of 1787 "ranges" were to be laid out into townships six miles square. These were to be divided into 36 sections of one mile square, or 640 acres, each. At first these sections were sold at auction at $1.00 per acre. By 1800 land offices were being opened by the Government at convenient points in the West and half sections were sold at $2.00 per acre. In 1820 the price was reduced to $1.25 per acre and one could buy as little as one eighth of a section (80 acres). In legislating, allotting, and granting land in these first days there was much looseness and opportunity for sharp practice and fraud. A typical instance of this was the speculation of a group of New York financiers going under the name of the "Scioto trustees," who obtained an option on a portion of Ohio which was thought to be embraced within the Ohio Company's purchase; this option they attempted to sell in Europe without having paid anything on it themselves. It was a day of much wild-cat speculation in lands, in Continental certificates, as we shall see, and in both our home and foreign debts. Such speculations were common to these new and uncertain days before anything like national and private credit had been established. Yet, in spite of the fact that dishonest men took advantage of this situation, a system for the orderly sale of western lands was formed. Land offices did a thriving business, and thousands pressed forward in these critical years, 1787–1800, to a genuine home-building conquest of the wilderness. True, all the rivers of the country flowed toward enemies' territory—toward Spain

Land frauds

Anthony Wayne

Frontier dangers

or Canada—and transportation of produce was easy only by water. Yet for these handicaps solutions were discovered as soon as the new government gained strength and self-confidence.

READING LIST

M. Farrand, *The Fathers of the Constitution* (Chronicles of America, XIII) Chaps. 2–5; A. C. McLaughlin, *The Confederation and Constitution* (American Nation, X) 108–122; J. Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History*, Chap. 5; B. A. Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest*, 255–269; C. Moore, *The Northwest Under Three Flags;* F. A. Ogg, *The Old Northwest*, Chaps. 5 and 6; J. Winsor-*The Westward Movement;* T. Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, II, Chap. 9; P. J. Treat, *The National Land System;* A. B. Hulbert (ed.) *Records of the Ohio Company* (Marietta College Historical Collection I and II); Fox, *Map Studies*, No. 13.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

In which type of colony, charter, royal, or proprietary, was initiative to expand westward most powerful? Is any rule observable? Why was the territory southwest of the Ohio (Kentucky and Tennessee) so short-lived? How long did the territory northwest of the Ohio exist as such? How did the claims of the eastern states to western lands delay the development of the Northwest? Why was it very advantageous to have Revolutionary officers and soldiers settle in the West? May the Ohio Company of Associates be said to have made the Ordinance of 1787 possible? Practicable? Look up definition of word "range". Would the Revolutionary War have been fought if England had promised the colonies what Congress promised the people of the western territories in the Ordinance of 1787? Had Congress treated those territories as England treated her colonies would they have fought for independence? Might Germany have profited from this example of liberality in her treatment of Alsace-Lorraine after 1871?

Section 22. Framing a Constitution

Hand in hand with Congress's settlement of the vital question of western expansion came the solution of the problem of greatest magnitude. What kind of national government should we have? Efforts to quiet an ancient dispute between Virginia and Maryland over tariff differences led to the calling of a convention of delegates which met at Annapolis in 1786 to secure better harmony between all

Annapolis convention

the states on certain fundamental matters. The briefest discussion, however, showed that the gulf of differences was so wide and the problems were so vital to the existence of the nation, that only a full representation of the wisest men of the whole country could hope to bring a satisfactory answer. The convention therefore adjourned, after advising that a call be issued for a national constitutional convention to be held at Philadelphia to amend the Articles of Confederation. The Continental Congress issued such a call and the convention to discuss this great question met at Philadelphia on May 25, 1787, all the states being represented except Rhode Island. The best talent of the nation, with an exception or two, gathered on this momentous occasion; the most influential were probably Washington (who was naturally chosen as presiding officer) and Franklin, although neither of these men did much speech-making. The delegates to the convention were not uniformly instructed by their states; some were told to vote only to amend tbe Articles of Confederation; some were uninstructed.

Constitutional convention meets

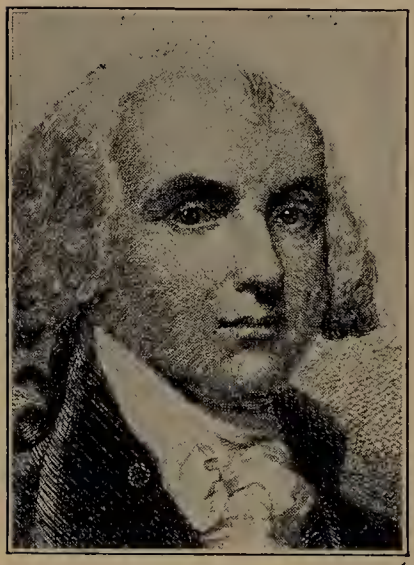
No greater task ever faced men representing so large a country and one having such diversified interests. Yet there lay at hand for their examination the world's experience in government-making—(a) numerous documents of ancient statesmen, (b) the written and unwritten constitutions of nations, (c) the colonial charters under which the several colonies had been governed in their infancy, and (d) the various state constitutions which had, in numerous instances, been developed from those charters.

The sources of a constitution

Fortunately at the very start a wise, but very radical, decision was made to ignore their instructions and to make a new Constitution and not to attempt to amend the flimsy fabric of the Articles of Confederation. This decision was a bold one for, in general, the states expected their delegates only to make those Articles strong at points in which they were weak. But the decision was as sensible as it was bold. The Articles (p. 152) had served a good temporary purpose; the experiment with them was very

Instructions ignored

valuable in showing wherein a new plan of government, if it was to succeed, must be made strong. When you find a man who can promise but cannot perform you distrust him. Our government under the Confederation was in that plight and distrust of it was the rule. It could not even compel its citizens to observe the treaties it made with foreign nations. It was, therefore, in disrepute both abroad and at home. The decision to fashion a new Constitution and not to try to patch up the old Articles was, therefore, wise.



JAMES MADISON

Weakness of the government under the Articles

The delegates were, in the first place, agreed that a government composed of three branches, executive, legislative, and judicial, should be created. The main difference of opinion that existed among them takes us straight back to the old trouble to which we have given previous attention—the quarrel between the little colonies and the big. True, the oldtime fear held steadily by little-colony men (that their rights and privileges would be infringed upon by those of the larger colonies) had not been realized, except as New Jersey had felt the dominating economic influence of the two great colonies of New York and Pennsylvania which lay on either side of her. In the matter of sovereignty and integrity the small states had always claimed, and now loudly demanded, all the recognition permitted to the larger. Consequently, as soon as the question of representation in the second main branch, the legislative, arose, a marked difference of

A government of three branches agreed upon

The old big-and-little-state quarrel

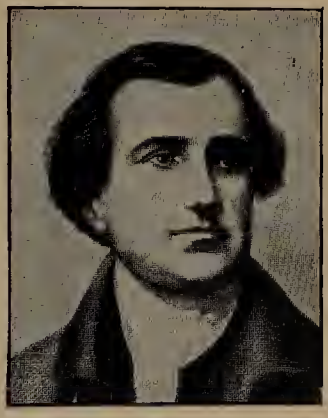
opinion developed. The little states wanted equal representation with the great. It was over a compromise here that the main struggle for the Constitution was waged. The question is also of unusual importance because it is vitally connected with the long, bitter discussion waged over "States Rights" in later years.

The "big" states (measured by population and wealth) were Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania; on the present issue, however, the two Carolinas and Georgia were inclined to side with them. The "small" states were New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Connecticut. New Hampshire and Rhode Island were not represented.

The "big" states

The Virginia delegates were the first to arrive at Philadelphia and were ready at the outset to offer a "Virginia Plan." By this plan the Nation was to be governed by a Congress of two Houses; the lower House ("House of Representatives") was to be chosen by all the "people" who were entitled to vote; each state was to have a certain proportion of delegates according to population and wealth; by it the "big" states would have about sixteen "congressmen" to one or two from each of the "little" states. The upper House ("Senate") was to be elected by the lower; the small states had no assurance that they would be represented at all in the upper House. Madison and Edmund Randolph were the debators for this "Virginia Plan."

The "Virginia Plan"



EDMUND RANDOLPH

The small state men did not object to many centralizing ideas in the Virginia Plan but they would not submit to its plan of representation in Congress. They offered in its place the "New Jersey Plan," although they were not all a unit in advocating it. This plan pro-

The "New Jersey Plan"

posed equal representation of the states in Congress. You see at once that the question before these men was "Shall we have a nation founded on a popular basis or on a state basis?" If the decision was in favor of the Virginia Plan its friends could claim that the government was founded by the "people"; if the New Jersey Plan carried its friends could say it was founded by the "states." One plan emphasized the supremacy of the people, the other plan the supremacy of the states. If the convention chose the second of these alternatives it would be easy for men afterward to claim that the government was a compact between states. Paterson of New Jersey was the chief spokesman for the small-state men.

Origin of "compact idea" of government

But neither one of these plans was adopted. When they were discussed in the committee which was appointed to talk them over the large-state men had the upper hand but the small-state men were good politicians. One, more radical than the others (or maybe a better "bluffer"), voiced the threat that, if not satisfied at the decision reached, the small states would form a confederacy of their own. The fact that they were all grouped close together between Rhode Island and Maryland possibly made this threat seem reasonable.

The "Little States" threat

The result, as is often true in such cases, was a compromise. This was the "Connecticut Plan." It proposed that in one branch of Congress, the House, representation should be based on the large-state plan, i. e., according to population. In the other, the Senate, it should be based on the small-state plan, according to states. The proposal was objected to strenuously by delegates in both camps at first; in fact, the bitterness shown by some of the large-state men to the idea of giving little states an equal voice with the great in the Senate may be said to have led to the success of the compromise. When the Connecticut plan seemed about to fail, a committee of one member from each state was appointed in the hope of developing some compromise which would succeed. The most con-

"The Connecticut Plan"

Compromise debated

servative of the large-state men, Madison and Edmund Randolph, Wilson, Morris and Rufus King, opposed even the appointment of a committee. Naturally such men were not put on a committee which they did not favor. Moderate men like Benjamin Franklin were appointed; they favored compromise, and a plan very similar to the Connecticut Plan was reported from the committee. This spirit of compromise pervaded the Convention as a whole. It finally adopted the compromise idea by which the states are represented in our House of Representatives according to population and in the Senate equally, two from each state.

The first compromise adopted

The type of government established through the Great Compromise, and related acts, makes our Nation singular. Under the Confederation our Government acted directly on the several states, requesting them to perform this service or that—and often in vain. Under the Constitution, "we the people" are directly governed by both national and state governments. The old Confederation had the right to request almost anything of a state but could enforce no demand. It could request nothing of an individual. Under the Constitution, as it was now framed, certain prescribed duties can be demanded by the national government of the states, on the one hand, and of individuals on the other. Other prescribed duties can be demanded by the states of individuals.

Government under the Confederation and Constitution compared

The Constitution is, therefore, in a sense a set of rules by which we play the game of government. These are divided generally into three sections: (a) the powers awarded to Congress; (b) the powers denied to the states; (c) powers reserved to the states. Each citizen lives, therefore, under dual governments; but that which touches us most closely in daily life is the government by the state in which we live.

Three general divisions of the Constitution

Long colonial experience with royal governors, who had miscellaneous powers, explains one important characteristic of the

new Constitution. This is its wise set of checks and balances. Each department, executive, legislative, and judicial, was given power to protect itself from encroachment. No bill passed by the House of Representatives becomes a law without the sanction of the Senate. The right of the House to originate taxation serves as a check on the executive. The Supreme Court was so created that it soon began to exercise the hitherto unheard-of right to declare whether laws were constitutional or not. Whether the Fathers intended it to exercise such a sweeping power is not proven, but, from the standpoint of originality, this became the most remarkable feature of the new Constitution. By the "Virginia Plan" Congress was to have the power to veto acts passed by state legislatures. This would not be agreed to. But, without debate, a section from the New Jersey Plan was adopted, which demanded that state courts should look on Federal laws that were in accord with the Constitution as "the supreme law of the respective 'states'" and superior to state laws. It was unity on this subject that gave to the second section of Article VI of the Constitution its famous declaration that the Constitution was the "supreme Law of the Land."

Rufus King

The Supreme Court's powerful prerogative

Such were the main points in the great document which was made possible by the first compromise. Two other compromises also played a part in completing the work. The South was flooded with Africans. Were they to be counted as "citizens" or "inhabitants" or how? It was agreed to adopt the scheme, devised some three years before by the Continental Congress, and count a slave as three fifths of a man. A state, therefore, with 100,000 slaves counted them as 60,000 people when reckoning how many members it could have in the House by his compromise. Congress agreed not to touch the slave

trade (importation of slaves) for twenty years, though a tax might be levied on each slave imported. This was the third compromise.

This Constitution now went before the people of the land for adoption—to be voted on by local state conventions of delegates chosen by districts. Those favoring the Constitution styled themselves "Federalists" and those opposing it were known as "Anti-Federalists." Many feared the new document. Patrick Henry went to the Virginia State Convention to oppose it. In general the democratic interior feared that this newly centralized power was something akin to autocratic British rule; it feared that discrimination would be made against it anew by lowland majorities; it saw tithe-gatherers coming, as of yore, to collect taxes voted for by the pillars of the banks and churches of the seaboard cities. These bogies were painted black by many orators, but they were no less bogies.

The Constitution before the people

Doubts likewise filled the minds of many in the states along the Atlantic. Counties not fifty miles from Boston had majorities that were strongly opposed to the Constitution; Boston itself was almost evenly balanced on the question until the influence of the Adams family was swung in its favor.

Features in the Constitution which would have caused greatest outcry (and which would doubtless have led to its defeat) were not clearly recognized at the time. If it had even been hinted that a Union was being formed from which no state could withdraw without a constitutional amendment, the Constitution would probably not have been accepted. If men had realized that a Supreme Court had been established which would have the power of interpreting the Constitution, the "Anti-Federalists" would doubtless have been in the great majority. In place of seeing and discussing these features, which would have aroused a storm of protest, the Anti-Federalists contented themselves with ideas and phrases of lesser weight. They denounced the convention which made the Constitution as one composed of "aristocrats"

Features which would have been objectionable not recognized at the time

and deplored the fact that the meetings had been held in secret. They tried to make people think that the Constitution foreshadowed a monarchical form of government. These arguments lacked weight and were recognized as, in large part, born of prejudice and not of common sense.

One genuine objection to the Constitution was the fact that it lacked a bill of rights, or set of laws that tended to safeguard the personal liberties of the citizens of the nation. This lack the states met by offering another, or fourth compromise. They proposed to ratify the document with certain amendments which supplied such safeguards. Of these Pennsylvania's amendments were perhaps most important. There were ten of them which were to be submitted to Congress; other states were asked to ratify on this same basis. This compromise had its effect both in New York and Massachusetts. Congress finally adopted the suggestion and, in keeping with the promise made by members of numerous states to the voters who elected them, proceeded to add ten amendments in the nature of a bill of rights which limited the power of the national government, but which in no way bound the states.[1]

Pennsylvania's proposed Bill of Rights

Heroic work by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay—three powerful writers—who published papers called *The Federalist*, and the quiet but enormous influence of Washington, Franklin, and others, were vital factors in winning the day. People took their word for it that "King George" was not being supplanted by "King Congress." The Constitution was offered to the nation September 28, 1787; in July, 1788, the necessary nine states (a

Adoption of the Constitution

[1]The methods provided for amending the Constitution may well be marked with care. In several instances, as we shall see, very important amendments have been made to the document. An amendment may originate (a) by a proposal adopted by two thirds of both Houses of Congress, or (b) one may be proposed by another national convention (such as that of 1787) called by Congress at the request of two thirds of the states. All amendments, so far, have been proposed in the first way mentioned.

After being legally proposed by Congress, an amendment must be ratified by three fourths of the states of the Union acting (a) through their legislatures, or (b) through conventions specially called for the purpose.

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common Defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article. I.

Section. 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill

THE OPENING LINES OF THE CONSTITUTION. (Facsimile reproduction of the original document.)

majority) had ratified it and it became the "Law of the Land." By May, 1790, all the states had come into the fold.

The student should become familiar with this Constitution under which we live (see appendix). The new government, which came into existence with the election of executive officers and members of Congress in 1789, resembled in only a slight way the Confederation which preceded it; in some ways, it did not resemble the government we know to-day.

The new government

Its framework has remained little changed. At the head stands a President and a Vice-President elected for four years. The Vice-President is president of the Senate. The two Houses of Congress are the lower House, or House of Representatives, and the upper, or the Senate. The members of the House are chosen for a term of two years by the legal voters of "Congressional districts" in each state. One representative was allowed for every 30,000 population, but every state was permitted one representative whatever its population.[1] Thus the "Virginia Plan" operates in this respect to-day. Members of the Senate, two for each state, are elected for a term of six years. Thus the "New Jersey Plan" is also perpetuated to-day.

Membership in the House and the Senate

Likewise the old Confederation, under which we won the Revolutionary War, has, in a sense, come down to us. Congress, to-day, has certain powers which the Congress of the Confederation had. These are: the right to (a) establish and control post offices and post roads, (b) borrow money, (c) coin money and fix standards of weights and measures, (d) define and punish crimes on high seas, (e) create and maintain a navy, (f) make rules and regulations for an army, (g) declare war, (h) grant letters of marque,[2] (i) approve treaties (the Senate's prerogative).

Old powers of Congress

[1]The present apportionment is one representative for every 212,407 persons.

[2]Letters of marque are commissions authorizing someone to seize goods belonging to a public enemy.

The vast enlargement of Congress's powers granted by the Constitution is seen when the following were added (note not only their wider range but also their quality): Congress has the right to (1) lay and collect taxes, both direct and indirect; (2) regulate both interstate and foreign trade; (3) enact immigration laws; (4) pass uniform bankruptcy laws; (5) enact copyright and patent laws; (6) raise and support an army; (7) call out militia to execute laws or put down disorder; (8) control the district in which the national capital is located; (9) buy, with the consent of the states, land for forts, public buildings, and works, etc., and control the same; (10) pass laws to make it easy for Congress to exercise its legal powers; (11) suspend writ of *habeas corpus* in extreme cases; (12) regulate the election of presidential electors; (13) pass on the validity of the election of Congressmen; (14) dispose of and govern territory and property of the government; (15) admit new states to the Union. It is rather interesting that the "Fathers" made no provision by which legally the United States could increase its territory.

New powers of Congress granted by the Constitution

When the Constitution went into operation an experiment was begun the success of which has fascinated the attention of the world. No great nation had ever succeeded in the attempt to operate on the basis of a definite written Constitution. Our success is due to the fact that patriotism and love of country have ruled. We have made words mean the thing which necessity and growth have demanded that they must mean. Our President's powers have been enormously increased. The President's cabinet has grown into a body Washington never thought of. In its establishment of a system of Federal Courts and in the growth of close relations between these courts and the nation's business, nationalism has been developed beyond the fondest dream of any old-time "Federalist." On the other hand, the electoral college, in which men of the eighteenth century reposed confidence, has become a meaningless formula in our time. One of our kindly disposed critics, the late Lord

The Constitution an experiment

Bryce, said that, while we have not broken our Constitution, we have good-naturedly bent it quite to the breaking-point. Much of American history from this time on concerns these temptations to break it and to the methods by which we have "bent" it to meet the exigencies of unparalleled national growth and development. This has been done by interpreting it either "loosely" or "strictly." As we shall see, this became a mark of distinction between our first political parties.[1]

READING LIST

Farrand, Chaps. 5–8; McLaughlin, Chaps 11–14; M. Farrand, *The Framing of the Constitution*, Chaps. 1–7; E. Channing, *History*, Chaps. 14 and 15; J. B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, I, Chap. 4; *The Federalist;* J. Fiske, Chaps. 5–8; J. B. Scott, *The United States of America*, Chaps. 4–7, orations for and against the Constitution by Wilson, Henry, Madison, and Hamilton, see S. B. Harding (ed.) *Select Orations*, 47–103.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Were the instructed delegates to the constitutional convention justified in breaking their instructions? What were the chief weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation? What conditions led to the realization of those weaknesses? What is a "compromise"? What kinds are justifiable? What are the dangers to be avoided in compromising? Why was the personnel of the last committee on compromising a vital factor in the outcome? If neither Madison nor Hamilton was satisfied with the Constitution why did they work so hard for its ratification? Were the objections raised to it similar to those raised against the present League of Nations? Is the extent to which the Constitution has been "bent" a proof of its weakness or strength? Do we foresee the real objections to the League of Nations better than the "Fathers" foresaw the weak places in the Constitution? Does the League covenant provide a method by which nations which are parties to it may withdraw? Would such a provision have made our Constitution better fitted for fulfilling America's destiny?

[1] Numerous proposals have been made that a new constitutional convention be called to form a new American Constitution. The chief argument in favor of this course is that we have too rigid a government, that more flexibility is desirable.

Section 23. Starting the Wheels of Government

For the head of the new government there could be but one choice, and Washington, who received all the votes cast, was inaugurated April 30, 1789. His fitness for the office was well known. But his qualities for leadership have only been partly recognized. He had caught a vision few men possessed of what our Republic could become. No sooner was victory over England in sight, in 1783, than Washington left his camp on the Hudson for a tour up that river and the Mohawk—to see with his own eyes that important pathway of migration to the Great Lakes which he was confident would one day be opened to the West. Very soon after returning home to Mount Vernon he declined Lafayette's warm invitation to visit France and mounted his horse to traverse those Allegheny trails toward Pittsburgh on which his boyhood battles had been fought—to see again the Virginia and Pennsylvania rivers which he was confident would, also, become mighty channels of westward migration and trade.

Washington elected President

Thus early, in 1784, he wrote an important letter to Governor Harrison of Virginia. In it he declared that a living republic must be a growing republic. He believed that the West would soon be flooded with immigrants and that we could only make them happy under our flag by opening the channels of trade and commerce thither; otherwise their political interests would follow their trade downstream, to the Mississippi and to Spain. As president of the Potomac Company in these years he put his theories into operation—at the same time summoning Pennsylvania and New York to spring forward to the task of continental occupation. With prophetic insight he stood, in imagination, at Detroit and traced our future lines of commerce from that point to the Atlantic by the St. Lawrence, the Hudson, the Potomac, and the James, and marked out on paper what have actually become the great highways of travel and commerce in our day. No one else saw

His "Letter to Harrison"

A vision of commercial expansion

America's manifest destiny so clearly at the time as its first President. Whatever designs England, France, or Spain may have had on our trans-Allegheny country, Washington's remedy —commercial unity—was to prove efficient.

Putting the government in motion

The chief business of the hour, however, was the difficult task of starting up the wheels of government. No one, probably, could have managed better than this well-poised Virginian in whom so many had implicit faith. He encountered trials, it is true, which made him wish he were "in his grave," but another man might have been driven there by the waves of factional strife which threatened—but never mastered—this true "Father of

The Capitol of the United States

his Country." In choosing Jefferson as Secretary of State and Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury, Washington formed the basis of his official family—the group of men which would one day be called the "Cabinet." This Cabinet, however, contained the seeds of a cruel quarrel. Hamilton and Jefferson represented two types of men, two types of thinking. One of these was a political executive, the other a scholarly idealist—types always necessary, one to make a government a smoothly running machine which can

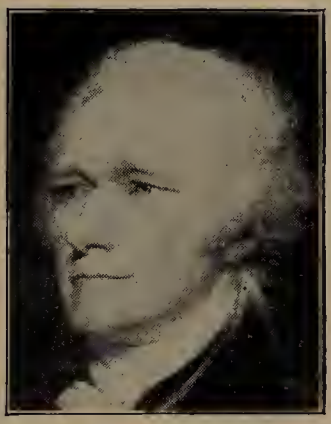
Hamilton and Jefferson

pay its way, and the other a force which keeps it true to its ideals.

Hamilton did a giant's work in putting the nation on its feet financially. He scorned those who suggested the thought of cancelling the nation's foreign debt of $11,000,000, and he believed that the domestic debt ($44,000,000) should be assumed, or "funded," by the government.[1] There were two reasons for objecting to this plan: in the first place some states had paid their bills better than others; in the second, a crowd of speculators, mostly Northerners, believing that the government would pay its obligations and buy up its own certificates at par, had purchased them at very low prices. Many Revolutionary soldiers had sold their pay checks (certificates) at as low as six cents on the dollar. Hamilton's plan, therefore, unluckily, seemed to fulfill at once the prophecies of those who, before the Constitution was adopted, had feared that an autocratic government would be run for the benefit of the men of the rich eastern cities—the creditor region.

Hamilton's financial program

Objections to funding the national debt



Alexander Hamilton

Fortunately for Hamilton and the good name of the government a singular chance to compromise this knotty problem arose. The South in general opposed this "funding" scheme; but it did fondly wish that the national capital should be erected on

[1]About half the domestic debt (20 millions) consisted of state debts. The other half was in the form of certificates of pay issued to soldiers and of no value. To "fund" such a debt meant to place it all under one account in the national treasury and against it could be issued certificates of indebtedness or bonds (the nation's "promise to pay"). By having these bear uniform rates of interest they became a standard of value. Thus, from the very beginning, these certificates of national indebtedness have been "as good as gold."

the Potomac and not remain in the North. Jefferson's influence undoubtedly made this compromise possible although he was inherently a "republican" as opposed to a "monarchist" in sympathy. An "Assumption Act" therefore passed Congress funding the national debt; and simultaneously a vote was also passed to locate the national capital at Washington on the Potomac. With national credit thus established, Hamilton proceeded to found a national bank which should collect and pay government bills. Hamilton also urged laws to aid American manufactories in their infancy, and advocated various taxes and import duties.

Washington made the nation's capital

As it happened, every one of Hamilton's successes in establishing a secure government seemed to many only a crowning of "King Congress" and the erecting of a power as odious as "King George." The reason for sectional opposition, North against South, in the funding matter has been outlined. Now sectional feeling over one of Hamilton's taxes, the Excise Tax, aroused the enmity of the interior against the East. This tax was a tax on whiskey. The frontier had no roads on which to transport grain to market, but it could furnish corn cheaply in concentrated form—as "corn juice." A horse could carry sixteen gallons of this commodity, double in value the eight bushels of corn from which it was made. Without a tax the Westerner could undersell even New England rum. Thus to tax his whiskey was, he said, to tax his grain—while the Easterner's grain went free. The question was one of geography—one of the penalties which the frontiersman had to pay because of his location. The states of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina passed resolutions condemning the tax and Pennsylvania, also, was strongly opposed to it. As a means of compelling violators of the law to recognize the government's right to rule this proposed new law was good, but the militia had to be called out to put down this "Whiskey Rebellion" in western Pennsylvania, though it did so, fortunately, without bloodshed. Not a few wondered how loyal to the central government the state militia would be when summoned to make war upon

The excise tax

their fellow citizens. This "rebellion" was their first test. That they functioned well was a good omen for the future.

Another way to settle this trouble without arousing sectional feeling would gladly have been chosen by the authorities. The lesson of this disturbance, however, was useful. Men had to learn that the government under the Constitution was not to be the weakling that the government under the Confederation had been.

Moral value of enforcing the excise law

Yet the incident tended to shape opinion along two different lines of thinking and hasten the day when, politically, two distinct parties should arise to struggle for the mastery. While all men tended now to believe in the Constitution, it was plain that there were two theories by which to administer it—one "federal," that is with an eye single to establishing an efficiently working centralized government, the other "republican," with an eye steadily upon the individual citizen, to see that his rights were not threatened by an unjust use of national authority. Those favoring the "federal" ideal were inclined to construe the Constitution loosely; while the "Republicans" stood for a strict construction of that document.

Two theories of the Constitution

This came out vividly when Hamilton's bill to authorize the government to charter a national bank was presented in Congress. It finally passed, after a prolonged debate, and then came to the President for signature. Washington asked his advisers for their respective opinions on the measure. Jefferson now took his stand as champion of a strict construction of the Constitution. He denied that Congress was authorized by the Constitution to charter a corporation and affirmed that only *by inference* could the right to do so be derived from it. Hamilton keenly argued that such power was certainly *implied* by the Constitution. Washington accepted the latter view and signed the bill, thus giving prestige to the "implied powers" interpretation of the Constitution. A candid study of that document must lead to the conclusion that the Fathers intended to give Congress "im-

Our first National Banks

"Loose" *vs.* "strict" constructionists

plied powers."[1] This, however, by no means lessens the responsibility of the people to safeguard the inferences that radical men may make. On this difference of opinion arose our first two political parties, Federalist and Republican, one favorable to a "loose" and the other to a "strict" construction.

READING LIST

H. J. Ford, *Washington and His Colleagues*, Chaps. 8 and 9; J. S. Bassett, *The Federalist System* (American Nation, XI), Chaps. 1–13; McMaster, I, Chap. 6; Channing, III, Chap. 2; IV, Chaps. 2 and 5; lives of Washington by H. C. Lodge, W. Wilson, P. L. Ford and N. Hapgood; A. B. Hulbert, *Washington and the West* (introduction); H. C. Lodge, *Alexander Hamilton*. Fox, *Map Studies*, No. 14.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Many hold that Hamilton's contribution to the early building of the Republic was more important than that of any of his colleagues. How far can you agree? Was Washington's great influence due to the work he did or the character he bore—or are the two inseparably linked? What relation is there between the confidence with which people now buy government bonds and the early work of Hamilton? Is "loose" or "strict" construction of the Constitution likely to be the attitude of a party out of power? In power? What arguments have been advanced to remove our capital from Washington to a more central location? What developments have weakened the force of such arguments? Why did the Excise Tax seem an "Intolerable Act" to the backwoodsmen of Pennsylvania and other states?

Section 24. The Threat of "Entangling Alliances"

Washington served two terms as President, being reëlected in 1792; his administrations extended, therefore, from 1789 to 1797. His last official message to the people was his "Farewell Address," in which he formulated the policy that great care should be used in entering into foreign alliances. It was based on considerable

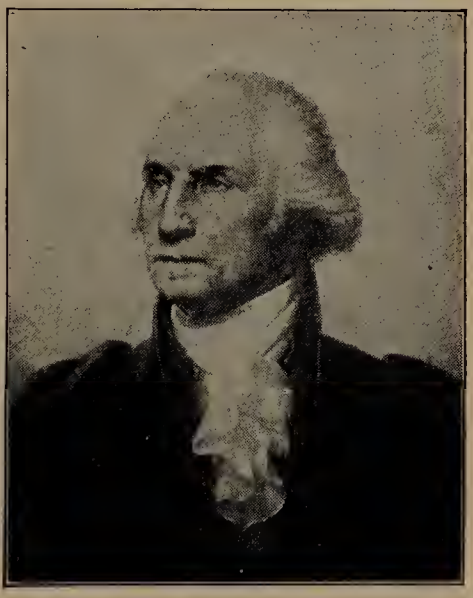
Washington reëlected

[1]One very significant revolt of these days against law and order was led by Daniel Shays of Massachusetts. Power seemed to be concentrated by the Constitution in the hands of men of property. These opposed the issuance of paper money because it was cheap (see p. 463) money. Many countrymen of Shays's were in jail for debt. Their friends formed a motley army in western Massachusetts which broke up courts, thus delaying cases being tried for debt. An army of over 4,000 men met Shays's force and routed it, putting the uprising to an end.

experience. That he looked upon our alliance with France in 1778 as of life-saving merit, goes without saying. Curiously enough, within twenty years, we were at sword's point with France and Washington was nominal commander of an army to be raised to fight her! This was an experience not to be forgotten and taught Washington, what we all should remember, that international friendships undergo changes as human friendships do — changes which no one can foresee. No one knows how many irons a nation may have in the fire when it makes a foreign treaty. Washington did not discourage all such but, rather, hoped that America could keep so unfettered by unfortunate relationships with foreign powers that we would be free to take a dignified part and have great moral weight in world affairs. At this time (1793) our Treaty of 1778 with France demanded that we should help her hold her West Indies which England threatened to take away from her. Jefferson, an admirer of the republican struggle in France against autocracy during the French Revolution, which broke out in 1789, favored such a course. Hamilton, an exponent of nationalism, opposed it. Washington agreed with the latter, and set a very important example when he declared our nation neutral in the struggle.

International friendships

The policy of neutrality established



GEORGE WASHINGTON. (From the portrait by Rembrandt Peale in the Vice-President's room at the Capitol. This was said by many of Washington's contemporaries to be his best likeness.)

A new French ambassador, Genêt, now came to this country

and set on foot privateering enterprises against Great Britain. Much latent hatred still existed against England; this Genêt tried to fan into a flame. Moreover, the Westerners, especially Kentuckians, also felt hostile toward the Spaniards, who, at New Orleans, blocked and stifled the trade from our territory to Atlantic ports by way of the Mississippi. This feeling, too, Genêt attempted to fan into actual war. These activities to force Washington's hand (added to positive insult in attempting to compel Washington to call an extra session of Congress) made the man undesirable as a French representative and his country recalled him. It is difficult to believe that any other set of circumstances could have led our first President to consider more seriously how he should advise the nation on the question of international relations.

Genêt's mission

We learned some lessons, too, from our first commercial treaty with England. For opposing aid to France, the Hamiltonians (Federalists) were denounced by the Jeffersonians (Republicans) as pro-English. Many vital matters demanded a commercial treaty with England at this time and John Jay was sent to make it. He was compelled, however, to agree to serious compromises and some of these the Senate, later, refused to ratify. For one thing he, unfortunately, had to agree that England had a right to search our ships for skulking English sailors, who, lured by our high wages and good treatment, took this means to escape from a service their own nation, when shorthanded, had a right to demand of them in time of war. This the Senate rectified.

Jay's Treaty

Its weak points

The Republicans denounced Jay's compromises and would not recognize the value of what he had gained. Yet it was a matter of great consequence to American expansion and growth that he won what he did. For instance, England had never given up our ports on the Great Lakes (map following p. 170) as she had agreed to do at the Treaty of Paris. Her excuse was that while we had promised (p. 165) that private debts owed to English merchants by Americans should be paid, these payments had never been made.

By Jay's Treaty we now promised that these debts would be paid by our government; in turn, England agreed to surrender the Lakes ports. This was fortunate, although no one foresaw the day when we should be at war with England along those very same inland seas. Had she kept those keys, fortified them, and blocked migration in that direction, it is impossible to guess what would have been the outcome of our second war with England. It was, as we shall see, England's weak hold upon the Great Lakes which made the Duke of Wellington, Napoleon's conqueror, refuse in 1814 to take command of the British army in America.

Its strong points

As it was, Jay's Treaty (1796) opened the way for American migration to the Great Lakes region. It gave great impetus to the advance of Easterners into the newly made Phelps-Gorham Purchase in the Genesee Valley and Niagara frontier of New York. Immediately (1796) the Connecticut Land Company sent its agent, General Moses Cleaveland, to found the town which became Cleveland, Ohio, and population quickly began to move into Connecticut's Western Reserve of which that town became the metropolis.[1] At about the same time Marylanders, including Nathaniel Rochester, made their purchase of land whereon Rochester, New York, soon was built. In the same year (1796) the settlement of Webster's Landing, N. Y., was made—soon to grow into the city of Syracuse. In the same year that Rochester was planted (1801–2) Joseph Ellicott, "Father of Buffalo," laid out the town on Lake Erie which became the city of that name; at about the same time Detroit was incorporated and took its present name, and "Fort Industry" was erected at Toledo, Ohio.

It opened the near Northwest

These facts give us a glimpse of the advance made through New York State and along the Lakes border immediately upon

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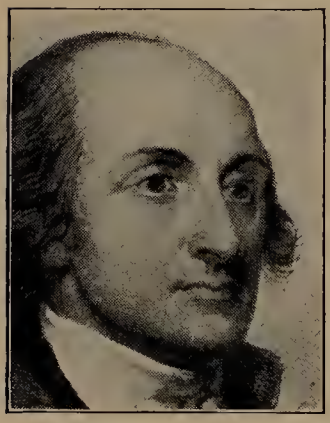
[1]The name of the city of Cleveland is shorter by one letter than the name of its founder, General Cleaveland. When the first newspaper was published in the city the name, as the family spelled it, would not go in the form without the omission of a letter. The silent "a" was therefore dropped and the name as thus spelled became the official name.

the surrender of the Lakes ports by Great Britain. Yet these little dots of light in the northern wilderness only hint of the great migration which took place, for in every case these settlements became county seats, serving the settlers who flocked in on every side. In fact, so great was the movement toward the Lakes through central New York that the Erie Canal was first publicly advocated as early as 1805.

Development of the Lakes region

Another treaty, signed before Washington's second administration came to a close, also aided in bearing out his memorable prophecy of what the West was to become. This was Thomas Pinkney's Treaty of San Lorenzo of 1795, in which Spain granted our western pioneers the right to deposit their goods at New Orleans and transfer them to ocean-going craft without paying duty. One of the boldest prophecies that Washington had uttered in 1784 was that the western pioneers would soon be sending ocean-rigged vessels down the two-thousand-mile pathway of the Ohio and Mississippi. Before he died one of these had sailed to Cuba, and by 1804 the *Louisiana of Marietta* had sailed to Trieste at the head of the Adriatic! Two western states were admitted to the Union in this period, Kentucky (1792) and Tennessee (1796). On the north, Vermont was admitted in 1791.

Treaty of San Lorenzo



JOHN JAY

Western shipbuilding

The party strife between Federalists and Republicans shadowed the last years of Washington's administration, but the wheels of government had been set moving successfully, the nation had grown by leaps and bounds in the direction toward which he had set its face. He had given it a splendid impetus toward obeying his final noble injunction: "Be a nation, be American, and be true to yourselves." From his tomb by the

Potomac those words echo across the generations to us. None other are more needed.

READING LIST

1. JAY'S TREATY: Ford, Chap. 7; Bassett, Chap. 8; J. Winsor, *The Westward Movement*, Chap. 21; McMaster, II, Chap. 9; J. W. Foster, *A Century of American Diplomacy*, 161; J. B. Moore, *American Diplomacy*, 56–202; C. R. Fish, *American Diplomacy*, Chap. 10; Fox, *Map Studies*, No. 14.

2. GENÊT'S MISSION: Ford, Chap. 6; Bassett, Chap. 6; McMaster, II, Chap. 8; Channing, IV, Chap. 5; Foster, 153, 156–7; Moore, 38–44; Fish, Chap. 9.

3. TREATY WITH SPAIN: Ford, 144–146; Moore, 225–6; Fisk, 124–5.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Sum up Washington's experiences which led him to speak seriously on "entangling alliances." Which of the two words do you think he emphasized? Would he give the same advice now? How can agreements or treaties become impracticable because of new inventions or discoveries (p. 519)? For what other reasons (p.504)? Was Washington's neutrality doctrine something new in international relations? What did Washington mean by asking our people to "be American"? "Be yourselves"? Was it harder or easier in 1796 to distinguish an American from an Englishman than it is to-day? Compare the tenets of the Federalists and the Republicans as the interpretation of the Constitution. Was it due to differences of interpretation of that document that they differed on the question of States Rights? What had been the history of States Rights in our country previous to this date?

Section 25. Triumph of Republicanism

The storm of partizanship which was brewing actively in Washington's last years as President broke heavily over the head of John Adams, Federalist, who was elected President in 1796. Jefferson, the Republican, was Vice-President. The Federalist party had had time to finish its splendid work and plant a secure government of recognized executive powers; but, as Vice-President, Jefferson now occupied an advantageous position in which to block and harass the party in power and build up prestige for his own party.

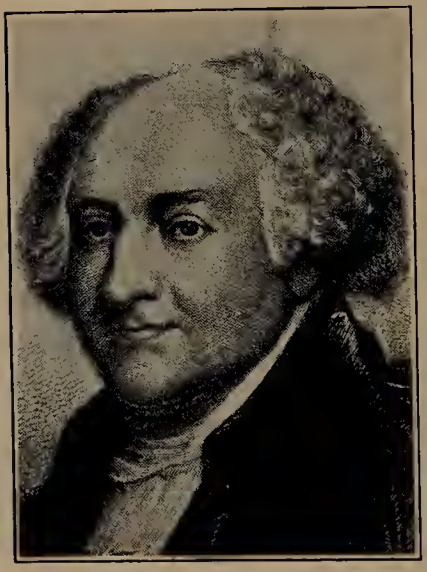
John Adams elected President

Continued unhappy relations with France, herself torn by revolution, gave Jefferson and his followers all manner of ground

for attacking the Federalists. Our minister to France, Charles C. Pinckney, was rebuffed, and a commission which was appointed to straighten matters out failed in its errand. French agents, who signed their documents "X Y Z," demanded money as the price of treating fairly with America! Congress, insulted and outraged, was on the point of declaring war and steps were taken to raise an army of which Washington was to be the leader. While a "state of war" existed, war itself was averted.

The "X Y Z" affair

The reaction to this sorry business in the United States took the form of an ugly partizan struggle. The Federalists saw nothing but danger in Jefferson's time-honored admiration for French republicanism, and, on the other hand, the followers of Jefferson thought Adams was a tool of English greed for domination. Every criticism of the administration was taken by the Federalists as a sign of treachery to the American cause, and with headlong energy they enacted two questionable laws known as (a) the Alien and Sedition Acts and (b) the Naturalization Act. These acts were directed at certain foreigners and others in our country who had been publishing hostile criticism in Republican papers. Numerous such articles had vividly pointed out Federalist "mistakes," though none of them mentioned the value of Federalist successes. These acts demanded that (a) longer residence be required of foreigners before they could become citizens; (b) the sending home again to Europe of foreigners who were considered undesirable citizens; and (c)



John Adams

The Alien and Sedition Acts

the imprisonment of those publishing "defamatory writings" concerning our government or its chief representatives.

The adroit Jefferson made the most of the chance which these partizan acts gave him for leaping to the aid of the individual citizen who desired "liberty and equality." By so doing he felt he was making amends for having sided with the plutocrats on the funding issue (p. 192). The legislature of Kentucky passed what were known as the "Kentucky Resolutions" (1798). They stated that (a) the government had certain stated powers and that any act passed by Congress exceeding those powers was null "and of no force"; (b) that the government consisted of states on the one hand in compact with a government on the other; and (c) that each state had the right to judge for itself whether its compact had been broken by the government. The voice which now spoke seemed to be the guileless, democratic voice of the West—Kentucky—but the hand which penned the message was the hand of the politician of Monticello, the Vice-President himself. Jefferson wanted Kentucky to say that a state had the right to declare null and void any act which it considered unconstitutional; this she would not do in 1798; in 1799, however, another resolution was passed, stating this doctrine even more strongly than Jefferson had wished. Virginia came in line in 1798 with her "Virginia Resolutions," which were penned by Madison, but which were less radical than the Kentucky Resolutions.

The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions

These criticisms of Federalist legislation were doubtless only meant to be threats; if so they performed the service intended—as a stroke of political strategy. Their temporary effect was to aid the Republicans and to give many people the idea that the Jeffersonian school favored the common citizen against a centralized government. In actual practice, as we shall see, Jefferson was a great enough man to set aside "strict construction" theories when necessary, but his tactics now were successful.

As a result, in the contest for the presidency in 1800, Jefferson was an easy victor, the Democrat-Republicans carrying not

only a "solid South" but New York and Pennsylvania as well.[1] This was partly due to the popularity of Aaron Burr, a clever New York politician, who was placed on the party ticket with Jefferson. As votes for President and Vice-President were then cast on the same ballot, the two candidates received an equal number, and the election was thrown into the House of Representatives where the voting was done by states. Burr now showed the manner of man he was by attempting to be elected President over Jefferson, but was successful in no respect except to warn all men that he would adopt any trick which would advance his interests.[2]

The Republican triumph in 1800

The triumph of Republicanism was complete—in the two Houses of Congress as well as in the office of President. It was also timely. Circumstances rendered this a most fortunate hour for any party to come into power. It was the day of achievement, of expansion, and of comparative quiet in international affairs. Jay's Treaty had opened the Lakes region; the Treaty of San Lorenzo had freed the Mississippi; and Napoleon—that unfathomable human magazine of brains and energy—for the moment pretended friendship. Men had caught Washington's vision of a growing republic which could adopt sure means to secure territorial unity. Fortunately Jefferson had as Secretary of the Treasury an able man who had learned this lesson from Washington's own lips. This man, Albert Gallatin, had lain on a western cabin floor in his boyhood and heard the great Virginian in 1784 expound to a group of mountaineers near Uniontown, Pa., his theory of commercial expansion. Now, as administrator of the

Signs of a new day

Gallatin as Secretary of the Treasury

[1]The term "Solid South" recurs often in our history. In general it means that the states south of the Potomac acted unitedly on any question. Being, in part, "large" states they so acted in the convention which framed the Constitution. It was a Solid South which opposed the Funding Bill. In Jefferson's election they so acted for the first time in a presidential election.

[2]A repetition of these circumstances was forestalled by the adoption of the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution which requires that votes for President and Vice-President should be cast on separate ballots.

Treasury Department, he planned a broad scheme of internal improvements along the line suggested by Washington, a plan to unite the states by systems of canals and roads.

THE EXPLORATION OF LOUISIANA. (Showing the routes of Lewis and Clark, Long and Pike, and including that of Burr's Expedition.)

Origin of the Cumberland Road

Ohio in 1802 was seeking admission to the Union as a state. In conformity with Washington's scheme, the government now promised Ohio (as she entered the Union) that it would spend 20 per cent. of the money to come from sale of "Congress Lands" in Ohio toward building a mighty highway from the head of navigation on an Atlantic stream to that state. The idea was out of harmony with Jefferson's "strict construction" tenets. The Constitution only gave Congress the right to "establish" post roads; but that body swept all objections aside and Ohio

was admitted (1803) with this promise of a highway to assure her that she would not be an isolated commonwealth. In 1806 Jefferson signed the first National or "Cumberland" Road bill. It was so named because the road began at Cumberland, Md., on the Potomac and was planned to touch the Ohio River at Wheeling (map p. 219).

Trade between the East and the West had developed largely in these latter years. Crossing the mountains in wagons, eastern merchandise was being carried by flatboat and barge to scores of bustling towns and settlements all the way down to Natchez, Miss. In three months in 1800 $32,550 worth of dry goods passed a given point on the Ohio for the lower country. By 1799 eight ports of entry had been established in the West, four on the Great Lakes

Handicaps of western trade

A Flatboat on the Mississippi

and four on the Ohio. Great difficulties stood in the way of Ohio Valley shippers even when New Orleans was an "open port"—(a) difficulties of river navigation, (b) lack of proper credit, and (c) lack of banking facilities. As early as 1802 Pittsburgh merchants estimated their losses at $60,000 annually and were now discussing the absolute necessity of our own-

ing the Mississippi. Current rumor said, as early as April, 1802, that Napoleon would sell us, for fifteen million dollars, the mighty Louisiana empire he had received from Spain. He had acquired the region in the secret treaty of San Ildefonso made in 1800. The temporary closing of New Orleans to our shipping in the fall of 1802 by France aroused the West's anger as nothing else could. Western writers showed that the failure to secure the river would cost an untold fortune; one of these placed it at three hundred millions, estimated as follows: (a) loss of $2.00 an acre on fifty million acres which could not be sold; (b) ten million loss on lands sold already on guarantee; (c) loss of $1.00 per acre on the two hundred million acres yet to be sold. Scores of ocean-rigged vessels had been made from the black walnut forests of the upper Ohio and were ready for business. Natchez merchants had bought on credit nearly two million dollars' worth of goods—to be paid for in cotton which could not, with New Orleans closed, be shipped southward at all!

Rumor of Napoleon's willingness to sell Louisiana

Estimates of the cost of losing the Mississippi

These arguments of the West were unanswerable. Its trade could not be bottled up; its land could not go unsold merely because the natural outlet for its produce was to be blocked; important enterprises like the "Ohio Company" of the Pittsburgh-Wheeling region (of which the venerable Col. Ebenezer Zane, founder of Wheeling, was president) could not be ruined because safe communication with the world was denied it. The refusal to meet this demand would have spelled revolution.

The question of the purchase of "Louisiana" raised

The difficulty in ruling trans-Atlantic territory had been impressed upon Napoleon by his failure to subdue a revolt in San Domingo. Fortunately for Jefferson, this stern appeal of the West and Napoleon's reverses in San Domingo together with his great need of money made easy the greatest act of Jefferson's presidency—the purchase of the Louisiana Territory. He knew, and said, that it strained the Constitution to the breaking

point to make this purchase; but no academic theory would ever have satisfied the hundreds of thousands of Westerners who would have been driven to nameless straits but for it.

Jefferson sent a commission to Paris in 1803 authorized to purchase the Island of New Orleans and West Florida. The common account runs that this commission was considerably startled at Napoleon's suggestion that the United States buy the whole Louisiana Territory at the cost of fifteen millions; whether new to the commission or not, it was no new idea in the West, where, as we have seen, the project had been rumored for at least a year and the exact final price paid had been mentioned.

Instructions to the Paris Commission

Robert R. Livingston

So far as the legality of making a big purchase was concerned, the commission which Jefferson sent to Paris was legally as free to make a big one as a small one, for the Constitution curiously enough made no provision by which Congress could add to our national domain! The commission decided to accept Napoleon's offer, and the purchase of nearly a million square miles of the western half of the Mississippi Basin was made April 30, 1803. The East, at least the Federalist part of it, opposed this notable act and many threats were made to go out of the Union if the purchase was ratified. Such talk was ignored and Congress proceeded to ratify this epoch-making treaty of purchase (map p. 203; also map following p. 298).

Constitutionality of the Purchase

One argument which won many friends to favor the Louisiana Purchase was the fact that it removed from our frontier the flag of France. This was no small gain, for, as long as that flag was borne by the enigma of this era of world-history, Napoleon, no one knew what consequences might follow France's ownership of so great an

Our Spanish frontier

American colony. South of the Red River the Spanish flag still floated; it was enough that we had one European nation to deal with on our southwestern border![1]

This became clear very soon. Westerners who went down the Mississippi found their Spanish neighbors anything but friendly. No one, Jefferson least of all, was sure that, in the days of 1805–6, we would not be drawn into war with these fiery neighbors; the West in general felt that the Mississippi could never be a safe channel of commerce with Spanish posts dotting its western shore. The tinder was ready for the lighting but the spark which so nearly set it ablaze came from an unexpected quarter.

Jefferson was reëlected President in 1804. Aaron Burr's treachery to him in 1800 was not forgotten, and Governor Clinton of New York was now elected Vice-President in Burr's place. Burr ran for the governorship of New York and was defeated, largely through the influence of Alexander Hamilton. In a duel Burr killed Hamilton, July 11, 1804, shooting to kill after his opponent had expended his shot in the air. In disgrace, Burr now made a purchase of Yazoo lands on the lower Mississippi and proceeded to recruit a party of Westerners to make a settlement thereon.

Jefferson reëlected President in 1804

We have no evidence that Burr knew what his adventure would amount to. Everybody expected war with Spain; no one could promote a land settlement thereabouts without taking that into consideration. He tied two strings to his bow. To agriculturists he held out the advantage of the land for speculation; to redder blooded men (he called Ohioans "too plodding") he must

The two strings to Burr's bow

[1] A little war was fought (1801–1804) with the highwaymen of the Mediterranean, the "Barbary pirates." These lusty sea-rovers of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli had steadily blackmailed the great powers of Europe for many years, allowing only the commerce of those who paid a yearly fee to pass unmolested. Strangely enough it was the young American Republic which revolted at this system of robbery. A small fleet commanded by Stephen Decatur entered Algiers and bombarded Tripoli, compelling the Pascha to relinquish all claim to further tribute; this promise was kept until the War of 1812 broke out.

have talked in every vein—of a Mexican conquest and of the possible separation of our West from the Republic. He had good friends, such as Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay. Jefferson denounced him as a filibuster and government agents were soon on the track of his little fleet of flatboats (map p. 203) on the Ohio. The episode is such a mixture of political spite and swashbuckling melodrama that no explanation of it explains; but it is safe to say that the event never could have taken place except as promoted by an adventurer who lacked both public and private morality. In no sense did it reflect a desire on the part of the West to withdraw from the Union. Being seized on the lower Mississippi, Burr's chief ally, as morally corrupt as Burr, turned State's evidence against him in a trial held at Richmond.[1] The decision of John Marshall, judge in the case, acquitted Burr on the ground that he had not been guilty of the "overt act" of loading with his own hands the boats of the so-called filibustering expedition.

End of the fiasco

Although the smoke of partizan conflicts hovers over and discolors these first years of the new century, the most indifferent student must realize that the young Republic had entered a new era. Significant, above everything else, was the adding of the 800,000 square miles of "Louisiana" to the domain of the United States. It would have been better if we had found out exactly what France was entitled to sell us and had Spain agree to those boundary lines in black and white. This was not done and we immediately laid claim to West Florida (map following p. 170). Later, the haziness of the "Louisiana Territory" boundary in what is now Texas gave rise to serious trouble, as we shall see.

The boundary of Louisiana

The Purchase had an important effect on the national mind and hastened the westward advance of population, a matter into which we should now look with some detail.

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[1] If a participant in a crime gives testimony, under the promise of immunity, tending to incriminate other participants, he is said to "turn State's evidence." The man who turned State's evidence in the Burr case was General Wilkinson.

READING LIST

Ford, Chaps. 8 and 9; A. Johnson, *Jefferson and His Colleagues* (Chronicles of America, XV), Chaps. 1–7; Bassett, Chaps. 15–18; Channing, IV, Chaps. 7 and 8; *The Jeffersonian System* (American Nation, XII) Chaps. 3, 5, 7, 12; W. F. McCaleb, *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy;* R. G. Thwaites, *Rocky Mountain Exploration;* E. S. Corwin, *John Marshall and the Constitution* (Chronicles of America, XVI) Chaps. 3 and 4; Fox, *Map Studies*, No. 15.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Why did Republican papers refuse to mention Federalist successes? Can you get fair estimates of any party's success in an "opposition" paper? Are independent papers fairer than party papers? Is partizanship a healthy political condition? Which of the "immemorial rights of Englishmen" were set aside by the Alien and Sedition Acts? If a question for debate read: "Resolved that Jefferson's party won prestige by championing France," would you take the affirmative or the negative side? How did the Alien and Sedition Acts give the Republicans a very popular cause to defend? What was the effect of the Louisiana Purchase on the national imagination? On national prestige?. How many states have been carved out of the Purchase? Distinguish between public and private morality. Can a statesman win a great place in history without both?

CHAPTER VII

WHEN THE NATION FOUND ITSELF

Just as a ship which, after trial spins, is put into regular service suddenly "finds herself" and meets the wear and tear of routine work with increasing power, somewhat so our nation rode out of the stormy political strife of its first generation and "found itself" in the remarkable years between 1812 and 1840. These years saw a strange series of unexpected events take place. Nearly a million square miles had been added to our territory, a thing as unlooked for in 1800 as the purchase of the Philippines a century later. A second war was now fought with the Mother Country which, on the one hand increased in a marked way the sense of nationality in the new Republic and, on the other, cut most of the remaining "apron strings" which tied us to European politics and left us free as never before to go our own way and to "self determine" what we should do or not do. A striking proof of this new sense of freedom was the declaration America now made to the Old World that it should keep "hands off" the New—which was the warning of the Monroe Doctrine.

While these events were of first importance, others of far-reaching effect form a part of the interesting story; the knotty sectional questions involving slavery, tariff, and public lands were taken up; giant strides of population westward were made easy by road- and canal-building and especially by the steamboat's conquest of the Mississippi Basin. The sweeping democratic revolution led by Andrew Jackson gave a new tone to American political life and, in manifold ways, the commercial, mechanical, educational, literary, and moral foundations of the great Republic we know to-day were laid. From several standpoints these years appear as the most interesting of our whole history as a nation.

Section 26. Steps Toward Continental Mastery

The administrations of Jefferson and Madison (the latter being elected to the Presidency in 1808) saw several notable steps made toward continental mastery through exploration and the conquest of our inland waterways by that great tool of expansion, the streamboat, and by road-building. The creation of states and territories in this thriving period shows how boldly the new nation was facing west and south. Mississippi became a territory in 1798, Indiana in 1800, Louisiana and Michigan in 1805, Illinois in 1809, and Missouri in 1812.[1] The old pathway through Cumberland Gap, by which Virginia had laid strong hands on both the Kentucky and Illinois regions, now fell into comparative disuse, while the Potomac and Susquehanna avenues to Pittsburgh and the Ohio became of great importance. The New York highways of expansion by way of Syracuse and Rochester to Lake Erie at Buffalo changed from the trail, on which explorers and first settlers had journeyed, into a broad highway. They were the eastern links in the chain which the steamboat was to project forward by opening to migration the whole empire of the Great Lakes.

Madison elected President in 1808

Western development

As we have seen in the case of military campaigns, so now, the conquest waged by the homeseeker and emigrant was to be won or lost by his finding or failing to find a pathway to his objective —and a means of transportation. Probably the chief single factor in this movement was the national or Cumberland road which Jefferson authorized in 1806. The three states, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, rivalled each other in toll-road building, each reaching out these fingers to catch and hold the growing western

The toll-road era

[1] By the Ordinance of 1787 political divisions in the Northwest Territory might become territories of the United States by Congressional action as a preliminary step toward statehood. Such a territory was governed in part by Congress and in part by the people living in it.

business. Maryland was particularly successful in holding an advantage which had been hers since old French War days when Braddock's Road had been opened toward Pittsburgh from Cumberland, Md. That strategic point (from which the great national road was to run to the Ohio) she quickly linked up to Baltimore on the seaboard by stone roads (map following p. 266).

This work of opening a way to the West by a network of roads was aided now by the construction of dependable steamboats.

The Boulton and Watt engine

Unreliable types had been experimented with by James Rumsey and John Fitch for twenty years or more. Greater progress in making reliable types had been the record in England because of the superior character of the newly invented Boulton and Watt double-action engine. The patient labors of American inventors needed only the advantage of such a rugged engine as this to make their work a success. Robert Fulton, born in the Lancaster, Pa., region where Fitch had operated his first little steamboat, as we have noted, fell heir to Fitch's designs after the latter's death. He secured a Boulton and Watt engine and was thus enabled to assemble the *Clermont* on the banks of the Hudson in 1807. Two factors tended to make this boat a genuine success, as so many American inventors had learned by sad experience. It had a reliable engine—without which no steamboat could be successful. Again, and almost equally important, the boat was of a size big enough to do the real work of transportation needed on our rivers.[1] Big boats were needed and only engines of power could drive big boats. Small boats like those of Fitch's could not carry freight enough

Robert Fulton

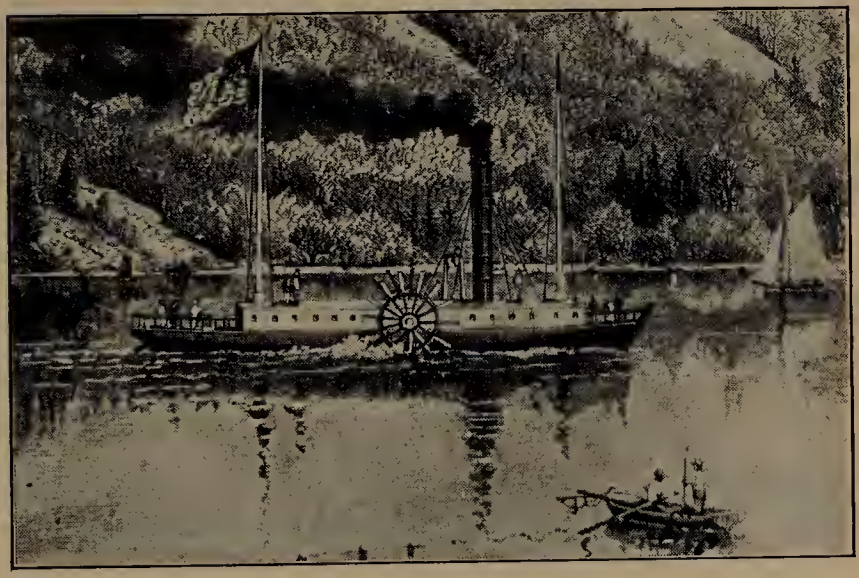
Fulton assembles a practical steamboat

[1]The original dimensions of the *Clermont* were: length, 133 feet; breadth, 13 feet.

to be profitable, commercially. The *Clermont* was not thus handicapped—and its engine was able to propel it with reasonable speed.

The chief encouragement given to the struggles of both Fitch and Fulton was the knowledge each had of what the steamboat would mean to the vast network of rivers in the Mississippi Basin and on the Great Lakes. In Fulton's appeal to our ambassador to England, for aid in getting permission to ship a Boulton–Watt engine across the Atlantic, he clearly points out what steamboats would do for the American West. In this prophecy

The steamboat and the West



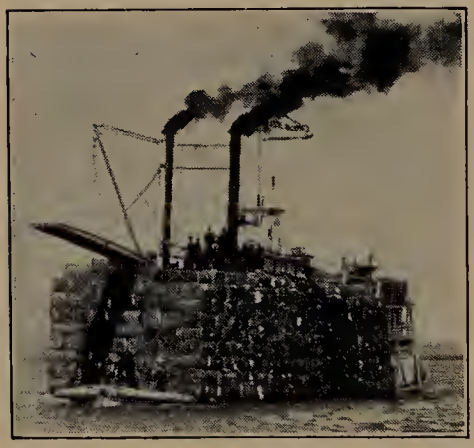
THE "CLERMONT." (From an old print.)

he correctly divined the future. No other factor proved of equal importance in our early industrial and commercial expansion.

Agents of the Fulton-Livingston firm were on the Ohio River within four years and, in 1811, the *New Orleans*, the first steamer on American inland waters, descended the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers. It was a weak craft and only the most

buoyant optimist could see in it a realization of Fulton's prophecy of future greatness. The chief fault in the *New Orleans* was its deep ocean-going hold. Mastery of the western rivers was, however, not to be made by the steamboat of the ocean-going type; boats with such deep holds as were necessary for ballast on the high seas were not practical on our inland rivers. A Westerner soon offered a solution which gave the steamboat its chance in the West. Henry Shreve, from whom Shreveport, La., proudly takes its name, built the *Washington* in 1816 out of timbers of old Fort Henry at Wheeling, W. Va. He abolished the hold altogether, making a boat which would run *on* the water instead of *in* it. This boat proved it could go upstream as well as down, confounding all who had declared that steam could never make a boat do this. In a generation the steamboat tonnage of the Mississippi Basin exceeded that of Great Britain and all her dependencies, and proved to the West all that Fulton had prophesied.

The flat-bottomed steamboat



TRANSPORTING COTTON ON THE MISSISSIPPI

In aiding men to cover the vast stretches of the western tributaries of the Mississippi, especially the Missouri, the steamboat was to play a notable part by carrying its human freight and cargo to the famous bend of the Missouri in Kansas (map following p. 298). Thence ran the great trails to Santa Fé in the Southwest and to Oregon (map p. 407). Fortunate it was that the coal-and-iron region of Pittsburgh could be brought into so close a touch with the Great Plains and the Rockies by water.

Pittsburgh linked to the Great Plains

Jefferson's aiding in the exploration of this empire purchased from France was second in importance only to his purchase of it, for his sincere interest in science had led him to scheme such expeditions long before the famous Purchase was made. The first and most notable of these expeditions was soon undertaken, commanded by Jefferson's secretary, Meriwether Lewis, and William Clark, brother of the conqueror of Illinois. This party, consisting of forty-five men, ascended the Missouri for sixteen hundred miles to near Bismarck, N. D., in 1804. It pressed on up the Yellowstone, a tributary of the Missouri, the following spring to the Rockies (map p. 203); in October it was on the finger-tips of the Columbia and by November that stream had been descended to the Pacific (4,134 miles). The party returned to St. Louis the year after, having performed a "peaceful penetration" with noteworthy results, for its mission was scientific in character. Its report on the geography, physiography, geology, zoölogy, and botany of the vast empire traversed was unlike that of the scores of expeditions hitherto promoted within our borders and it awakened interest throughout the land. What could have more stirred the imagination of the young Republic? Great-grandfathers had considered the Connecticut and the Hudson far distant rivers; grandfathers had talked thus of the Ohio and the Tennessee; fathers had so spoken of the Mississippi and the Arkansas; but sons now talked of rivers on the confines of the world—of the Platte and the Yellowstone, of the Columbia and the Colorado! And while to certain statesmen that region seemed "as distant as the moon" there were those as confident of American occupation of the Columbia in 1806 as Washingon had been confident of the occupation of the Ohio Valley in 1784. True, when Lewis and Clark crossed the Rockies they were in a "No-Man's land," claimed both by us and by Great Britain down to a line approximately marked by the Great Salt Lake. Yet a very good claim on the old ground of "first seeing" had been given the United States to the Columbia River basin by

Lewis and Clark expedition

Its scientific purpose and result

Its effect on the national imagination

Captain Robert Gray in 1792. The existence of this river had long been rumored but its mouth had never been located before by Spanish or English sea-rovers (map following p. 266).

Pike's Peak

Nor was this the only exploration made of regions beyond the Louisiana Purchase. General Zebulon M. Pike, acting under the orders of the War Department, now ascended the Osage and the Republican rivers and crossed Kansas to the Pike's Peak country in 1806. Wintering in the great basin where Cañon City, Colorado, stands, he went southward to the Rio Grande the year after. He was treated with scant consideration by the Spaniards whose territory it was to be our manifest destiny another day to occupy (map p. 203).

Gray finds the Columbia River

Thus within three years of the day we purchased Louisiana our flag had been carried over much of the region between the Columbia and the Rio Grande; some accurate information had been obtained concerning the seemingly barren "Great Plains," and the giant barrier of the Rockies had been explored both in Montana and Colorado. The ambitions of scores to enter this new world beyond the Mississippi had been aroused and the thoughts of thousands had been turned in that direction. One important fact had been established: the river valleys of the trans-Mississippi region were found to trend on east and west lines—on the line migration would evidently take; some of these would prove navigable for certain distances and all would afford water to a greater or less degree for such as chose to adventure thither.

Western rivers favorable to expansion

Finally, in 1811, an actual settlement of Americans was made on the Pacific coast when John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company founded a trading post, Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia River in Oregon; minor posts were located on the Willamette, the Spokane, and other tributaries of the Columbia. During the War of 1812 both the furs at these posts and the posts themselves were sold to the British Northwest Company, and Astoria was captured by a British naval expedition. As we shall see, however, the Treaty of Ghent restored to us this region at the end of that war. The fact that Americans had planted themselves here, and legally, too, was not forgotten in later years when the nation demanded a "reoccupation" of this magnificent northland.

Astoria

READING LIST

C. L. Skinner, *Adventurers of Oregon* (Chronicles of America, XXII); C. Goodwin, *Trans-Mississippi West*, Chaps. 1–4; E. Channing, *Jeffersonian System*, Chap. 7; T. Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, IV, Chap. 7; A. C. Laut, *Pathfinders of the West*, 307–333; A. B. Hulbert, *Paths of Inland Commerce* (Chronicles of America, XXI), Chap. 7; J. B. McMaster, *History of the United States*, II, Chap. 13; III, Chap. 15; F. A. Ogg, *Opening of the Mississippi*, Chap. 11; H. Adams, *History of the United States*, I; A. C. Sutcliffe, *Robert Fulton;* Fox, *Map Studies*, No. 15.

1. LOUISIANA PURCHASE: in addition to the above, see J. W. Foster, *A Century of American Diplomacy*, 187–206; J. B. Moore, *American Diplomacy*, 225–231; J. K. Hosmer, *The Louisiana Purchase;* C. R. Fish, *American Diplomacy*, Chap. 12.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Compare the value of the steamboat and the automobile to the eras in which they were invented. Was the steamboat of equal value to the three great sections of the nation? Did statesmen of a later day look back to and copy precedents established by the Cumberland Road (p.501)? Name some important towns on that thoroughfare. Is it a famous road to-day? Why were its national and local benefits so different that it was almost abandoned in places when turned over to the states? Does the national benefit prove an argument to-day for its improvement? What were the constitutional arguments for it and against it? Were purely scientific expeditions like that of Lewis and Clark common in the world at that time? Compare Major Long's route (1820) with Pike's (1806); see map p. 201.

Section 27. Our Second War with England

President Madison inherited one knotty international dispute from the Jefferson régime. The influence of Napoleon had been world-wide and it was seldom for good; in his attempt to destroy British commerce, he had upset all commerce. In his Berlin and Milan decrees (1806–7) he ordered the seizure of any ship which tried to enter an English port. Great Britain replied by issuing Orders in Council forbidding any ship to enter a French port without having touched first at an English port. American commerce, which had now become very thriving, was thus caught between the "Devil and the Deep Sea."

Napoleon's decrees

The good wages offered by American captains had lured many Englishmen into their employ (p. 196). Some of these became naturalized and some did not. Ours was the only nation at that time which claimed that citizenship was alienable, that is, that an Englishman, for instance, could change his nationality and allegiance at will. Great Britain had always claimed and exercised the right to search our ships for these renegades, and none of the many American diplomats who had

The right of search and seizure

THE PERIOD 1812–1825. (Showing battlefields of the War of 1812 and the routes of the Cumberland Road, 1818, and the Erie Canal, 1825.)

tried it had been able to secure an agreement with England to cease this practice. The worst part of the custom was the ease with which unprincipled officers could abuse it. British captains were justly angry because Englishmen, who ought to have gone to the defense of their flag in its hour of great need, skulked in our ships; but when English officers tried to seize them, naturalized Americans, and sometimes native-born Americans, were seized. The blame, as is usually the case, was not, however, all on one side. The rough treatment which sailors on British ships received almost beggars description. Again, the whole colonial trade of France—that of bringing coffee or sugar from the French West Indies to our ports and then loading the ships with provisions for French ports—was now in our hands. Our need of sailors was such that wages rose from $8 to $24 a month. To secure hands American skippers encouraged the desertion of British subjects and aided them in schemes to avoid detection and capture. All this bred bad blood on both sides; American ships began to refuse to be searched; and when the British *Leopard* fired upon the American *Chesapeake* off Virginia in 1807 the indignation of our people rose to fever heat.

How bad feeling was occasioned

Jefferson was compelled to act. He chose a method of retaliation which, drawn from Revolutionary precedents, was much like the "economic boycott" proposed by the present League of Nations in 1919. His object was to introduce between nations another arbiter than war, namely, measures which would cripple an offender's commerce. By an Embargo Act (1807) he forbade our ships to leave American ports—hoping thereby to starve Europe. But Europe suffered much less than did our own shipping. New England's trade was considerably injured, though not so much as New Englanders believed. That canny race of Yankees could make money despite British restrictions; but they were likely to lose heavily either by an embargo or by a war. This Embargo Act was repealed (1809), and a Non-Intercourse Act was passed (1809) in its stead, forbidding trade with nations which offended us. This was

The "Embargo" Act

"Non-intercourse Act"

repealed in 1810 and Macon's Bill was passed. This bill stated that whenever one of these European rivals (France or England) withdrew its decrees against our shipping we would return the favor by passing a Non-Intercourse Act against its rival. Napoleon was quick to see the advantage in this for him. He declared the Berlin and Milan decrees repealed (August, 1810) and President Madison kept his word and a Non-Intercourse Act went into effect against England February 2, 1811.

The West, less interested in shipping than in either Canada or the fur trade, but always touchy on points of national honor, looked upon England's treatment of us as an indignity no respectable nation could endure. Under the leadership of Henry Clay of Kentucky and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, the South and West joined in demanding that England's Orders in Council be repealed or that war be declared against her. Many Westerners were sure that Indian troubles on our northwestern frontier had been stirred up by English agents in Canada. General William Henry Harrison, who had crushed an Indian uprising under Tecumseh in 1811, at the Battle of Tippecanoe, brought back evidence that the Indians had been furnished arms and ammunition from Canada; the accusation was true, but some doubt whether the British Government was responsible for it.

The West, insulted, demands war

Tippecanoe

Madison was swept by the current of popular opinion to support a war which he was incapable of directing. Congress declared war, June 18, 1812, by a vote of 79 to 49 in the House and 19 to 13 in the Senate. The strong minority vote against this war prophesied accurately that the nation would not be united in the struggle. England had previously repealed the offensive Orders in Council; this news, however, arrived too late. These Orders would probably have been repealed earlier but for the influence of American pacifists like Timothy Pickering, which stimulated the arrogance of British ministers to refuse just concessions to American demands.

War declared

The borderline along the Great Lakes was the scene of numerous campaigns (map p. 319) in the years of war which followed.

Our northern border

Despite the progress we had made in settling that region from 1800 to 1812 it was still a distant frontier to man and defend, and transportation thither was exceedingly difficult. The West had boasted that the conquest of Canada could be speedily made, but it had not calculated on the immense cost of transporting thither the necessary men, provisions, ammunition, and guns. The British general—and gentleman—in command along the Niagara,

Brock

Brock, was equal to the emergency; he should be especially remembered for his wise handling of the Indian problems, yet he could not control many renegades who unofficially, but no less surely, fomented trouble. Northern Ohio, thinly settled, was filled with the fear of an Indian invasion, so much so that the firing of a squirrel hunter's gun, on one occasion, led six hundred country people to flee into the town of Canton, O., to spend the night!

Poor leadership of our half-trained militia resulted in numerous defeats and reverses on the entire Lakes frontier. The sur-

A story of surrender and defeat

render of Detroit by General William Hull (August 18, 1812) was partly due to inefficiency and partly to the wretched state of the communications. In the same year an American force was defeated by Brock at Queenston on the Niagara, the British leader being killed.

In 1813 the Americans gained a mastery of the western lakes which was to pave the way for final success. Detroit could not

Perry's victory in the Battle of Lake Erie

be recaptured while the British dominated Lake Erie. This was clearly seen by Captain Oliver H. Perry who, by autumn, had acquired a fleet of six vessels, all well armed and well manned. Pushing out, intent on a fight, he overtook the slightly inferior British fleet off Put-in-Bay September 10th and won the famous Battle of Lake Erie. His dispatch announcing the result of the conflict "We have met the enemy and they are ours," electrified the country and made its author a national

hero. In this year the Americans captured the city of Toronto and burned the government buildings.

The effect of Perry's success on an American army under William H. Harrison was also inspiring. Despite a reverse at River Raisin, Harrison pushed on to an invasion of Canada. In the Battle of the Thames (October 5th) a decisive victory was won. This opened the way to the recovery and occupation of Detroit. In 1814 the record of success on the Lakes frontier was marked.

Canada invaded

COMMODORE PERRY AT LAKE ERIE. ("We have met the enemy and they are ours.")

Fort Erie, opposite Buffalo, was captured and the Battle of Chippewa (July 5th) was won. The defeat of Napoleon at Leipsic now made it possible for England to ship to America veteran regiments from Spain. She hoped that the conqueror of Napoleon, the Duke of Wellington, would lead these troops to victory on American soil. Our General Scott met some of these veteran English soldiers in the notable, but indecisive, Battle of Lundy's Lane (July 15th). While not an American victory, the fact that Britain's famous soldiery could not defeat it added great confidence to Scott's army. In

Lundy's Lane

fact, a little later these same trained English troops were very badly worsted when they attacked an American force at Fort Erie in the bloodiest battle of the war in the North. The British loss here was over a thousand. In the autumn the distinct American victory at Fort Erie was paralleled by a crucial victory on the waters of Lake Champlain off Plattsburg, N. Y. Here the brave Captain McDonough met a British fleet stronger than his own and roundly whipped it in the Battle of Lake Champlain, September 11th. No wonder the Duke of Wellington, impressed by British reverses at Fort Erie and on Lake Champlain, declared that he could accomplish nothing if he went to America unless he was given naval supremacy on the Great Lakes; to assure him of this meant the conquering of Perry and McDonough—a task no British ministry cared to promise!

Fort Erie

McDonough's victory

Meantime, the British landed a force in Maryland intent upon the capture of both Baltimore and Washington. The poorly organized and officered force raised to meet this raiding party was routed at Bladensburg, Md., and the invaders retaliated for the burning of Toronto by burning some of the public buildings of the Capital, paralyzing the American governmental machinery for several weeks. But the key to this sector of the war was the city of Baltimore whose capture was intensely desired by the British. The attempt, however, ended in failure. It was during the night of this bombardment—the day after McDonough's notable victory on Lake Champlain, Sept. 12th—that Francis Scott Key wrote the inspiring words of "The Star Spangled Banner" which, set to the old Revolutionary tune of "Anacreon in Heaven" has become our most popular national song.

The burning of Washington

Francis Scott Key

The indifferent success of American armies through these years was brilliantly offset by the energy and hardihood of American sailors. English fleets blockaded our coast from Rhode Island to New Orleans through 1812 and 1813, and this network was extended to cover the entire coast in 1814. In running this blockade and

The record on the sea

attacking British ships singly, American skippers proved their mettle to the world and gained undying fame. In three years we lost over 1,400 merchant vessels and fishing boats, while some 500 American privateers captured more than 1,300 British vessels.

In 1812 the *Guerrière* was captured by our *Constitution*. The record of the *Constitution*—later named *Old Ironsides*—brought deathless glory to our flag and sent fear to the heart of England. She met her formidable antagonist the *Guerrière* on the high seas and, in half an hour, reduced her to wreckage. While we suffered losses at sea in 1813, our privateers were generally successful.

Famous sea-duels

THE "CONSTITUTION" AND THE "GUERRIÈRE"

". . . grappling in mortal combat on the blood-slippery deck of an enemy's vessel, a British sailor is the bravest of the brave," wrote the author of *Tom Cringle's Log;* "No soldier or sailor of any country, saving and excepting those . . . Yankees, can stand against them. I don't like Americans . . . I have no wish to eat with them, drink with them . . . but let me tell the whole truth—*nor* fight with them." "If they

fight," said the London *Times*, "they are sure to conquer; if they fly, they are sure to escape."

In this naval zone of the war many New Englanders played a heroic rôle. Yet, as a section, New England little changed in her attitude to the war which had been forced upon her by the warlike South and West, although Massachusetts gave more than her share of men and money to the conflict. At a convention of dissatisfied New Englanders at Hartford (December, 1814), attended by twenty-seven delegates from parts of five New England states, a demand was made that Congress give up its right to prohibit foreign commerce and that each state be allowed to expend as it pleased the amount of federal taxes raised within it. How much the men of this convention meant actual nullification of the Constitution has been widely and warmly debated; at least the convention exhibited a very dangerous spirit which was made much of by the seceding South in 1861!

The "Hartford Convention"

The news of the American victories at Fort Erie and on Lake Champlain reached England along with the news of the failure to capture Baltimore. Daring Yankee commerce destroyers had lately burned British merchantmen even within sight of the British coast, thus helping to pile up the mounting costs of a war Englishmen began to see they could not win. Moreover, war clouds now hung heavy over Vienna, where the conquerors of Napoleon were sadly wrangling over the spoils after Waterloo; England might now be called to aid Austria against their late allies, Russia and Prussia; if so, she needed to have her hands free.

British complications

The war, therefore, was brought to a close by a stalemate peace—the Treaty of Ghent. Certain British statesmen believed that they were conceding a good deal to the upstart Yankees by making peace on any terms. They demanded (a) the creation of a buffer Indian state in our territory northwest of the Ohio River and (b) the cession of a goodly slice of Maine in order to establish direct communications between Quebec and Halifax. When asked what was to be done

British demands at the Treaty of Ghent

with the Americans living in those districts they answered "move them out." When informed that it would take a good many Wellingtons to perform another Arcadian adventure of this kind in Maine and Ohio, and when the sorry reverses suffered by the English on the sea, at Fort Erie, on Lake Champlain, and at Baltimore were taken into account, these demands were seen to be absurd. When the Duke of Wellington declared that no success the British had gained along the Lakes gave England the right to demand any cession of territory, they were withdrawn.

Wellington's declaration

However, in no whit were the English agents at Ghent willing to yield to the demand of our delegates that England give up the right of impressment of sailors or make amends for British violations of international law. It was a clear case of deadlock, and, under these circumstances, the Treaty of Ghent was signed on Christmas Eve, 1814. Its provisions were: 1. cessation of arms; 2. restoration of all conquests; 3. the boundary line between the United States and Canada to be fixed, later, by a commission to be appointed for that purpose; 4. a similar commission should settle the question of fishing rights off "The Banks" of Newfoundland.[1] No object for which the United States entered the war was gained in the treaty as signed.

The Treaty of Ghent

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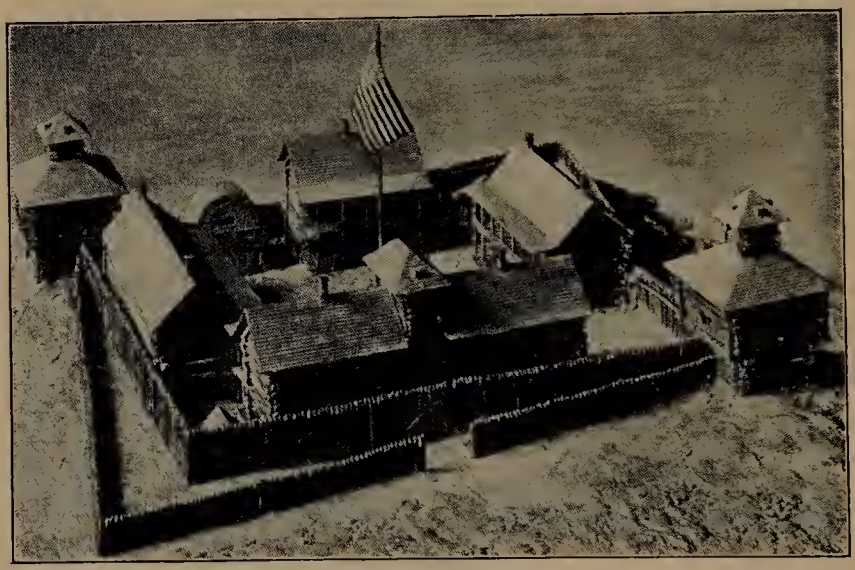
[1]By "Conventions" (agreements) in 1817 and 1818 certain unsettled questions in this Treaty were determined. By that of 1817 Great Britain and the United States agreed not to fortify their respective ports on the Great Lakes and to maintain on those waters small and equal armed naval forces for the purpose of revenue patrol only. By that of 1818 it was agreed that our fishermen might take fish (a) off the Magdalen Islands, (b) in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and (c) along the deserted shores of Newfoundland. Thus one of New England's greatest industries was allowed to continue on a restricted scale. The Treaty of Ghent said the international boundary line should go from the "most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods" straight west to the Mississippi River. That river did not lie west of that lake. It was now agreed that a line should be dropped south from the Lake of the Woods to the 49th parallel and that that parallel should be the boundary line to the Rocky Mountains. Beyond those mountains (Oregon) it was agreed that the country could be jointly occupied by nationals of both nations for ten years. That period was later extended until the Oregon Treaty was signed a generation afterward (1846) extending the 49th parallel line to the Pacific (map following p. 298).

Yet, like most wars, its unexpected results were of great importance. It created a very distinct wave of patriotism in our land which was much increased by a notable victory won after the treaty was signed but before the news of it had arrived. A British force of well-seasoned troops from Spain attempted to capture New Orleans. General Andrew Jackson now revenged himself brilliantly for the saber scars he had worn from his boy-



THE FIRST FORT DEARBORN, 1803–1812. (From the Chicago Historical Society's Model.)

hood days in the Waxhaw, for the brother who died in prison, and for the mother whom prison-fever killed.

The Battle of New Orleans

The British, 5,000 strong, were led by General Sir Edward Pakenham, of whom the Duke of Wellington (his brother-in-law) said: "I tell you that he is one of the best we have." Opposed to the British lay Jackson's 4,000 men, scattered along various wood-and-earth breastworks at Chalmette, just below New Orleans. It was a strange army, gathered from many parts of the world. But its men were united in two respects: in their fierce devotion to "Old Hickory," their leader, and in the belief

that they could do what he said, namely, "lick their weight in wild-cats." There were, behind those breastworks, brown "Hunters of Kentucky," sun-tanned, Indian-fighting "Alligator Horses" of Tennessee, lean long-legged Yankees from down East, gray-mustachioed French veterans, grimy freebooters who had sailed with Pierre Lafitte, and Creoles, Norwegians, and Portuguese.

Early in the morning of January 8th the confident British advanced on the American breastwork and the wide ditch which protected it. On stopping that charge depended the safety of the metropolis of the far South and, perhaps, the whole Mississippi Valley. Yet "coolly, as though at a prize turkey shoot on a tavern green," Jackson's westerners mowed down the foe "as falls the grass under the keen scythe."

He led us down to the Cypress Swamp

ran a popular song of the day,

The ground was soft and mucky;
There stood John Bull, in martial pomp,
And here was old Kentucky.

* * * * *

And when so near we saw them wink,
We thought it time to stop 'em,
And 't would have done you good, I think,
To see Kentuckians drop 'em.

Only about one third of Jackson's men were engaged, but those 1,333 Americans inflicted a loss of 2,000 on the foolhardy British. And that night, as the Highland bagpipes in the dark cypress woods wailed out *Lochaber No More*, the redcoats buried more officers (including Pakenham) than the total loss in Jackson's army. The British soon took a menacing position at Mobile on the Gulf of Mexico. But New Orleans was saved. Better still, this very distinct victory elated the whole country, brought a confidence and a sense of latent power and ability that would have gone far to win other battles, had the war not come to an abrupt end. The victory made Jackson a popular

hero and gave real momentum (when peace was declared) toward the spirit of nationality which began to prevail.

The War of 1812 was worth what it cost—however high you reckon that—if only for one reason. It has well been called our "Second War for Independence"; thereafter American affairs were far less under the control of European politics. From then on we began to go our own way as a nation with an independence never known before. The war indeed saw our tonnage engaged in foreign trade set back seven years, being reduced to 672,000 tons, and this seemed a hard blow. But it proved a blessing. The cutting off of imported goods started home manufacturing as nothing else would have done. In four years (1811–1815) the number of spindles in our cotton factories, for instance, increased from 80,000 to 500,000. This awakening of manufacturing brought the tariff question before the nation prominently. But, on the other hand, however, the swift advances made in many directions between 1800 and 1812 toward national expansion, such as the promotion of the National Road and the Erie Canal, were postponed and the flow of migration to the Northwest was wholly stopped. But the advantages gained overbalanced the losses, for these losses were rapidly recouped in the buoyant years following.

Effect of the war on international relations

READING LIST

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1. HARTFORD CONVENTION: Babcock, Chap. 9; Adams, VIII, Chap. 11; Channing, IV, Chap. 20; Johnson, 234–237; R. D. Paine, *The Old Merchant Marine*, Chaps. 4–8; Fish, 184.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Why has the War of 1812 been called the "Second War of American Independence"? Sum up the grievances, on both sides, which led to the war. Discuss the justice of a war's being forced on the East, which would

suffer most, by the West, which would suffer least. Why has the War of 1812 been called a "war of paradoxes"? Had Jefferson any precedent for the economic boycott attempted in the Embargo Act? Picture what might have been the result (had the war not ceased when it did) of a defeat of Jackson at New Orleans. Do wars invariably increase a people's sense of nationality? Have foreign wars been advocated in order to unite an inharmonious nation (p. 336)?

Section 28. Slavery and Expansion

The thriving years which followed the war saw the admission of Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), Alabama (1819), Maine (1820), and Missouri (1821) to the Union as states, whereas in the next fourteen years not a state or territory was added to the roll. The admission of Missouri and the bitter debate as to whether it would be a "slave state" or a "free state" compelled the country to face a problem thick with danger; this was not so much the question of slavery as the question of the expansion of slavery—a western problem.

The Missouri question

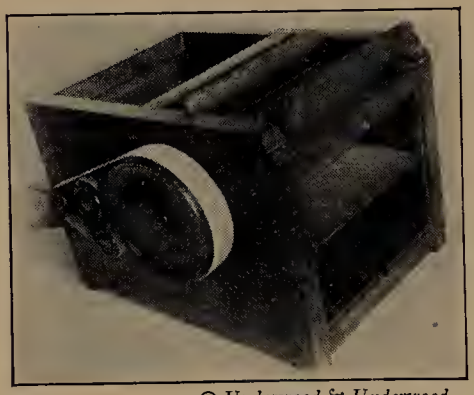
We have noted that the first negroes were brought to Virginia in 1619, but it was a long time before slavery became a sectional problem. This is shown by the dates on which slavery was legalized in the various colonies: Virginia (1640), Massachusetts (1641), Connecticut and Rhode Island (1650), North Carolina (1653), and New York (1656). By 1700 slavery had become a common institution. While the staple crops of the South rendered that region more dependent on slave labor than was the North, the growth of a great black population there was not without its suggestion of future trouble. Naturally it was in the South that arose the first protests against slave traffic. Virginia took a strong stand in this matter in 1772 and was the first American colony to prohibit the traffic successfully. Jefferson wrote a very strong and eloquent denunciation of the slave trade into the Declaration of Independence, but representatives of both North and South looked upon it with disfavor and it

The universality of slavery

Southern aversion to it

was stricken out. Virginians prior to 1778 had been freeing their slaves so rapidly that a law was deemed necessary to stop this practice lest the free negroes should outnumber the enslaved.

The South was not a unit on the slave question as far back as the constitutional convention in 1787. Maryland and Virginia then favored putting an end to importation of slaves for the reason that those states were already well stocked. Georgia and South Carolina, not being well supplied, and having great confidence in the future wealth of the Gulf region when that section was opened up, opposed this idea; aided by North Carolina, they secured the concession in the Constitution that the slave trade should not be prohibited before 1808.



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MODEL OF THE FIRST COTTON GIN

Cotton, as then separated by hand, was not the valuable crop it had been before the foreign fields, especially India, had begun to give their product to the world. Slavery was doomed to rise and to fall as a successful economic system with the value of the crops which it produced. At the close of the Revolutionary War neither slaves nor cotton was of much value; this doubtless explains why Congress passed the Ordinance of 1787 prohibiting slavery in the great Northwest Territory after 1800, and why the constitutional convention at Philadelphia agreed to the prohibition of the slave trade after 1808.

Relation of slavery to crops

The invention by a clever Yankee, Eli Whitney, then a resident of Georgia, changed the whole feeling of the South on this subject. Sea-island cotton could be separated from its seed easily by hand; cotton which grew on the uplands was so separated with great difficulty—only at the rate of a pound of lint a

day. Whitney perfected a gin (1793) which could clean fifty pounds of lint a day. The invention at once made possible an immense cotton empire. Cotton could now be profitably grown on land lying as high as five hundred feet above sea level. Such was the demand for the new appliance that Whitney could not keep up with his orders and country blacksmiths began to make these simple but exceedingly valuable machines. A gin was merely a wooden cylinder encircled by rows of slender spikes set half an inch apart, which extended between the bars of a grid set so closely together that the seed could not pass—the lint being pulled through by the spikes. A brush cleaned the spikes.

Whitney's cotton gin

With millions of new acres which hitherto had been useless to planters now open to cotton, the price of slaves at once advanced, and in this same year (1793) Congress passed a Fugitive Slave Act which made it possible for masters to reclaim runaway slaves by proving their property before a Federal judge. While, on the one hand, Southern states were forbidding the freeing of slaves, on the other hand the last Northern states to abolish slavery were doing so. These acts show the sudden difference of opinion on this subject in the two sections, and how the South was becoming "solid" from an economic standpoint. Curiously enough the North, while freeing its slaves, was going through an industrial revolution which helped to fasten slavery upon the South. Every mill and factory built in this new era in the North made cotton raising more profitable on the Southern plantations; we shall see, a little later, that efforts to unsettle the slave system in the South met with no small opposition in the commercial centers of the North (map following p. 426).

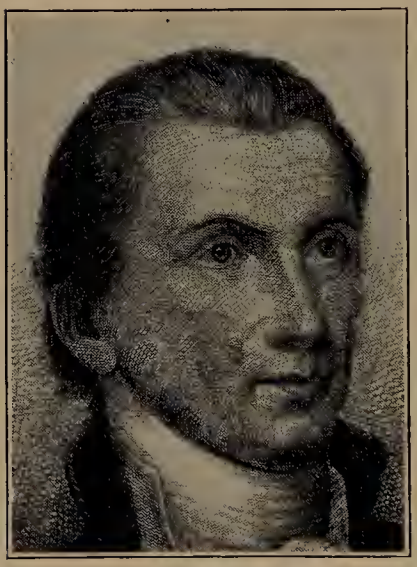
Fugitive Slave Act

Influence of Northern industrialism on slavery

Whitney's cotton gin gave the Louisiana Purchase a new meaning. That invention opened a new section of the country to the cotton plant in a climate in which it would thrive—and a new world to the plantation system and slavery. Northerners had objected to the Purchase, in part, because the Government was pledged to admit the states created from any west-

ern territory on the same terms as the original states. This objection was not echoed in the South. With satisfaction its farsighted statesmen saw great states coming into existence in that region which would favor slavery; states which, once admitted to the Union, would help the South keep up in the race with the North so far as votes in Congress were concerned. States had, since 1802, been admitted to the Union in pairs, a Southern as against a Northern; Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois on the one hand balanced Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama on the other. At the same time the agitation against slavery in England on moral grounds spread to the United States. In 1808 the foreign slave trade was abolished by act of Congress; and in 1816 the American Colonization Society was formed to solve the negro problem by emigration to Africa. Now, when it came to this matter of crossing the Mississippi into the new purchase and admitting Missouri in 1821, the question of the legal expansion of slavery into the entire West came squarely before the nation—ringing, in Jefferson's graphic words, "like a fire-bell in the night." The discussion over this question was the most heated Congress had heard since our government was formed. The majority in the House attempted to bar the expansion of slavery under the guise of admitting Missouri with the "restriction" that slavery should not exist in the new state. The Senate opposed the theory that the Government could place any restrictions on a state. The debate alarmed the North by proving that

The cotton gin and the Louisiana Purchase



James Monroe

The Missouri Compromise

slavery, instead of being on the road to extinction, was becoming stronger every day. No American cotton was exported in 1791; now twenty million dollars' worth were being exported, which explains slavery's growing power. The matter was settled by a compromise—to admit Maine as a free state and admit Missouri as a slave state, but to limit, throughout the territory of Louisiana, the northward expansion of slavery to the parallel of 36° 30′. The compromise staved off the day when the problem of slavery should become the burning national question.

On March 4, 1817, James Monroe, another Virginian, was made President to succeed James Madison; he served two terms, or until 1825. While the Missouri question was the important issue of this time, two other matters attracted wide attention. Advancing American settlements brought on the usual friction with Indians in Alabama and Florida. The first of two Seminole wars was now fought—important, principally, because of the international questions which it raised. General Jackson invaded Florida, which still belonged to Spain, in pursuit of the Seminoles. While the government was compelled to rebuke him, the nation generally applauded.[1] As a result Spain came to realize that it was hopeless for her to attempt to protect that peninsula against the steady pressure of American advance. She therefore sold Florida to us in 1819 for five million dollars. But in drawing the new boundary line (map following p. 266) seeds of much future trouble were sown. This line ran irregularly by way of the Sabine and the Arkansas rivers to the 42nd parallel and followed that line to the Pacific. While the fixing of this line was noteworthy (because by it we inherited the Spanish claim to "Oregon") it shut us off from the part of the Louisiana Purchase south of the Sabine now occupied by the State of Texas. Already

Monroe elected President

The Florida Purchase

Texas colonized

[1] John C. Calhoun was the author of a motion in Congress, at this time, to censure Jackson for invading Florida. In later years, as we shall see, Jackson learned of this motion for the first time. It added fuel to the quarrel between these men which played a very important part in the history of Jackson's career as President.

TERRITORIAL CONDITIONS WHEN THE MONROE DOCTRINE WAS PROMULGATED

(1820) a Connecticut Yankee, Moses Austin, was seeking from Mexico a grant of land in that region and two years later his son, Stephen, led thither the first colony of Americans to occupy it. The purchase of Florida, therefore, settled one source of trouble in the East but it opened the way to another in the West—in Texas. In both cases the fundamental cause was the uncontrollable advance of American population—lured on to good lands where tobacco and cotton and cane would grow.

In other directions, too, arose clouds which hinted of danger. Russia had acquired a right to the north Pacific coast of America above the 51st parallel. She had no settlements as far south as that but, in 1821, the Czar of Russia issued a proclamation forbidding people of other nations to come within a hundred miles of that northland above the 51st parallel. This created a province on our continent which could be colonized only by Russians and made Bering Sea a Russian inland sea in which fishing was prohibited to all but Russians (map p. 236).

Russians in the North Pacific

This proclamation of the Czar's was the more alarming in American eyes because that potentate was now at the head of the "Holy Alliance."[1] The world's attention had been turned to the South these days by the valiant struggle which had been made by the Spanish colonists of South America to throw off Spain's yoke as we had thrown off England's. One by one the South American republics were established and, in 1822, the United States officially recognized their independence. Signs were not wanting that this Holy Alliance might attempt to aid Spain to reconquer these lost provinces. England wished them to remain free because they would offer her a better market if free. But when she suggested that we unite with her to protect them against any foe of "self-determination" our govern-

"Holy Alliance"

England's offer of coöperation

[1]The Holy Alliance was a league formed by European sovereigns in 1815 to protect themselves against revolutions—to uphold monarchical institutions. Russia had already announced that she would not recognize the independence of the South American republics.

ment, through the influence of John Quincy Adams, drew back.

Instead of coöperating with England to preserve the integrity of those republics, President Monroe, in his annual message to Congress, December, 1823, declared that the people of the New World had their set of interests and those of the Old had theirs. We ought not to interfere, he said, with the "primary interests" of Europe and added that any attempt of Europe to interfere with our primary interests would be taken as proof "of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." This was the famous "Monroe Doctrine." This challenge to Russia, on the one hand, and to the Holy Alliance, on the other, was not to be misunderstood. To Russia it said: ". . . the occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle . . . that the American continents . . . are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." To the Holy Alliance it said: "The political system of the allied powers is essentially different, in this respect, from that of America. . . . We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we . . . shall not interfere. But with the governments . . . whose independence we have . . . acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling, in any other manner, their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States" (map p. 236).

The "Monroe Doctrine"

As it concerned Russia

As it concerned the "Holy Alliance" and South America

The effect of the declaration of this Doctrine was immediate and lasting. Russia, for instance, took the broad hint and agreed to the boundary of Alaska which was to stand until we

purchased that territory. The War of 1812 had done much to cut the ties which bound us to the mazy web of European politics. The declaration of Monroe's "Doctrine" went far to sever all that remained. Thomas Jefferson may have overestimated its importance when he said that it was "the most momentous [decision] since the Declaration of Independence"; but it did in a real sense "emancipate a continent" from the sinister influence of European politics.

Jefferson on Monroe's "Doctrine"

Thus the "Era of Good Feeling"—as Monroe's period is called because he had practically no opposition (the Federalist party having died with the Hartford Convention)—saw a notable day's work done: (a) Florida annexed, (b) a claim to the Oregon region established by treaty, and (c) Europe told to keep "hands off" from American and Pan-American affairs. The one cloud on the horizon was that steadily widening stream of settlers flowing from Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Missouri across the international boundary line into what was then Mexico's province of Texas. Wherever such American colonies were founded, trouble usually began to brew—unless the flag went with them.

Fruits of the "Era of Good Feeling"

READING LIST

W. E. Dodd, *The Cotton Kingdom* (Chronicles of America, XXVII), Chap. 1; A. B. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition* (American Nation, XVI), Chaps. 1 and 2; E. C. Brooks, *Story of the Cotton Gin;* F. J. Turner, *Rise of the New West*, Chaps. 4, 9, 10, and 12; J. B. McMaster, IV, Chap. 39; V, Chap. 41; J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, I, Chap. 1; C. R. Fish, *The Path of Empire* (Chronicles of America, XLVI), Chap 1.

1. The Monroe Doctrine: in addition to above, see J. B. Moore, *American Diplomacy*, Chap. 6; J. H. Latané, *United States and Latin America*, Chap. 9; *From Isolation to Leadership*, Chaps. 2 and 3; J. W. Foster, *A Century of American Diplomacy*, Chap. 12; H. Bingham, *The Monroe Doctrine;* Hart, *The Monroe Doctrine;* Fish, *American Diplomacy*, Chap. 17.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

How did the cotton gin open a new empire to cotton? How have improved fertilizers opened another new "empire" to cotton in recent years?

How did the Industrial Revolution help to fasten the slavery system on the South? How was the fate of the system determined by the value of cotton crops? Explain the desire of both North and South to keep even in voting power in Congress. What other questions than slavery might have precipitated the same sort of rivalry? Why did the Fugitive Slave Act demand that slave owners "prove their property" before a Federal rather than a state judge? With what American policy was the idea behind the Monroe Doctrine in accord? What statesman had defined this principle and when? May the Monroe Doctrine properly be called a by-product of the War of 1812? Does the modern theory of "mandated islands" (p. 568) echo the same underlying idea?

Section 29. Commerce and Expansion

The motive of American expansion in the South was, as we have seen, the acquiring of more land for agriculture—for cotton, tobacco, and cane. The increase of cotton production between 1811 and 1826 tells in plain figures an astonishing story of growth. In 1811 the South produced eighty million pounds of cotton, all but five million coming from four of the "original" thirteen states located in the South—the Carolinas, Virginia, and Georgia. In 1826 the South raised over 330 million pounds, almost one half coming from the new southern districts outside of those mentioned. Eight years later (1834) these new districts produced almost twice as much cotton as was raised in the four old states. Nothing could bring out more clearly than these figures the sweep of population and growth of wealth in the states now known as Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, and Arkansas.

Growth in the South 1811–1826

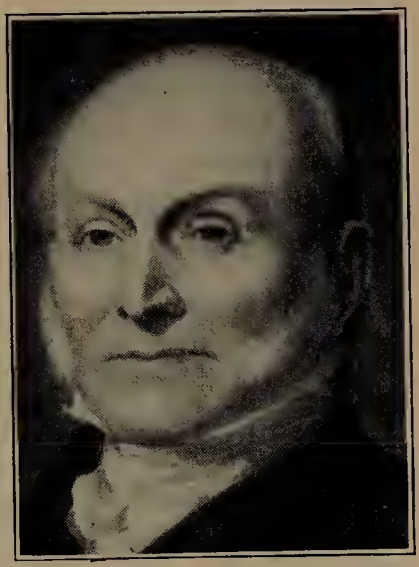
Quite as singular, from another standpoint, was the development in these two decades in the North. New England was now fast changing to a manufacturing from an agricultural basis; indeed this was true of the whole Atlantic coast region north of Virginia. Mills, factories, and workshops multiplied beside these northern streams. Engines driven by steam came rapidly into use everywhere. Spinning machinery and the power loom were humming in New England before the War of 1812 was over.

Industrial growth in the North

Steamboat building, and scores of other industries, called louder and louder for perfected machinery. The dredge, the nail-making machine, and machinery for the making of shoes and the weaving of carpets were, all, important inventions in the North.

In these two decades over three million souls had migrated across, or were living west of, the Alleghenies. The tide of migration into Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and what were to be Michigan and Wisconsin, was unparalleled, and practically every one of these millions stood in need of some of the manufactured products of the East, of cotton and wool woven into clothing, of ironware in the many forms needed by an agricultural people, and of all the implements a developing civilization comes to demand.

Dependence of the Northwest on the East



John Quincy Adams

The vital factor, then, of improved transportation methods became a national necessity. Coastwise ships and steamers served to unite the North and the South. But between the manufacturing North and this thriving but needy West lay only the poor roads which were little more than widened Indian trails when the nineteenth century dawned. It is readily seen how these two sections might very naturally come to agree on a sectional policy of "internal improvements"; and such was the case.

Origin of "internal improvement" ideas

The so-called "Era of Good Feeling" saw the high-water mark of internal improvements. It was followed by a bitter presidential campaign in 1824. No one of the four candidates, John Quincy

Adams elected President

Adams, William H. Crawford, Andrew Jackson, or Henry Clay, received a majority of votes in the electoral college, although Jackson received the most. The election was, therefore, made by the House of Representatives and Adams was chosen. His administration (1824–1828) saw a large advance made in internal improvements fostered by the Northern States. It now became very plain that national aid to projects such as road-building, canal-digging, and railway construction, which would bind the industrial states of the North to the agricultural states of the West, was not popular in the Southland; it would have to pay its share for them without receiving proportional benefit.

Difference of opinion over internal improvements

The two most prominent projects in the internal improvement

An Early Canal Boat

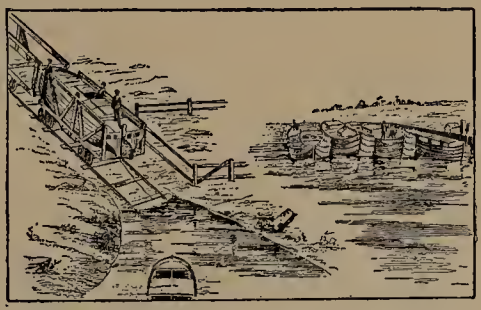
campaign uniting these two northern sections were the Cumberland or National Road and the Erie Canal. As we have noted (p. 203) Jefferson in 1806 signed the bill for this road mentioned and the Cumberland-Brownsville-Wheeling route to the Ohio was selected. The building of the road was undertaken by the War Department in 1811, but the war compelled delays and the road was not completed to the Ohio River until 1818.

Cumberland Road built

This great stone pathway across the Alleghenies, connecting at Wheeling in 1818 with lines of steamboats running down the Ohio, was a great factor in American expansion (map p. 219). Many, however, contended that the Government had no right to build it—that the right given by the Constitution to "establish" post roads did not give Congress the right to build roads. Adams and his Secretary of State, Henry Clay, as leaders of the new "National Republican Party" (soon to become the Whig party), upheld this right. But the government adopted a weak compromise with respect to this first "national" road. It was built by the government for a national purpose; but as fast as it was built each state's section of it was turned over to that state for upkeep and repair. It was a white elephant on the hands of the states concerned; rarely did any section of it serve any useful local purpose; sometimes it did not even connect county seats. The states, consequently, did not keep up many portions of the road although for the few years before the canal era it was an important avenue of westward migration, travel, and commerce well worth the two millions the government spent on the Cumberland - Ohio river portion. Almost five millions was spent on the Ohio-Missouri extension of it westward, through Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, in the decade following 1825 (map following p. 266).

The "National Republican Party"

The Cumberland Road turned over to the states



TRANSPORTING A CANAL BOAT ACROSS A MOUNTAIN RANGE

Another great thoroughfare westward, the Erie Canal, was built in this same period. Fortunately, efforts to have the government pay a part of the expense failed, and the State of New York, under the leadership of her enterprising governor, DeWitt Clinton, put through the

The Erie Canal

great work unaided and achieved a notable triumph. Connecting with the Hudson River above Albany, the canal pierced the rich center of the Empire State and joined Lake Erie at Buffalo 350 miles distant (map p. 219).

Three arguments gave these earnest New Yorkers the courage to construct what was, at the time, the longest canal in the world: (a) it would provide a highway that could be used for defending the Lakes frontier in case of another war with England; (b) it gave a route of exit for the produce of the interior and of transportation of manufactured goods thither; (c) it gave an outlet for the fields and forests of the whole Great Lakes empire—particularly for Ohio and Indiana wheat. Political enemies of Clinton's heaped ridicule on "Clinton's Ditch" (as they called it) when it was begun in 1817, but in eight years the task was completed and, to the amazement of its opponents, its enlargement was necessary within ten short years. The towns of Utica, Syracuse, Rochester, and Buffalo profited to no small degree from the canal and it played, perhaps, the chief part in helping New York City to overcome its rival, Philadelphia, and become our principal Atlantic seaboard city.

THE FIRST AMERICAN TUNNEL. (The Allegheny Portage Railway crossed the summit of the mountains through this tunnel.)

The success of the Erie Canal was felt far and wide, encouraging some undertakings which were profitable and many which resulted disastrously. Ohio at once began a series of canals which would give a northward outlet for her wheat crops; but campaigns in other western states for road- and canal-building led to extravagance and debt. Very valuable was the influence of the success of the Erie Canal to the southward. Philadelphia and Baltimore had of yore monopolized western trade through the fine stone roads which they had built. Fearful lest the Erie Canal should capture this trade, both Maryland and Pennsylvania now took steps to retain it by canals. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was

Influence of the canal

launched at a great banquet at Washington in 1823 at which Adams, Clay, and Calhoun (all rivals the following year for the presidential nomination, as we have seen) spoke in favor of national aid for the enterprise. No sooner did surveyors report that Baltimore could not be linked up with this proposed Potomac Valley waterway than enterprising Baltimoreans proposed to overcome this handicap by building a railway across the Alleghenies, thus enabling their city to hold its old-time prestige. The result of their efforts was the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

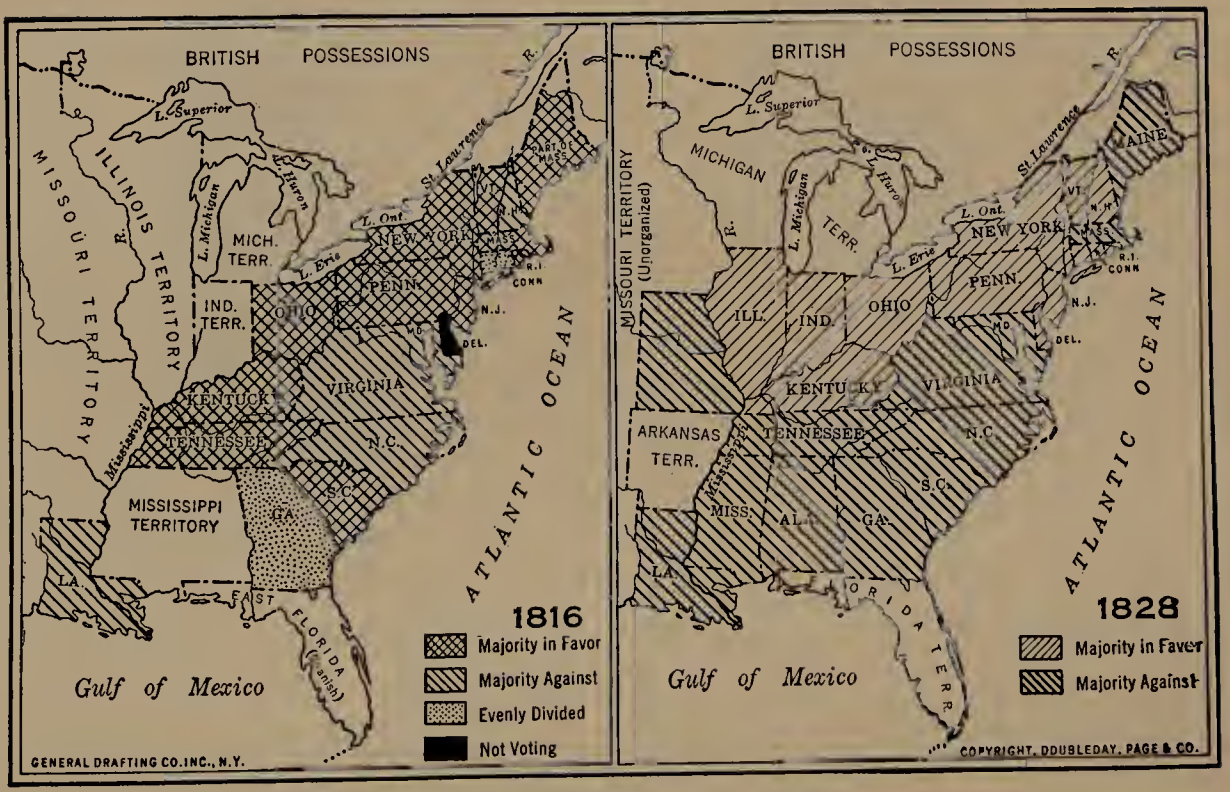
The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal

Both of these enterprises, slightly aided by government funds, were formally inaugurated July 4, 1828, President Adams lifting the first spadeful of earth for the Potomac Canal, and the venerable Charles Carroll of Carrollton performing a similar service for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Pennsylvania, not to be outdone by either Maryland or New York, authorized the Pennsylvania Canal to Pittsburgh February 25, 1826; with notable energy the work was put through and the canal completed in 1830 (map following p. 314).

Pennsylvania's brilliant canal campaign

Thus by road and canal was the growing industrial North being linked quickly with the swiftly advancing trans-Allegheny states. The invention of the flat-bottomed steamboat which could ply the western streams came just in time to serve best this era of buoyant development; the National Road was completed to Wheeling only a few months after the steamboat proved that it could ascend the Mississippi and the Ohio rivers as well as go down them; the Erie Canal was completed to Buffalo almost as soon as the first staunch, practical steamboat plied the Great Lakes.

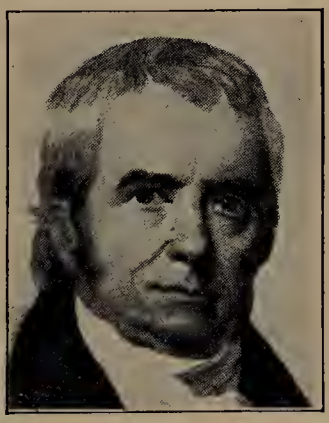
THE CACTOCIN AQUEDUCT. (The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal crosses the Cactocin Creek by this aqueduct, ten miles from Harper's Ferry.)



THE TARIFF VOTES OF 1816 AND 1828

In vain, however, did the friends of internal improvement by means of government money plead their case. The South and the great Southwest opposed strongly any use of the national treasury for the benefit of the industrial North. It favored a strict construction of the Constitution. In the same breath (and for similar reasons) it opposed the high tariff, which the North now came strongly to favor. This was foreshadowed in 1824 when a tariff was passed, raising the average duty to 36 per cent. New England was not a unit on this policy in 1824, but unity was reached four years later. In 1828 Congress passed the "Tariff of Abominations" as its enemies called it; this tariff laid a duty of 41 per cent. on cotton and woolen goods. The South feared England would retaliate by imposing a high tariff on rice, raw cotton, tobacco, etc. (all Southern products), which would have stopped our immense exportations of them to England. Thus on the questions of both internal improvements and tariff a gulf began to separate the North from the agricultural South (map p. 246).

Sectional divergence becomes marked



JOHN MARSHALL

Of lasting influence in the matter of interpreting our Constitution were the famous decisions of Chief Justice John Marshall, who held office throughout this entire generation (1801–1835). We have seen (p. 182) that it is not certain that the Fathers ever intended that the Supreme Court should be the judge of the constitutionality of the acts of either Congress, a state, or a President. It began to do so, however, about 1800, and with the advent of Marshall this became a regular practice. In the case of *Marbury* vs. *Madison* the court established its right to annul a law passed by Congress. In the case of *Fletcher* vs. *Peck*

Chief Justice Marshall's decisions

it established its right to annul an act of a state legislature. In the case of *McCulloch* vs. *Maryland* the court upheld the right of Congress to exercise "implied powers" under the Constitution—if the object was deemed legitimate and the stated powers of Congress were not violated. Here was also laid down the principle that a state cannot tax a Federal agency. In the case of *Dartmouth College* vs. *Woodward* the validity and sanctity of contracts were upheld; having granted a charter no state could repeal it if the original terms had been kept inviolate by the grantee. In the *Gibbons* vs. *Ogden* case the court established the freedom of the inland waters of the nation, denying a state's right to grant monopolies to transportation companies on our interstate inland waterways. In this decision we find the basis for all legislation concerning inter-state commerce of later days.

The unity which these decisions gave to the national government was challenged by such Democrats as Jefferson and Jackson; in the main, however, our people have willingly conceded to the Court its enormous power as umpire and rarely has their confidence in its unbiased honesty been betrayed.

READING LIST

A. B. Hulbert, *Paths of Inland Commerce*, Chaps. 7 and 8; Turner, 32–36; K. Coman, *Industrial History of the United States*, 202–211; McMaster, IV, Chap. 33; V, Chap. 45; A. B. Hulbert, *The Cumberland Road* and *Great American Canals* (Historic Highways, X and XIV); E. S. Corwin, *John Marshall and the Constitution*, Chaps. 1–2, 5–9: A. J. Beveridge, *The Life of John Marshall;* J. B. Thayer, *John Marshall;* Fox, *Map Studies*, No. 17.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

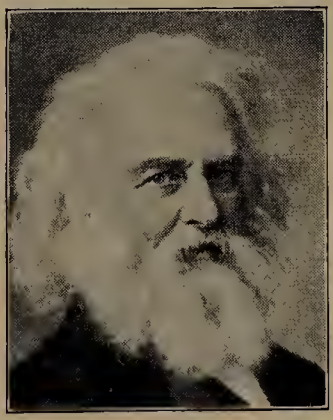
Show how naturally a family living in the country establishes social, educational, and religious relationships with the town where it does its trading. Compare the dependence of the Northwest of this period on the East for manufactured goods with the former dependence of the colonies on England for the same. Do you think "the Fathers" would have ratified the Constitution had they known that the Supreme Court would have the power to annul laws passed by states? By Congress? Consider the source of the threats to nullify acts of Congress up to this time: could nullification be called a sectional issue at this time? What is the difference in the policy of national road building to-day and the system used with respect to the

Cumberland Road? Describe the process by which a region may change from opposing a tariff to favoring one? Can the reverse be supposed to occur? What parts of the South and West now favor high tariff? Why? Explain the growth of manufactures in the North on the basis of geography, mode of settlement, previous industries, temper of the people, etc.

Section 30. The Teeming Thirties

The prophecy of Howells of Rhode Island that one day the "Gods of the Mountains," the Western pioneers, would descend upon a decayed East to purify its society, ideals, and politics, seemed to be fulfilled when Andrew Jackson of Tennessee was elected President in 1828. A period sometimes passes without a people being conscious of the changes which the hurrying days have brought. Suddenly a new era seems to dawn, with a new hero at the head of affairs, and he is said to have brought the change. So was Jackson described by his admirers. But the fact was that the nation had passed into a new epoch. The people were ready to slough off some old habits, knock down some old idols, and erect new ones in their place, better or worse, as the case might be. If we keep in view only the political arena it will seem as if the frontier and western democracy, aided by strong middle and southern states, had created a revolution by electing Jackson. If, however, we survey society as a whole, examine the patent office records, see what printing presses were doing, find what labor leaders were saying, listen to the founders of new schools of thought which were being established, and study the work of charitable associations, we shall see that a new day brought Jackson—not Jackson a new day. No hard-and-fast rule holds, of course, but in the twelve years of Jackson's "reign" (for we reckon the term of

A new era



Henry Wadsworth Longfellow

his successor, Van Buren, to have been but an extension of the Tennesseean's rule) many signs indicated an economic and spiritual growth unknown to earlier America—the Teeming Thirties.

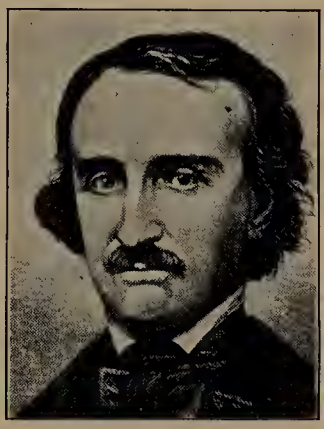
RALPH WALDO EMERSON

American literature

In literature the names of famous Americans now become familiar. James Fenimore Cooper, the son of a sturdy New York pioneer, who had enshrined Indian lore in the heart of youth through *The Last of the Mohicans* and other novels, now reached the height of his fame with the publication of *The Red Rover*. Joseph Smith produced the *Book of Mormon* and the remarkable migrations of the sect which accepted it as a revelation from God through South American Indians, supplementing the Bible, began to become a factor in American westward advance. Chancellor Kent completed his famous *Commentaries*, of lasting benefit to students of American law, and it was almost immediately complemented by Judge Story's *Commentaries*. Agassiz was now beginning his great work on fossil fishes, telling in a new language the story of our prehistoric history written in the rocks. Bancroft issued the first volume of his memorable *History of the United States*, the first adequate history of our country and still valuable; Jared Sparks brought out the first volume of his *Life and Writings of George Washington;* Poe published his *MSS Found in a Bottle* and was on the immediate road to fame. Emerson was delivering the lectures which became a basis of his deathless *Essays*. Holmes, Whittier,

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE

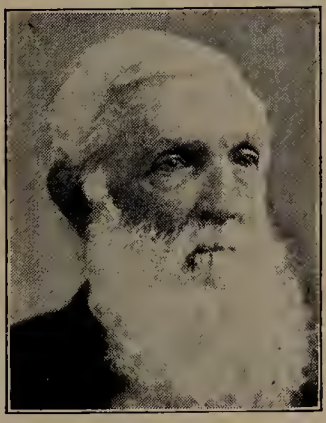
Longfellow, and Lowell issued their first volumes of poetry and established the early reputation of our one great school of American poetry. Hawthorne wrote his *Twice Told Tales*, laying the foundation of his later fame and Prescott issued the first volume of his *Ferdinand and Isabella*. Webster's *Dictionary* appeared in 1828, marking the first step toward Americanizing the English language. In the newspaper realm the founding of the New York *Sun*, the *Herald*, and the *Tribune* paved the way for an enormous development of the American press before the Civil War. As early as 1834 newspapers were being printed as far west as Wisconsin; the press came in as the Indian went out.



EDGAR ALLAN POE

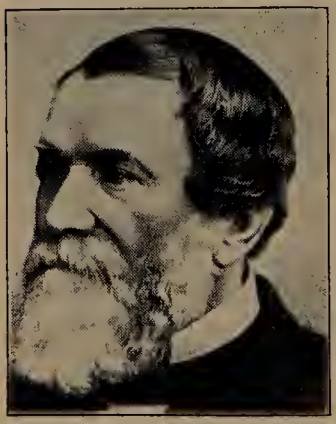
The record of these years in industrial lines is also noteworthy. Peter Cooper erected the Canton Iron Works at Baltimore in which he soon built the "Tom Thumb," the first American-built locomotive. The process of galvanizing iron was perfected in these days, an item of great importance in manufacturing progress. The Delaware and Hudson, Chesapeake and Delaware, Chesapeake and Ohio, Pennsylvania, and numerous western canals were completed, as well as the world's first long railway (136 miles) in South Carolina. The decade (1830–1840) saw the railway mileage of the nation increased over 122 times. Fairbanks scales were invented which, in their way, were as great a boon in business as McCormick's reaper, now invented (1834), was in the harvesting

Industrial development



GEORGE BANCROFT

of wheat. Ericsson designed the first screw propeller to cross the ocean; the experience helped him to become a national hero by building a more famous craft in later days. A factor of prime importance, industrially, was the successful substitution of anthracite coal for charcoal in furnaces. Morse's electric telegraph, now invented, came (when perfected) to revolutionize communication just as Nasmyth's steam hammer revolutionized forging processes, a prime need in the new age of iron and steel to come. Significant it was, in the middle of this era (1835–6), that the demand for protection on the part of inventors was so great that it made necessary the opening of a government patent office in Washington.



Cyrus H. McCormick

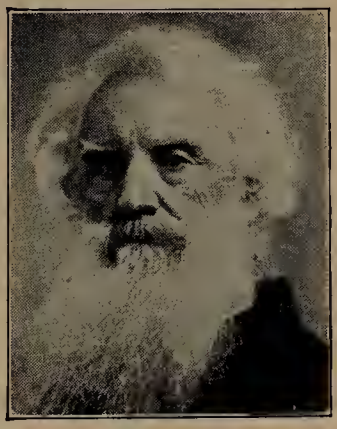
An impressionable age

In the domain of philosophical and moral progress this age was particularly sensitive and impressionable, to the verge of hysteria. This was evident in the rise of abolitionism and transcendentalism in the older eastern communities, as well as in the hectic camp meetings in the pioneer communities of the West. A craze over the study of phrenology, for instance, swept both East and West. Communistic experiments, like the famous "Brook Farm" in New England or the Zoarite and the Mormon communities in the West (following in a vague way the theories of Fourier, noted preacher of communism in Europe), were tried with temporary success. As never before public discussion of all such problems became popular; lyceums and debating societies sprang up in city, town, and hamlet. In such the abolition of slavery was debated pro and con, especially after William Lloyd Garrison began to print his paper, the *Liberator*, in 1831. The Temperance question began to be agitated after 1830; prison reform came to receive a much-needed attention; women's rights campaigns were started by Francis Wright, to be made famous in

later days by Susan B. Anthony. The movement for free public schools was now given great impetus by Horace Mann in Massachusetts, and the first American normal school was established by this great educational pioneer. Michigan at this time chartered the first of our state universities, and coeducation was introduced into Oberlin College, setting a precedent in higher institutions of learning which became popular in after years. Dorothea Dix now became known as a sturdy champion of asylums for the insane, whose treatment at the hands of society had hitherto been all but ghoulish.

Labor reform

The rise of industrialism and the establishment of hundreds of new mills and factories in this and the preceding decade, as already mentioned, is reflected now in the labor world, and the first efforts were made by labor to gain its end by organization. As early as 1828 the failure of a carpenters' strike for a ten-hour day at Philadelphia led to the formation of the Mechanics Union of Trade Associations, the first federation of various trades in this country. Previously, in many, if not most, places factory whistles blew ten minutes before daybreak and the working day lasted until eight in the evening, with twenty-five minutes off for both breakfast and dinner. A few months later a convention of "New England Workingmen and Mechanics" began seriously to push the campaign for a ten-hour day. At about the same time the first national trade (labor) organization was formed. The part such organizations were to play in politics was glimpsed by wide-awake men when a workingman's organization in a southern village elected the village tailor to the office of alderman; that man was Andrew Johnson, later President of the United States.

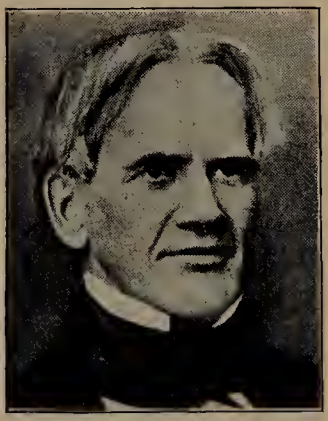


Samuel F. B. Morse

Progress was also made in these years in the discovery and

occupation of our great West. While omnibus lines began plying the muddy streets of New York, and gas was first used for street lighting in Philadelphia, and Chicago became a "city," the rush into the newly opened Iowa lead and zinc region followed the "Black Hawk War," in Illinois. In 1833–4 our first Indian territory was created and Georgia, Wisconsin, and Illinois were freed of Indians. The towns which should become notable as railway crossing places of the Mississippi—Dubuque, Burlington, and Davenport—were now founded within a period of four years. Old St. Louis became a city big enough to look with condescension on little Chicago, and to aid in planting outposts on up the Missouri, such as Independence, Mo., which at once became the posts of departure for the growing trade with far Sante Fé and the Southwest. Captain Bonneville now made his enterprising exploration of the Great Salt Lake region. Steadfast missionaries, Lee, Parker, and Whitman, were carrying the "good words" of the Gospel to distant Oregon and bringing back good words of its rich soil and excellent climate to waiting armies of emigration; and San Francisco on the Pacific was receiving its first colony of American residents by the ocean route thither.

Western settlement



HORACE MANN

So much—and vastly more—this teeming age has to its credit. It was instinct with a life and activity not common to the days preceding. Andrew Jackson brought some revolutionary ideas, but he came in on a tide which no one man or set of men could have created. Against the background of this great awakening the powerful figure of the Tennesseean, however, looms picturesque and inviting. Like his day he, too, was exceptional.

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B. Perry, *The American Spirit in Literature* (Chronicles of America, XXXIV), Chaps. 5–9; J. B. McMaster, IV, Chaps. 33 and 36; V, Chaps. 47 and 48; H. Adams, *History*, IX, Chaps. 9 and 10; Babcock, Chaps. 13–15; E. L. Bogart, *Economic History*, Chaps. 13 and 14; R. T. Stevens, *The Growth of the Nation*, 145–174; Josiah Quincy, *Figures of the Past*, 101–376; E. E. Sparks, *Expansion of the American People:* E. E. Slosson, *The American Spirit in Education* (Chronicles of America, XXXIII), Chaps. 9–15.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

How can a sudden outpouring of industrial and artistic activity be explained? Must such an era also have its "background"? May the initiative or brilliancy of one singer or inventor inspire another and usher in a new day? How do you account for the sudden rise of the famous New England group of poets? Would each have been as famous had he written the same poems in the previous century? Would our cherished newer "Indiana poets" have been as famous in the "Teeming thirties" as to-day? Which invention in this period had the largest effect in "speeding up" every-day American life? If American history began on the Plains of Abraham, was it ancient history until now and modern American history after Jackson's time? Consider the alterations and improvements made in after years on the inventions of these days: has the art of Emerson and Whittier been similarly improved?

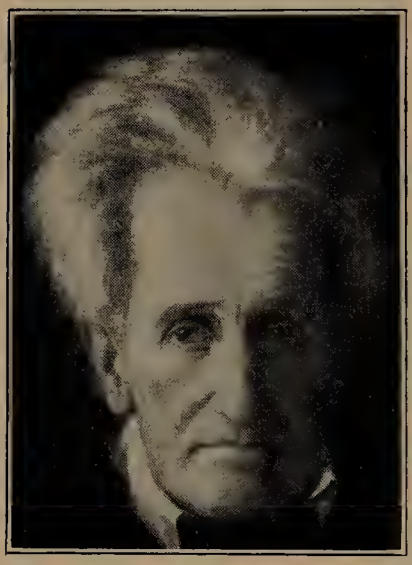
Section 31. "King" Jackson on the Throne

Two pictures come to the mind of the lover of Andrew Jackson at the mention of his name. One is that of a funeral procession from a little cabin in the Waxhaw forests near North Carolina's southern boundary in 1767. On a frail cart is borne the body of Jackson's father. As it goes down the valley, to the nearest churchyard, attended by the bereaved widow, the vehicle also carries, beside the rude coffin, all the earthly possessions of the family. In a house nearest to that churchyard the prostrate widow is carried, and there the babe, who was to be the seventh President of the United States, was born. Three score and one years later that child, who was ushered into the world amid such pathetic scenes of poverty and sorrow, takes, at Washington, the oath of President of a country in which his father had

Two scenes from Andrew Jackson's life

lived only two brief years—and is hailed by frantic throngs of strange, uncouth men from the frontier regions as the conqueror of John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, as the founder of a new democracy, and as the hero of a better and brighter day in American history.

The lad had fought his way up to recognition by the frontier code of honor. As a member of the United States Senate, judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee (his adopted state), victor over the Florida Indians, as well as over the British in the Battle of New Orleans, and as Governor of Florida, Andrew Jackson had run a spectacular course by 1824 when, in the four-cornered race for the Presidency, he received (p. 242) more votes than any opponent but failed of election in the House. Aided by clever party managers the Democrats won, however, in 1828 (map p. 257), and the idol of the new party took possession of the White House.



ANDREW JACKSON

His unique career

His enemies soon began to call him a "King" and themselves "Whigs," or opponents of autocracy.[1] Surely in the matter of independent action Jackson early showed kingly instincts. The time may never come when scholars will agree

[1]It is well to keep in mind the distinction between the political parties thus far founded. At the beginning we found two parties, Federalist and Republican, opposed to each other on clearly defined grounds (p. 193). With the decline of the former (p. 239) arose the National Republican party (p. 243) as the rival of the Republican-Democratic party or Democratic party, as it came to be known by Jackson's time. With the consolidation of the Democratic party under Jackson, all former Federalists and National Republicans

why this strange, tall, gaunt "Andrew yea-and-nay," who came to the White House in 1829 from his Tennessee home, decided so ruthlessly "Yes" in the case of one problem and "No" in the case of another. As often as not he made these decisions contrary to the opinion of his chosen advisers and frequently

THE ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1828

in defiance of the outspoken opinion of the democratic frontier which had made his election a landslide and whose people his rough heart so ardently loved.

If he did not bring down mountain "gods" to purge the "decayed" East, he at once favored a change which seemed quite as radical. He adopted the plan of forcing out the old government employees to make place for members of his own Democratic party. Jackson got full credit for introducing

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united to oppose the Tennesseean's "kingly" rule. While inheriting some of the protection and internal improvement tenets of their forerunners, these "Whigs" favored anti-Jackson planks; that is, their party was an opposition party—favoring loose construction theories and most objects which Jackson opposed. To fight Jackson, Clay rallied all these to the National Republican party which became, later, the Whig party.

this "Spoils System," as it was known. As a matter of fact, it, too, was rather a product of the times and had already become a custom in certain states, notably New York. As never before party lines were now being drawn very plainly, and the party "boss," the party caucus, and the nominating convention came with the Spoils System. By such means party henchmen were paid for their work. Jackson perhaps believed that none of the two thousand officeholders whom he threw out during the first year of his "reign" deserved to retain their positions. Yet he was imposed upon by friends and misled to appoint unfit and, in certain instances, dishonest men. In this spoils policy he gave expression to the extreme democratic theory of rotation in office as opposed to permanently trained experts in government service. These ardent Democrats seemed to think that it was un-American for any one man to know more about any one thing than any other man. In pursuing this policy and sympathizing with such theories the weak side of Jackson showed itself.

Spoils System a product of the times

With reference to several national questions of greatest importance, however, these friends and advisers found the other side of this man as unbending as iron. With an instinct so curious as to be almost uncanny he attacked and smote to the ground policies and institutions so strongly planted that his friends were often beside themselves with despair and amazement. That some of these were the darling interests of the very sections of the country which idolized him seemed even to whet his zeal to balk and veto them.

One of his first acts of this kind was to veto the Maysville Road Bill, thus putting an end to government aid to internal improvements for a generation. Kentucky—which had helped to elect Jackson—desired to be connected with the National Road which was now being built through Ohio. The Maysville Road was planned to connect Central Kentucky (map following p. 266) with Maysville, Ky., on the Ohio River. From there a link might be constructed to join the National Road through Ohio, which,

The Maysville Road bill

too, had helped to elect him. The bill mentioned passed Congress easily. Henry Clay of Kentucky, Jackson's political rival, of course strongly championed the measure. Jackson was doubtless somewhat influenced by politics when the bill came up to him for signature; but other arguments weighed with him strongly. After study of the questions involved, the President, to the amazement of the West which had helped raise him to the presidency, vetoed the bill. In doing so he took his stand with the strict constructionists and breathed into the young Democratic-Republican (as distinguished from the National Republican) party, which had inherited much of Jeffersonianism, a unity of sentiment from the frontier which ruled it for many years. He realized that if every region which wanted a good road built with government money put up a strong argument, Congress would be inclined to grant the request. This, he saw, would bankrupt a government, no matter how great its surplus in money might be. Moreover, all such applications could not be given a just hearing and consideration; some proposed roads could secure more political influence—more "pull"—than could others; the system would lead to the bartering and trading of votes. But, primarily, the right of Congress to "establish" post roads did not, in Jackson's opinion, imply the right to finance roadbuilding.

Jackson becomes a champion of "strict construction"

Jackson did not, however, veto appropriations for the Cumberland Road because the government's honor had been pledged to it by his predecessors. And in every way Jackson encouraged internal improvements carried on by the individual states and bitter was the extravagance some of these tasted in coming years! The years of his first term as President were the flush days of expansion. Both commonwealths and individuals built faster than they could afford to build, bought more land than they could pay for, formed companies for which proper capital could not be secured, and printed paper money behind which they reserved no solid collateral. To what this led we shall soon see.

The flush days of expansion

If the buoyant West was discouraged by Jackson's attitude to national aid, it was, however, elated at his opposition to the United States Bank. This giant, sound institution served much the same purpose that our Treasury Department does now; it handled the government funds at a small percentage of profit. It was chartered for twenty years in 1791 (p. 192). When, in 1811, the charter expired, over seven millions of stock in the bank

Jackson opposes the U. S. Bank

JACKSON'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE BANK. (As depicted by a contemporary cartoon; see key p. 633).

owned by Europeans immediately went home again. To meet this deficiency (of funds suddenly withdrawn from circulation) state banks proceeded to furnish paper money. They issued excessive quantities of notes, this currency increasing suddenly from forty-five millions to one hundred millions. No proper amount of reserve money—"real" money, made of gold and silver—was put away as collateral for the paper money issued. When the British captured Washington, and the country was

in disorder, all banks outside of New England were forced to suspend specie payment in "hard" money.

Thus was the need of a bank like the United States Bank keenly recognized. A second Bank of the United States was chartered by the Republicans, therefore, in 1816 to meet the evils of the hour. This bank, like the first United States bank, was also chartered for twenty years. It was expected to (a) afford assistance to the Treasury Department, which was embarrassed by the cost of the recent war, and (b) establish a sound paper currency by holding a moral check on the over issuing of paper money by state banks. At first the bank was poorly managed, but in its later history it was excellently conducted. To a degree its branches, located about the country, served a purpose similar to our Federal Reserve banks of to-day.

The Second U. S. Bank

Jackson did not like this bank, and he began to oppose it at the very outset of his presidency. He was ruled by the typical prejudice of a native of a debtor interior to the clever capitalists of the creditor region of the seaboard. His friends could not move him. Reports of specialists on the soundness of the Bank and its efficiency little influenced him. Reports of committees of Congress as to the satisfactory way the Bank handled government funds could not alter his mind. He had had trouble in trying to remove men connected with one of the Bank's branches, which had proved to him that the Bank might easily become an ugly political power. He believed that so strong an institution, operated by so few men, was undemocratic and un-American. Powerful friends of the Bank, like Henry Clay, fearing Jackson's attitude, determined to obtain a recharter now, in 1830, while members of Congress seemed favorable to it and while Jackson (through the Maysville veto, Spoils System, and other incidents) was opposed by numerous enemies.

Here, again, as in the case of the Maysville Road Bill, Clay's influence was powerfully exercised in favor of a measure which the President opposed. The bill for recharter passed Congress; Jackson fearlessly "took the bull by the horns," vetoed it, and let his action stand

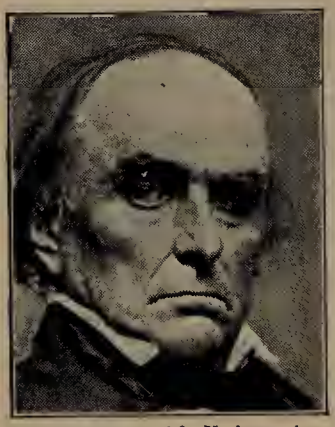
Jackson vetoes bill for recharter

or fall before the tribunal of the people of the nation by running for reëlection in 1832.

Opposition to Jackson was increased at this time because he could not sympathize with South Carolina's objection to the "Tariff of Abominations" of 1828. She feared (p. 247) that England (the South's principal market for raw material) would establish retaliatory duties. That state now issued a tract called the "South Carolina Exposition" (1828) in defense of its case. This document reëchoed the sinister cry of the Virginia and Kentucky "Resolutions" and of the Hartford Convention; it defended a state's right to rebel against the "tyranny of the majority" as shown now, for instance, in a tariff which would tax the Southerner without bringing him any return. It argued that (a) the "Tariff of Abominations" would ruin the South; (b) the idea of "protecting" any part of the nation by a tariff was unconstitutional; (c) an act so injurious to a state could legally be nullified within its borders; (d) a state convention should be called to act on the question of such nullification; and (e) a state so acting could not be coerced until Congress, on appeal, was sustained by three fourths of the states.

South Carolina and the tariff of 1828

Calhoun advises nullification



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DANIEL WEBSTER

The problem was brought clearly before the nation in a famous debate which occurred in the Senate in January, 1830, between Senators Webster of Massachusetts and Hayne of South Carolina over a resolution to stop the sale of western lands. The latter voiced clearly the "Compact" theory to the satisfaction of all States-Rights men. Webster rose to the occasion brilliantly and, in a never-to-be-forgotten speech, denied that our government was the creation of twenty-four sovereign states, and asserted that,

The Webster-Hayne debate

rather, both states and central government were ruled by a Constitution. That document gave, he said, certain sovereignty to the states and certain sovereignty to the Union—and that for either to cross the gulf which lay between meant revolution. Neither state nor Union, he held, had any powers other than those given to them by that supreme law of the land. If state officials declared a law null and void and national officials should attempt to enforce it the result would be nothing less than civil war. The judge in such a case was the Supreme Court and to its decisions state and government must bow. This famous debate settled nothing; but it made plain the two sides of the question; the difference of opinion was an honest one, originating, as we have seen (p. 201), with Jefferson in 1798.

Webster on the authority of the Constitution

ROBERT Y. HAYNE

A regrettable quarrel now occurred between Jackson and Vice-President Calhoun. A basis for this was laid early in Jackson's administration, when Calhoun and his wife refused to receive, socially, the wife of one of Jackson's cabinet. About the same time Jackson learned (footnote p. 235) that, in 1818, Calhoun was author of the motion in Congress to censure him for his invasion of Florida. Jackson's pent-up anger found a startling way of venting itself. Southerners were in charge of the annual Jefferson birthday dinner, April 13, 1830, and they had hoped that Jackson would, that night, declare himself favorable to their "Compact" theory of the Constitution. The Tennesseean, however, killed two birds with one stone at that banquet. He severely condemned the nullification of a national law by a state as treason, and he denounced the friends of such an act as rebels. Jackson could not have hit Calhoun

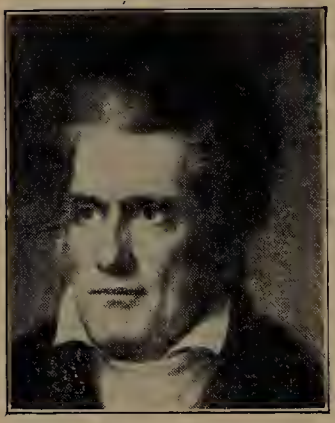
Jackson and Calhoun estranged

Jackson denounces nullification

a harder blow; and he followed it up a little later by telling Calhoun that their friendship was at an end.

While South Carolina was bitter over Jackson's attitude, no "solid South" was arrayed against him. William H. Crawford, the brilliant Georgia politician, was also an open enemy of Calhoun's. Georgians had secured Jackson's promise to remove the local Indians (Cherokees) from the Alabama and Mississippi region west of Georgia as soon as it could be done cheaply and without undue friction. By his attitude in this matter Jackson defied the Supreme Court, which had returned a verdict favorable to the Cherokees; but it was "good politics," for he retained the support of the lower South which might otherwise have sided with South Carolina in her nullification campaign.

Georgia Indians



JOHN C. CALHOUN

The progress of the nullification theory in South Carolina, however, was steady. On July 26, 1831, Calhoun became its open champion through the publication of his "Address to the People of South Carolina"; here he outlined at length the doctrine advanced in the "Exposition" of 1828. As the election came on the year following, Calhoun, in reply to a demand from his followers for a plainer statement of his position, addressed his famous "Fort Hill Letter" to the governor of the state, August 28th. In this document we find a clear statement of South Carolina's position, just at the moment when the people of the nation were about to decide at the polls whether Jackson's administration should be approved or be condemned.

Calhoun's "Address to the people of South Carolina"

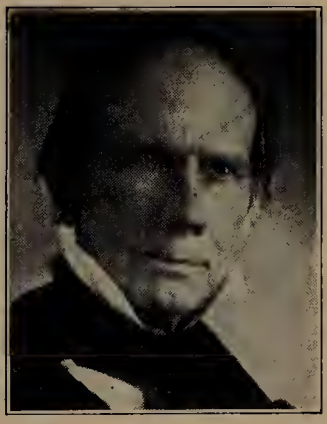
Even this brief review of the chief events of Jackson's first term shows plainly his hearty manner of making both friends and enemies. He had not intended to stand for reëlection in

1832 for he had greatly profited at every turn from the advice of his Secretary of State, Martin Van Buren, a polished New York politician, and he desired Van Buren to be his successor in office. But the hour was too critical a one now to risk a change. A Van Buren defeat would disrupt the new party; but a Democratic victory over the many enemies Jackson had made by (a) introducing the Spoils System, or (b) on account of the Maysville veto, or (c) for vetoing the Bank Charter bill, or (d) for his blow at South Carolina's nullification doctrine, or (e) for his defiant attitude to the Supreme Court on the Georgia Indian question, would greatly unify the party.

The party crisis in 1832

Jackson's "Whig" opponents were easily rallied under the banner of "National Republicans" led by Henry Clay of Kentucky, champion of the United States Bank and internal improvements. Some who could not ally themselves with Clay and yet who opposed Jackson's "kingly rule" found refuge under the banner of a quasi-political organization, very popular in New York State, called the "Anti-Masonic Party." This party was formed to combat what were called the "evils" of Masonry, after the mysterious death of a citizen of New York, who was accused of disclosing Masonic secrets.

Clay and the National Republicans



Henry Clay

No more distinct political victory was ever won than that of Jackson's when the votes were counted in November; he had 219 electoral votes to Clay's 49. His candidate for the second office, "Little Van" (Van Buren) received as many votes as his chief, with the exception of Pennsylvania's which went to a favorite son. Jackson, naturally, took his victory to mean the people's approval of "his policies." This was only partly true. Jack-

Jackson's triumph and its meaning

son's huge majority was the answer of American democracy in favor of Jackson's instinctive fear of a financial aristocracy as represented by the United States Bank, and his hearty hatred of nullification. In order to strike a blow at those "evils" the masses were content to overlook Jackson's defiance of the Supreme Court, his ignoring tariff questions, his rebuke to internal improvements and all his "kingly" use of power. The victory unified the Democratic party as a strict construction party, giving it a bent which has lasted well-nigh a century.

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2. SPOILS SYSTEM: C. R. Fish, *The Civil Service and the Patronage;* W. MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy* (American Nation, XV), Chap. 4; J. B. McMaster, V. Chap. 52; Ogg, Chap. 4; Bassett, II, Chap. 21.

3. NULLIFICATION: Ogg, Chaps. 7 and 8; Bassett, II, Chap. 26; MacDonald, Chaps. 5 and 9; McMaster, VI, Chap. 59; Webster's "Reply to Hayne," S. B. Harding (ed.), *Select Orations*, 212–241.

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5. THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY: S. P. Orth, *The Boss and the Machine* (Chronicles of America, XLIII), Chap. 1; MacDonald, Chaps. 12, 14, and 17; J. A. Woodburn, *Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States*, Chap. 4; McMaster, VI, Chap. 69; Ogg, Chap. 11.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

How can a man be an "expression of his period"? Name an illustration. In what ways was Andrew Jackson such? Can a period of awakening bring forth both good and evil inventions side by side—spoil systems and prison reforms? Was distrust of the expert typical of Jackson's day? Are instances of this of frequent occurrence (pp. 440, 502)? Is such distrust usually founded on political bias? Is it more common to the party that is "in" or the party that is "out"? Was Jackson as sound in his feeling toward internal improvement as toward the United States Bank? Would he favor present methods of national aid to roadbuilding? To the Federal Reserve system? Why does the Democratic party celebrate Jackson's birthday with such ardor? List the reasons which make it proper to call him "father" of that party?

THE UNITED STATES IN 1830. (Showing transportation routes and the Missouri Compromise Line.)

Section 32. Inflation, Panic, and Recuperation

Our last section should be studied in the light of the one before it; for the political revolution of the democracy was but a phase of a nation which had "found itself"—as shown in all the forms of intellectual, moral, philosophical, and commercial advances which we have outlined. Especially does the awakening conscience of the people—reflected clearly in the revolt against privilege as expressed in the United States Bank—portray itself in the many reform movements led by Garrison, Dix, Wright, and others.

Revolt against privilege a sign of the times

If Jackson understood his victory to mean popular approval of his opposition to nullification and the Bank, South Carolina, at least, was no whit discouraged over the verdict. In fact, the news of the Tennesseean's re-election had hardly reached the world before the legislature of that state, pursuant to a call issued even before the election took place, met and passed an Ordinance of Nullification (November 24, 1832). This declared the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 null and void within the state and ordered state officials to take oath to uphold the Ordinance. This radical step aroused the President and the nation. Thousands agreed that the South had been wronged by the tariffs of which it complained, but felt that two wrongs did not make a right; they urged that the tariff should be changed and that South Carolina should repeal her Nullification Ordinance. Jackson's course was typically Jacksonian. Sure of his ground, he issued, December 10th, a nullification proclamation in which he declared himself to have no option but to enforce the laws of the land as they stood. At the same time he asked Congress in the "Force Bill" ("Bloody Bill," South Carolinians called it) to give him the right to call out army and navy to protect the nation against treason.

South Carolina's Ordinance of Nullification

Jackson's Nullification Proclamation

The upshot of the matter was that Congress in February, 1833—as if pricked by a guilty conscience—hastily passed a compromise tariff bill fathered by Henry Clay, who now became known as "the Pacificator." This bill called for a reduction of the tariff gradually for ten years so that, in 1842, the tariff should stand at 20 per cent. To all intents and purposes, therefore, South Carolina had won her point and in no degree whatever did her State's Rights faction surrender the essence of their doctrine; but she did repeal the offensive Ordinance.

Clay, "the Pacificator," makes a compromise

Jackson was now free to renew the battle against the Bank which had shown, in the election of 1832, that his belief that it might prove a power in politics was well founded. Although the institution's charter ran until 1836, Jackson found a sleight-of-hand way to kill it. The Bank's charter allowed the Secretary of the Treasury the right to withdraw government deposits from the Bank when Congress was not in session—the reasons therefor to be given to Congress at its next session. In Roger B. Taney, afterward one of our famous Chief Justices of the Supreme Court, Jackson found a man to undertake this business and he made him Secretary of the Treasury. On October 1, 1833, Taney ordered that government deposits should be placed in certain selected state banks, which at once became known as "Pet Banks." Slowly, lest business be disturbed, Jackson ceased to make deposits in the doomed Bank. This was called a "removal of deposits," which was not literally true. Its officials were bitterly angry; and by refusing to make loans they thwarted the President's hope of bringing about this change

Deposits placed in "Pet Banks"

Replica of the De Witt Clinton Train of 1831

without unsettling business. The Bank's deposits shrank from over six million in 1833 to a little over half a million in 1836. Serious distress was the result, for the experiment of letting the "pet banks" act as government agents proved a costly one.

Numerous complications now brought a period of "hard times" and the Panic of 1837. The shock resulting from the removal of the deposits was one. The vast increase of national revenue and unskillful handling of this surplus money was another. The receipts from the sale of government lands in the West in 1831 amounted to two and a half millions. In 1836 it amounted to twenty-four millions. This astonishing growth brought what some thought was a good result because it permitted paying up in full our national debt and because it established abroad a high opinion of American finance and made foreign speculators anxious to invest in American land, cotton, and internal improvements.

Enormous increase in sale of public lands

MARTIN VAN BUREN

This confidence was not justified by the facts. No sooner had our debt been paid than a surplus of money accumulated in the treasury. All kinds of opinions were held as to what to do with this "white elephant" of a surplus. Congress "deposited" it with the several states pro rata according to their representation in Congress, to the amount of about thirty millions, taking as security certificates of indebtedness. On the other hand, eastern financiers found they could profit

The surplus "deposited" with the states

from the confidence which was created abroad by our paying our national debt (an unheard-of thing among nations). They found it easy to borrow money from foreign capitalists who were eager to "get in on the ground floor." These funds, along with most of the money deposited with the states, were invested in the booming West.

Before long, however, the "mouse began to gnaw the rope

THE LOG CABIN CAMPAIGN. (A contemporary cartoon.)

and the rope began to hang the butcher." In other words, foreign capitalists began to "call" the loans made to eastern speculators, and the government began, at the same time, to demand the return of the funds loaned to the states. Most of this money had been invested in improvement schemes of every description and could not be had; drunken sailors could not have been more wasteful with money than some states had been with this flood of gold which had suddenly come to them from the nation's coffers.

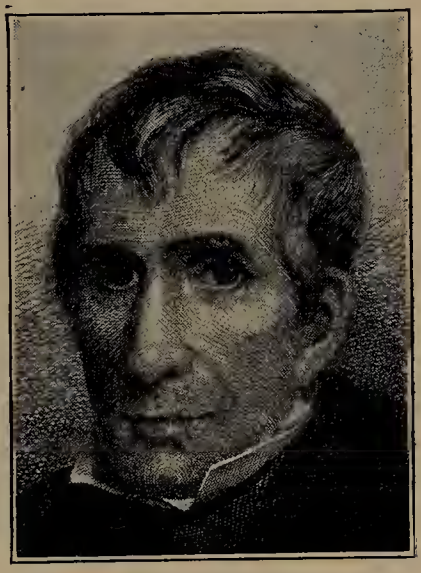
The calling in of loans by foreign and domestic creditors

Another contributory cause of hard times was the chartering of numerous "wild-cat banks" by many western and southern states. These banks issued quantities of unsecured paper

money.[1] Much of this "cheap" money was used in paying for government land and the government soon found the money of such questionable value that Jackson was called upon to put a halt to accepting it. This he did late in his administration by issuing his famous "Specie Circular" (1836). This proclamation compelled purchasers to pay for land in specie or hard money (gold or silver). It was a blow to the West and was taken by many to mean a confession that the steady influence of the branches of the now broken United States Bank was sorely missed. The Circular was a factor in bringing on panic conditions; but the West, through overspeculation and the encouragement of extravagant internal improvement schemes, had paved the way for that in any case. Another cause which combined to bring a financial crisis at this time was the failure of important business houses in England. These English failures caused hardship in the South due to a lessened demand for cotton. Another cause was the steady reduction of the tariff since 1833 which had injuriously affected the manufacturers of the East.

The Specie Circular

"Hard times" hit the South and the East



William Henry Harrison

[1]The money of these days was of two kinds. "Hard" money, or money made of metal, was known as specie. Other money was paper money. These notes or bills (those of small denomination being nicknamed "shinplasters" because of their small size) were issued or printed by banks and were of value or not as the bank issuing them was sound or not. When, for each dollar of printed paper money, a bank put away in its vaults a dollar in specie, ready always to make good with a real dollar the paper "promise to pay," that paper dollar was said to be "secured." Paper money not secured was of very questionable value.

Thus, from one cause or another, East, West, North, and South were victims of financial unrest and disorder. The Panic of 1837 was the result. On May 10th the banks of New York suspended payment in specie or hard money, and within two months over 250 bankruptcies occurred. Real estate depreciated more than forty million dollars in six months. In the six years of readjustment which followed, the value of the paper bank notes in circulation shrank from one hundred and fifty millions to fifty millions; while the sale of public lands decreased from twenty millions to one million in five years.

The Panic of 1837

However, things were never quite so bad as they seemed. The West was richer, even, than the most optimistic boomer dreamed. Many guessed wrongly on how western wealth was to be created and marketed; some of the plans for doing this were ill-judged, but others were sound and made millions for their investors. To catch in a glance, so to speak, the record of progress for the entire decade 1830–1840 is worth while because it aids one to recognize the fact that, the Panic of 1837 to the contrary notwithstanding, these years saw a large measure of all-round development. This glance is obtained in our appended table and it can be made the basis of several interesting studies.[1]

	1830	1840
[1]Area in square miles	1,793,299	1,793,299
Population	12,866,020	17,069,453
National Debt	$48,565,407	$ 3,573,344
Government receipts	$24,844,117	$ 19,480,115
Government expenditure	$15,142,108	$ 24,314,518
Post Office receipts	$ 1,850,583	$ 4,543,522
Money in circulation	$87,344,295	$186,305,488
Money per capita	$ 6.79	$ 10.91
Savings banks deposits	$ 6,973,304	$ 14,051,520
Imports of merchandise	$62,720,956	$ 98,258,706
Exports of merchandise	$71,670,735	$123,668,932
Cotton bales produced	1,026,393	1,634,954
Gold (value of product)	$ 564,950	$ 11,695,829
Pig iron (tons produced)	165,000	286,903
Railroad mileage	23	2,818
Coal (tons produced)	285,779	1,848,249
Vessels (tonnage built)	58,560	121,203
Vessels (tonnage on Great Lakes)	11,106	54,199

Firm in his original purpose, Jackson, despite the turmoil of these days, pushed his loyal Vice-President, Van Buren, forward for the Democratic nomination in the presidential contest of 1836, and Van Buren was elected because of Jackson's vital hold upon the people. The new President received much undeserved blame for the condition into which the nation's business and credit had fallen in the black days of 1837–8; but we see, in the long perspective, that they were only the normal "growing pains" through which the young nation was bound to pass. The reaction from them led to a sweeping "Whig" victory in 1840, when General William Henry Harrison of Ohio was elected over Van Buren. The mountain region had given the nation a president in 1828; the Ohio Valley gave it one now. These facts signify that more had been accomplished than merely extending boundary lines westward; few future presidents were to come from the Atlantic seaboard as of old. The nation had crossed the Alleghenies!

Van Buren elected President in 1836

Harrison defeats Van Buren in 1840

READING LIST

Ogg, Chap. 11; A. B. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, Chaps. 20 and 21; McMaster, Chap. 65; E. L. Bogart, *Economic History*, 185, 227, 242–7, 266; E. Channing, *History*, V, Chap. 14.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Wherein would the Kentucky Resolutions and the Virginia Resolutions men have stood by South Carolina in 1832? The Hartford Convention men? What effect did the Compromise Tariff of 1833 have on the States Rights theory? Did it hasten or retard the Civil War? What was the significance of the cry of those who opposed secession in 1860: "O for one hour of Andrew Jackson!" Would you say that the Panic of 1837 was seriously detrimental? Compare, in the table given, imports and exports of merchandise in 1830 and 1840. How might these statistics be deceptive? How did Jackson's pet bank system encourage profligacy which led to panic? How does our present Federal Reserve system serve to arrest panic conditions (p. 471)?

PART THREE
SECESSION AND CIVIL WAR

CHAPTER VIII
TWO DECADES OF CONSOLIDATION AND DEBATE

We take up in this chapter the years from 1840 to 1860, years in which our nation grew notably in physical stature, in population, and in moral and intellectual fiber. Something of the flightiness of Jacksonian days is gone; less hysteria in advocating ists and isms appears; there is a steadier trend in mental and commercial development, despite a panic in 1857 somewhat similar to that of 1837.

The securing of Texas, California, and Oregon by war or treaty fulfills our "manifest destiny" so far as continental dominion is concerned; we reached our full "growth" in these years.

But the cloud of threatened disunion, no larger than a man's hand in Jefferson's time, begins now to overcast the whole sky. Tingeing every question, coloring every argument, harshly forcing itself into matters seemingly as distant from it as the poles are apart, the old "compact theory" of the Constitution (now voiced in behalf of slavery and the right of the slave states to expand and thus keep their necessary balance of power in the national halls of legislation) was the great topic of the hour. We can now see that, despite rabid abolitionists at the North and rabid secession advocates at the South, these Americans, North and South, came very honestly by their opinions, just as, in another day, they would fight heroically for them. Acrimony, bitterness, and hatred were exhibited as the climax came on but it was over a big and vital question, not over a petty matter of party politics or a feud between two political leaders.

In strange ways the stage seemed now to be cleared for the shock of arms which was to follow. We had expanded to our normal limit before that time came; all our serious outstanding international

disputes were settled; the railway, the telegraph, the western steamboat, and hundreds of new mines of coal and iron, were ready for the tasks of the hour. It was also a curious decree of Fate that the older school of leaders should now completely pass off the stage in this critical hour, to be supplanted by a new one. The final effort of Clay, the "Great Pacificator" (Compromise of 1850) was set at naught by Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the "Irrepressible Conflict" was foreshadowed by the union of all northern cliques and clans under a "Republican" party whose slogan was "No expansion of slavery."

Section 33. The Widening Chasm of Sectionalism

With the certainty of doom itself practically every national question which arose in the two tumultuous decades upon which we now enter, 1840–1860, was looked at through colored glasses and was decided either from the anti-slavery standpoint of the North or the pro-slavery standpoint of the South. Frequently a compromise was arrived at, so long as the old-school leaders, Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, survived; but, after all, these compromises turned out to be nothing but well-meaning operations performed by sincere and patriotic surgeons who hoped to allay the dread disease. You cannot compromise with a cancer; you must kill it or it will kill you. The cause of the trouble should, however, be separated in one's mind from the occasion of the trouble. The cause was the unsettled question whether the Constitution was a compact between states from which the party of the second part (the states) could withdraw if they thought the party of the first part (the national government) had broken the contract by invading the rights of the states. The occasion of the trouble was the evil of slavery—an institution which could not possibly survive long under modern conditions for the simple reason that it broke up families, separating husbands from wives and children from parents.

Growth of sectional divergence

The cause distinguished from the occasion of the trouble

As we now undertake a brief survey of this widening chasm, we should recognize clearly how the poison of sectionalism so colored men's glasses that the two sections, North and South, looked upon the great problems of tariff, public lands, national expansion, and slavery with entirely different eyes; we should recognize that these questions were not settled on their merits but were settled by partizanship—so far as they were settled at all. We must see, in each one of these topics, fuel for the flames of animosity and rancor; nothing so much as this lesson teaches us how bitter the slavery question was, and how "solid" the South became because of it.

All questions made partizan by slavery

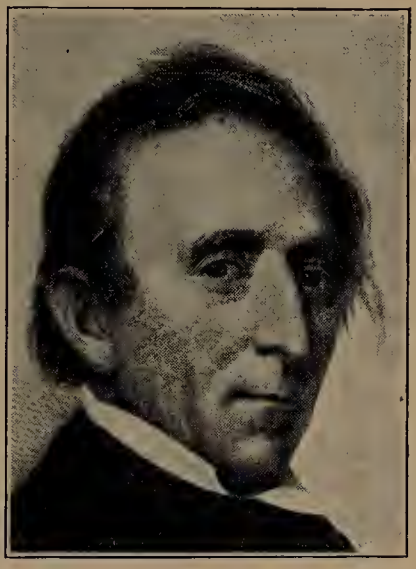
The gist of this thing we have already touched upon. We have seen, for instance, how the tariff became a sectional question. From the War of 1812 to that "Tariff of Abominations" in 1828 the industrial North had been favored by increasing tariff rates to the peak then reached. This course of high tariff duties was not satisfactory to the South as it led to an increase of price on imported goods and threatened to make England put a high duty on raw materials from our Southland. South Carolina's revolt against this injustice has been described; her objection was just, but her nullification method of meeting the situation was wrong. Jackson crushed her method of dealing with the evil, nullification, but Congress recognized the justice of her "cause" by hastily passing a tariff which revised schedules downward, as we have noted. From Jackson's time onward tariffs in general were revised in the same direction, until the Walker tariff of 1846, which stands as the nearest approach to free trade we had made—its average duty being only $25\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. That tariff remained in force until 1857 when duties were lowered still further.

The tariff augmented sectional animosity

With the election of Harrison by the new Whig party, which had now stepped into the shoes of the National-Republican party, friends of internal improvement hoped for great things. This policy, we have also seen, resolved itself finally into a sectional question. By it the industrial, manufacturing North

had profited and still hoped to profit—especially the western division of the North; but from Jackson's day forward the South was stolidly opposed to the idea. However, the untimely death of Harrison, the month following his inauguration, and the stepping of John Tyler of Virginia from the Vice-Presidency into the White House in 1841 blocked the purposes of the advocates of internal improvements, for Tyler had no sympathy with them. In 1841 the "Independent Treasury Bill" was passed. This divorced private banks from the public treasury and public funds were now kept in the treasury vaults.

Tyler becomes President



JOHN TYLER

The Missouri expansion problem was, in Jefferson's words, a "fire bell in the night." This can not be made too plain, for we will soon come to American expansion into Texas and Oregon. This, like all these other questions, was to be voted upon and settled by Congress. The admission of each new state changed the number of votes cast by these Congresses, in proportion as additional voters were sent to Congress. If the North was allowed to form "colonies," so to speak, in the West, which would support its side in every national question, the South could be outvoted on all of them. Then tariffs of abominations, internal improvements, national banks, and what-not might be forced upon the South! The only way the South could prevent this disaster was also to found "colonies" in the West, whose representatives would take its side. We have seen how this was first met

National expansion becomes a sectional question

Expansion necessary to the South politically

by the compromise system, in the days when compromising was possible; these "colonies" (states) were admitted in pairs, a northern state against a southern. But such an artificial system could not always be maintained. Colonizing followed its own methods and a Texas might ask for admission when no northern region was ready for statehood. In that case the "balance of power" would be overturned.

On the other hand, from the agricultural standpoint, slavery could not maintain itself unless it expanded. In a day when fertilizing worn-out lands was not understood, the planters of the South were continually compelled to find new lands. The tremendous drain on soil made by cotton and tobacco crops soon rendered excellent lands poor. These crops could be grown only along certain lines of climate, rainfall, and elevation; such lands lay directly west of the Old South. Thus, both politically and economically, the South was compelled to expand.

Expansion necessary to the South economically

And now as to the slavery question. Brief as has been our reference to it, the student realizes how naturally slavery arose in the South. It did not appear suddenly or just happen; it was a plant long in growing and this plant had been fertilized by men of the North—whose ships brought in slaves—and by men of the South—who profited by their toil. England's part in forcing it upon the colonies has been mentioned (p. 91). Throughout colonial history the civil rights of the slave were fixed by each colony's legislature. The legal status of slavery was never questioned. When the Constitution was adopted that status remained unchanged. "It is entirely unquestionable," says Professor Burgess, "that the Constitution of the United States recognized to the commonwealths, respectively, the exclusive control of the civil status of persons belonging within their several jurisdictions . . [and that] the exclusive power of determination in regard to it [slavery] was guaranteed by the Constitution to the several commonwealths."

Civil and constitutional basis of slavery

It is readily seen, therefore, why Southerners should look upon any effort to weaken or cast doubt upon this guarantee as a flagrant attack upon the fundamental covenant of the Union. It was for this reason that rabid abolitionists like William Lloyd Garrison declared the Constitution to be a "league with Hell." Had these enthusiasts sanely worked for a constitutional amendment they would have been prophets not without honor, in their own northern country at least. Only by constitutional amendment could the civil status of slavery be altered.

Only by constitutional amendment could its status be altered

Strangely enough just when Whitney's cotton gin—the gift of a Yankee to the South—made slavery a profitable business for the country, a world-wide moral wave against slavery began to sweep over Christendom. Denmark holds the honor of taking the lead in abolishing the slave trade, but Wilberforce in England was striking his telling blows at the trade in the very years that Whitney's hammer was tinkling away at his gin in Georgia. England's decision to abolish slave trade—which set the world-wide moral wave against slavery going—was announced within a year of the time when Whitney's invention made possible a great cotton empire and promised to make cotton "King."

The slave trade

This moral wave touched the consciences of men. But let us be frank to note that it touched some more than others; and those which it touched most—whether in the North or South, whether in the Episcopalian, Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist, or Methodist denominations—were the consciences of those who made least profit (directly or indirectly) from the sweat of the black man's brow! New Englanders who were vitally connected with industries based upon the cotton crop were ardent enemies of "abolition" talk. Some of these had opposed the paragraph Jefferson wrote into his Declaration of Independence denouncing the slave trade. The real "Mason and Dixon Line," if you had drawn it between these consciences of men, would have been the most zig-zag line known. Many

The real "Mason and Dixon Line"

a Northerner lived far to the south of it; many a Southerner north of it.

Yet slavery was wrong. There were, however, more kinds of slavery than one—some much less "wrong" than others. In general there were two distinct types, a domestic type and a commercial type. The domestic type—though found to a degree everywhere in the South—was common in such "border" states as Kentucky, where diversified agriculture and farming were enjoyed. Here the slaves did not so outnumber the whites as was true elsewhere and they were treated more like the children of their owners. Many of their interests were considered and families were less frequently separated. Over the head of stubborn slaves was suspended the terrible threat of being sold "down the River," a fate from which the most unruly shrank as from fire.

Two types of slavery

The domestic type

For farther South lay the giant fields of cotton and rice. Here the domestic type of slavery was for the most part impossible. The land, here, had to be worked by great masses of blacks in gangs under overseers. These blacks were bought and sold like cattle. They were often rebellious and had to be managed sternly, a work which turned many an overseer into a brute. We have seen (p. 91) what a power in plantation life was the oldtime overseer. This unfortunate system—an octopus which so tightly held the lower South—was bemoaned by very many planters. Yet it had fastened its tentacles tightly before people realized what had happened and without any one's planning or direct purpose.

The commercial type

But the South, alone, could not shake it off. For instance, once in possession of these millions of blacks, planters had to raise crops which would keep them busy the largest number of days possible in the year. An idle servile race is a real menace. Thus the raising of great staple crops was compulsory; manufacturing and diversified agriculture were out of the question from the labor standpoint. But they were also out of the question from another important standpoint. Planters for genera-

The South enslaved by slavery

tions before the question of slavery ever arose had been accustomed to equip and feed their slaves and provide tools and seed by mortgaging their crops in advance. Banks could afford to advance money on a crop when they could reliably estimate its value from a known acreage and quality of soil. They could not lend money as a rule, for experimenting in new schemes—but only on a future crop which they could be absolutely sure the lands would produce. The octopus's tentacles

THE SLAVE MARKET. (From the *Illustrated London News* of February 16, 1861.)

were, therefore, from two standpoints, bands of steel. The southern whites were enslaved as well as their blacks; to alter the situation seemed as impossible as to stop the stars in their courses.

Great ignorance of this situation existed in the North. The fact that the North and South had disagreed on many questions now seemed to whet the appetite of abolitionists and make them welcome just so much more gleefully the moral wave against slavery which now swept across the Atlantic. The fact that they had not seriously thought of it before had no weight beside the fact that it was evidently "God's will." Honest, plain-

When reform smacks of revenge

thinking men agreed to this. Agitators rejoiced in it. Ranters glorified over it, and propagandists did all of these—and wrote it down.

Very few of these agitators considered what the realization of their dreams would cost the South. Arguing for a moral cause, they were undermining the whole economic fabric of southern life; their theory sobered the South; their glibness enraged it. Their ideal was right, for slavery could not live. Their unconstitutional schemes for abolishing it portrayed their ignorance of the case; God was on their side, but for the most part they did not know why. Yet in the end, out of rack and ruin, out of hate and mutual excesses on both sides, emerged the freed South to run the splendid course it has now set for itself. It still has its great problem but it might have had as difficult ones had calm deliberation and sober judgment possessed the foes of slavery.

Slavery agitation vitally serious to the South

READING LIST

1. The Tariff and Sectionalism: F. J. Turner, *The Rise of the New West*, Chaps. 14 and 19; *The Frontier in American History*, 27, 215–216; E. Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, I, Chaps. 7 and 8; Fox, *Map Studies*, Nos. 18 and 19.

2. Internal Improvements and Sectionalism: Turner, 27, 28, 52, 157, 215, 220, 321; A. B. Hulbert, *Paths of Inland Commerce*, Chaps. 8 and 9; W. MacDonald, Jacksonian Democracy, Chap. 8.

3. Expansion and Sectionalism: MacDonald, Chap. 6; Turner, 206, 219, 304, 345; J. B. McMaster, IV, Chap. 32; VI, Chap. 54; G. S. Callender, *Economic History of the United States*, Chap. 12; see also references to Sec. 28.

4. Slavery: A. B. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, Chaps. 4–10; J. Macy, *The Anti-Slavery Crusade* (Chronicles of America, XXVIII), Chaps. 1–4.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Is your section of the country interested in the tariff as consumer or producer? Give some examples of "sectionalism" in the framing of recent tariffs. Which side, North or South, had stronger legal grounds for its attitude to slavery? Moral grounds? Sketch the history of the compact theory from 1787 down to 1833. Why did not the South demand the enforcement of the "balance of power" idea in internal improvements, each section to profit in turn? Can you give illustrations from your own obser-

vation of the influence of economic conditions upon ideas? What are the dangers in not recognizing such influence? In yielding to it? How may one free the intellect from dominion of economic pressure?

Section 34. Conquering the Southwest

There was a vital truth underlying what men called the "Manifest Destiny" of the United States. It was inevitable that this nation should expand to a certain size—to the Pacific on the west and to the Gulf of Mexico on the south; elsewhere, in general, the lines would doubtless be drawn more or less straight from both the Great Lakes and the Gulf to the Pacific. Environment, that is soil, climate, and vegetation, controlled migration far more than any law or political theory. Wherever these roving pioneers settled, prospered, and beckoned to others to follow them, there, eventually, went the flag, never to come back. Vain attempts were made to plant such colonies as these artificially elsewhere, as in Central and South America, out of the zone where white man can do his best work—beyond a mystical boundary line to regions where "Manifest Destiny" did not call. All such were failures.

Basis of the "Manifest Destiny" theory

Now, as we have seen (p. 237), Moses and Stephen Austin had secured large grants of land in Texas—so-called from the Tejas Indians who lived there—as early as 1820. We had once had a fair claim to that region, since a part of it (how much France was not quite certain) belonged in the Louisiana Purchase. In order, however, to put through the purchase of Florida in the year before, President Adams had given up to Spain that part of this sunny land of the Tejas which lay below the Red and Arkansas rivers and the 42nd parallel of latitude. No one, perhaps, had heard, then, of the Austin migration nor realized how successful it would be and how many thousands of Americans soon would be erecting cabins in that country.

Texas exchanged for Florida

But the broadaxe has always been a stronger weapon for genuine conquest in this world than either the sword or the

musket. This was never better illustrated than it was now in Texas. The few score Americans who followed the Austins there in 1821 had become ten thousand by 1827; and more came at the rate of over two hundred a month during the next three years. The Mississippi led to that land from the northwest. Sweeping belts of excellent soil stretched toward it from the Old South. On worn-out lands a southern planter worth four millions "on paper" might not have an income of over $100,000;

Increase of Americans in Texas

The Alamo

on the virgin limestone soil of the Tejas much smaller holdings would bring as great an income.

The result of this migration should not have been doubted. The feeble Mexican Republic (just now securing her independence from Spain) at first encouraged it. In 1829, however, it adopted an anti-slavery policy. This "state" of Texas had been united to an adjoining district in order to keep political control out of the hands of these energetic newcomers. It also now discouraged the immigration from the United States which,

Origin of Texan-Mexican difficulties

formerly, it had encouraged. Among the emigrants from the United States a "peace" party and a "war" party soon arose. The inevitable crisis arrived when General Santa Anna formed a dictatorship and wiped out the Mexican constitution of 1824, thereby destroying the federal status of Texas.[1] Although the peace party among the Americans tried to work with the Mexican liberals, hostilities were not long delayed. On March 6, 1836, Santa Anna attacked and captured the Alamo, a fortified church at San Antonio, Texas, and murdered its 183 defenders to a man. The Texans, under General Sam Houston, were not long in taking terrible revenge, and at San Jacinto, a month later, a force under Santa Anna was annihilated. A Texan Republic was formed that year and Houston became its President. In a "forced" treaty Santa Anna was compelled to agree to the Rio Grande as the Texas-Mexican boundary line, granting to Texas the unoccupied "no-man's land" between that river and the Nueces.

The Alamo

The Republic of Texas

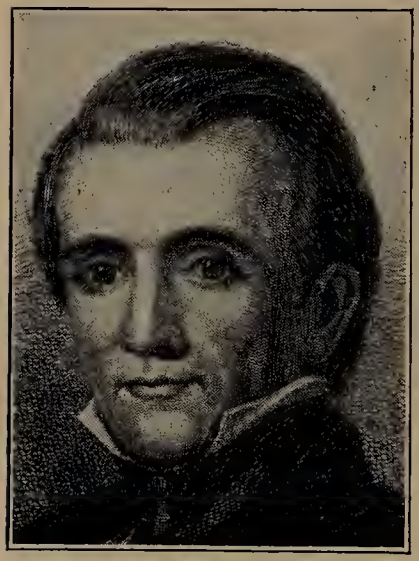
At an early date these embattled "Texans" had sought aid from the land of their birth, and from the very founding of their Republic onward the project of being admitted to our Union was agitated. Now it is evident that everything which some Southerners desired was summed up in the one word "Texas"—rich, virgin soil so vast in area that it could be subdivided into four or five states, each one of which would send its representatives to Congress to keep uppermost the South's balance of power. On the other hand, everything that some Northerners so feared was represented by the same word—the spread of slavery over three hundred thousand square miles and the political influence which that region could then exert. The Democratic leaders favored annexation. To catch the votes of the neutral men-on-the-fence for this Texas program they needed to inject into the discussion some new problem; in time that problem was discovered.

Texas in politics

[1]Texas was united to a more populous Mexican political district in order that the vote of its Americans would be greatly outnumbered and become ineffective.

Both John Quincy Adams and Jackson had wanted to purchase Texas, the latter offering as high as five million for it; but, fighter that he was, Jackson, in 1836, did not favor annexation at the price of certain war. Van Buren sidestepped the question; but Tyler, the Southerner, made Calhoun his Secretary of State for the purpose of pushing the annexation idea. The South now (1841) was in dire need of more representatives in Congress from the balance of power standpoint. By a recent new apportionment of congressmen South Carolina was found to have lost two members and four other Southern States had made no gain; whereas, the Northwestern States showed an increase.

Attitudes of Jackson, Van Buren, and Tyler



JAMES K. POLK

A clever politician now found two ways to make Texan annexation desirable to all except the rabid abolition element and gain for the South the reinforcement needed in Congress. First, the threat that the Texans (now bankrupt) would turn to England for aid was rumored; it made a strong impression, playing, as it did, on the most sensitive nerve in the average American's makeup. Secondly, the proposal was now voiced by the Democratic party, under the wily leadership of Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, to *re*-occupy Oregon and *re*-annex Texas.[1] This was made the issue of the campaign of 1844 in which James K. Polk easily defeated Henry Clay (who had tried to make the tariff the chief

Polk elected President on the Texas-Oregon issue

[1]These terms were based on our *occupation* of Oregon (p. 217) and *annexation* of Texas when we annexed Louisiana (p. 206).

issue), and thus secured popular sanction for the annexation of Texas.

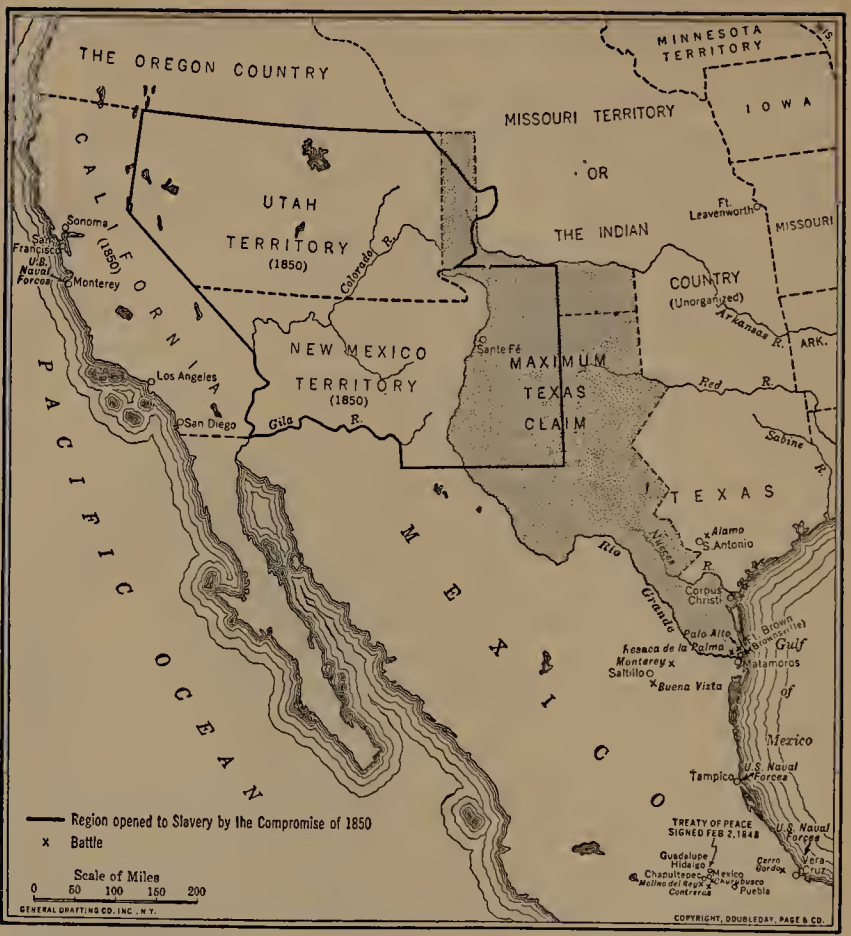
With this plain declaration of the people before it, the Senate laid aside any former objection it had had to Texas annexation, and, by joint resolution (March 3, 1845), Texas was admitted as a state. Jackson, however, had been right as to the war which would probably ensue. The roots of the trouble were numerous and perhaps a contest was inevitable. The occasion of the war, however, has been a topic much debated. The Texans—typically Americans—claimed more land than Mexico would admit was theirs, as, for instance, the no-man's-land between the Nueces and the Rio Grande, (map p. 288) and, also, that part of New Mexico where now stands the city of Santa Fé. Some believe that Polk meant, by whipping Mexico, to secure both of these sections and California as well, and accused him of secretly trying to get the Americans in California to revolt. On the other hand, Mexico—running true to form—had been insultingly slow in settling claims due for the destruction of American lives and property. Others point out that Polk's instructions given to John Slidell, who was sent to Mexico as an accredited minister, show that a friendly settlement of our claims against Mexico could have been reached if Mexico had been willing to give up the territory claimed by the Texan Republic (map following p. 298).

Occasion of the Mexican War

Boundary line disputes

Most of these differences ought to have been straightened out by diplomacy, but a century's experience has taught us that the Mexicans are difficult to deal with. However, no amount of negotiation could have made Mexico accept our annexation of Texas. Yet Texas had established her independence and this had been recognized by five powers. Even Spain had entered into agreements with Texas almost as early as she had recognized Mexico's independence. By international law, therefore, Mexico could not legally object to annexation.

Polk claimed in a special message to Congress, May 11, 1846, that "war exists, and, notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico herself," referring to an attack



THE MEXICAN WAR PERIOD. (Showing the battlefields of the war and the regions embraced in the Compromise of 1850.)

by Mexicans on American cavalrymen on the Rio Grande. Polk was ready to declare war anyway, not in order to add territory but to rebuke Mexico's insulting attitude.

General Zachary Taylor, who was on the Rio Grande for the purpose of protecting Texans from Mexican aggression, took the field at once and in two well-fought battles, Palo Alto (May 8, 1846) and Resaca de la Palma (May 9) he made the Mexicans realize the agility and the power of their adversary even before

war was declared. The former battle, according to General Grant's memory of it, must have resembled an *opera bouffe*. The Mexican cannon were not able to shoot their cast-iron balls very far. They struck the ground in front of the advancing Americans and rolled along the ground. The ranks opened up to let them roll through. In September Taylor won the battle of Monterey. Since this bluff old gentleman, who was winning such laurels, was a Whig, the administration at home began to bethink itself of politics and count Democratic noses to find a substitute for him in its own party. It was all right to conquer Mexico but it ought to be done by a Democrat! None could be found. The most the administration could do was to deprive Taylor of the glory of ending the war by a stroke up country from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico. This task was assigned to another Whig, the Commander-in-Chief of the army, General Winfield Scott.

Battles of Palo Alto, Resaca, and Monterey

WINFIELD SCOTT

Accordingly, to General Taylor's dismay, he received an order to strip his army of nearly all his regulars and the best of his volunteers and to send them to Brazos San Iago to form the flower of a rival's army. Taylor obeyed, but hotly informed Washington that he was left with less than a thousand regulars and some raw levies to hold a line against Santa Anna's force 20,000 strong. Pluckily enough, however, he seized the strategic passes in the neighborhood and stood ready to make the best of a bad matter. Santa Anna saw his chance and jumped at it. Taylor withdrew to a good position at Buena Vista. His opponent, knowing the weakness of his army, moved forward and the forces were face to face on Washington's Birthday, 1847. At eleven o'clock

Taylor sacrificed for Scott

The Battle of Buena Vista

Santa Anna sent a flag of truce with a demand of surrender. When Taylor heard the message translated, he uttered a reply more blunt than polite—and the flag of truce withdrew. The most celebrated battle of the war then opened and, by nightfall, the Mexican army was in full flight (map p. 288).

It was a double victory, one for Taylor and one, likewise, for Scott as well. So demoralized now were the Mexicans that the latter's advance (after the capture of Vera Cruz) was made with comparative ease. He whipped the force which confronted him at Cerro Gordo (April 18) and on the 22nd the strong fortress of Perote (on the mountain heights overlooking the Valley of Mexico) fell without a struggle. Then occurred one of those fiascos common to the history of American armies. Scott's militia had not volunteered for "the term of the war." The time of the "one year men" was up; and, although the Mexican capital lay not four days' march ahead, seven out of eleven of Scott's volunteer regiments (4,000 men) left for home!

Scott's successful advance

It was August before Scott could be reinforced and renew the campaign. But his new troops fought well, and on September 14 the City of Mexico fell. General Scott equalled his good record as a soldier by able work as a diplomatist. Polk had long been trying to buy a treaty through Santa Anna; he now sent a Department of State official, Trist, to negotiate a treaty, but no Mexican would agree to the dismemberment of the nation. The situation was made more difficult because of the energy of the Americans in occupying the outlying regions which were wanted—New Mexico and California. General Kearny had gone overland by the old trail from the Missouri and occupied Sante Fé without a struggle; from there he went on to California. By June, 1846, Americans in that state had revolted and founded the "Bear Flag Republic." In this they were abetted by Capt. John C. Fremont, son-in-law of the ardent expansionist, Senator Thomas H. Benton, who was then in California engaged in geographical

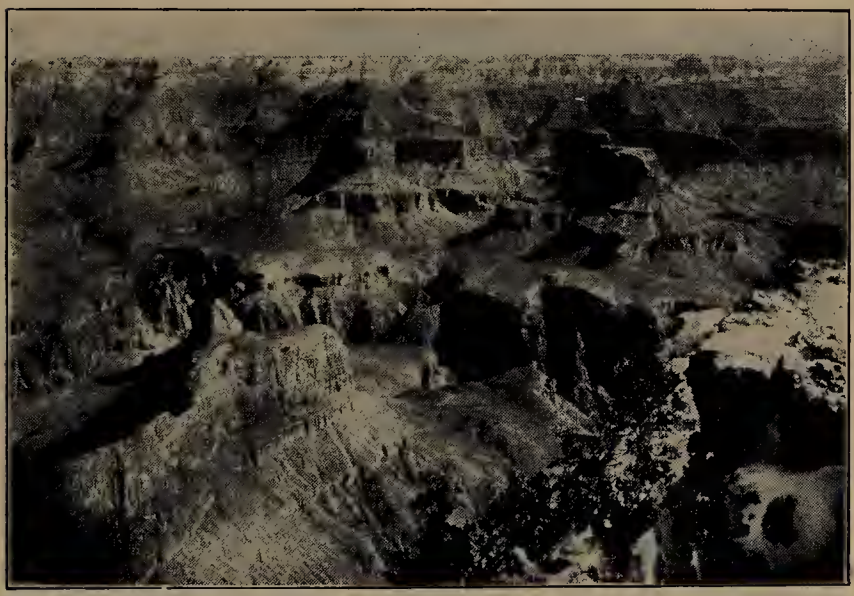
Mexico City captured

Sante Fé taken

research. An American fleet arrived in July and, after two small battles, effected American "conquest."

These events had fired the American imagination and not a few jingoists now advocated the seizure of the whole of Mexico, some even desiring the conquest of the whole hemisphere, South America and Canada included. Polk, tired and worried, chose discretion as the better part of valor, and went ahead with the original program—to realize our "Manifest Destiny." He recalled Trist;

Jingoists want Mexico



The Grand Canyon

this act frightened certain Mexican leaders into being willing to divide among themselves the price the United States was willing to pay for northern Mexico and California. This sum ($15,000,000) was paid, nominally, into the Mexican treasury, by the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (February 2, 1848) and the United States also took over a three and a half million debt which Mexico had repudiated. Boundary lines (map following p. 298) were now drawn, and Texas and California, with

The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo

the region between them, were ours. The war had cost about one hundred million dollars and 13,000 lives, but the empire it secured was a priceless empire. It might have been obtained with better grace, but it could hardly have been gotten more quickly. And was not speed crucially important? If California gold had been discovered two years earlier we might not have acquired that state without grave international trouble. Again, the war proved, later, to have been a valuable school for the officers who commanded armies of Blue and Gray in 1861–1865.[1]

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QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Sum up the South's argument in favor of the annexation of Texas. Balance over against it the North's objection. What Purchase had made the sacrifice of Texas necessary? Did the North or South gain by that Purchase? Did the North gain anything by the Treaty which opened Oregon to joint occupation by Great Britain? Had Texas won her independence when we annexed her? Does the number of nations which recognize the independence of a belligerent colony have anything to do in making that colony independent of the mother country? Had Spain recognized the independence of Mexico when Texas rebelled from Mexico? If not, did Texas rebel from Spain or Mexico? What important military lesson should have been learned from the Mexican War? Was it applied by either side in the Civil War? In the War with Germany? If gold had been discovered in California before we secured that region what complications might have arisen? General Grant said that the Civil War "was largely the outgrowth of the Mexican War." How would you explain such a statement?

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[1]At a little later date, when men of the South were planning a railroad from their section to the Pacific, it was found that it could not be built feasibly without following the Gila River route and crossing a strip of Mexican territory. This tract, of about 50,000 square miles, was purchased by the United States in 1854 for ten million dollars; it is called the "Gadsden Purchase" because it was negotiated by James Gadsden.

Section 35. International House-Cleaning

It is a significant fact that we should have gotten our full growth as a nation before we were compelled to go through the fires of a civil war; we counted our 3,026,789 square miles in 1860 and these figures have never changed, except to add outlying regions such as Alaska. It is also interesting that, in these days just before that crucial struggle, we should have done so much in the way of international house-cleaning—should have settled so many knotty diplomatic problems that Carl Russell Fish, a careful student of our diplomatic history, could say with truth: "When Lincoln came into office he found . . . a sky which seemed almost clear of international complications."

Factors which fortified the nation against days of stress

The widening of the sectional chasm between North and South during this period was, of course, the chief feature of the day. It is worth while, however, to recognize that other important forces were at work which tended to strengthen our national fiber against the day of civil war. If they are not observed now, they will seem later just to have "happened," whereas they were slowly developed and fashioned.

One of these factors was the standing which the United States came to have as one of the important powers among the nations. While our golden age of diplomacy (1815–1825) was followed by a period in which diplomacy was of second-rate importance as compared with politics (1825–1844), yet foreign nations came to have respect for what we arrogantly called our "Manifest Destiny," and the determined, if not pugnacious, way we went about achieving it. They came to recognize that, although we were determined about some things and were quick to be aroused as a people to what seemed to them bombastic outbursts, our bark was worse than our bite, and that we were wont to have men in high office who favored reasonable compromises. In trying to round out

The "Manifest Destiny" policy

The ability to compromise

our domain to that of a Republic of logical continental dimensions we were bluff and insistent; but certain indefinite yet sensible lines, laid down by climate and geography, marked limits beyond which we would not go at the price of war.

Our international problems usually concerned boundaries and, in the main, our representatives were firm on essential points. Yet they did not lack the tact to withdraw from foolish positions which pique or politics sometimes led them to take. That we thus, by hook or crook, kept from fatally embittering any rival power had its psychological effect in the stress of the Civil War.

Early in his first term Jackson made a demand for a settlement of the "French Spoliation Claims." Napoleon, in the old days, had seized many American ships for which France had never paid us as she had paid other nations for similar losses. After tedious negotiations the amount, twenty-five million francs, was paid in 1832; we, in turn, made some concessions also in the matter of lower tariff on French wines and a small cash consideration. Equally fortunate, a compromise was now, also, made with England in the matter of discriminating tonnage duties and, in 1830, Jackson was able to proclaim that our trade was again open with the British West Indies. These negotiations removed irritating causes of friction between us and these two great powers; in each case we got a considerable part, but not all, of our demands. Then followed two famous treaties which settled the question of our northern borderline with Canada, the Ashburton and the Oregon treaties. The international boundary line between Maine and Canada had never been settled; to acquire land north of the St. John's River (map following p.298) an "Aroostook War" ensued (1838) between the respective borderlanders. Webster and Lord Ashburton of England took up the matter four years later, drew a line dividing the region equally, and thus quietly settled a bothersome question by the Ashburton Treaty (1842).

French Spoliation Claims settled

The Ashburton Treaty

Farther west—beyond the Rockies—this same boundary line

THE OREGON COUNTRY. (Showing the boundary-line claims of 1818, 1819, 1824, 1827, and 1846.)

was of greater trouble still. The international line by the Treaty of Paris ran to the mountains on the 49th parallel; beyond, the princely "Oregon Country" was left for joint occupation, an arrangement open to misunderstanding. Very often we had proposed that the 49th parallel should be the boundary all the way to the Pacific but Great Britain would never agree to this. "The Old Lady"—as England's powerful Hudson's Bay Company was familiarly

The Oregon Country

WESTWARD EXPANSION. (A group of early pioneers with their prairie schooners, making camp.)

called—had located her posts in this delightful land and was determined that they should remain there. But our claim to that region dated back to Gray's discovery of the Columbia in 1792. In 1834 Jason and Daniel Lee, Samuel Parker and Marcus Whitman (a physician) and other missionaries entered the Oregon country to bring the Bible to the Indians. They were greatly assisted in their work by Dr. John McLoughlin, chief agent of the Hudson's Bay Company in that region. These missionaries, noting the wonderful richness of the soils, sent reports home which made people desire to migrate thither.

Whitman, coming east on missionary business in 1842, took occasion to bring to the attention of our Secretary of War the situation in Oregon and to advise him as to what our government ought to do to fortify the road to Oregon for the benefit of the thousands who were, or soon would be, on the journey thither.

"Fifty-four-Forty or Fight"

We have seen how cleverly the Democratic party capitalized (a) the spirit of American expansion, (b) the eagerness of the Oregon immigrants and settlers, and (c) the old-time hatred to Great Britain, in their campaign of 1844 by uniting in their program the *re*occupation of Oregon and the *re*annexation of Texas. Our claim to what is now Oregon was absolutely sound and emigrants had been going into the country probably since 1830. Rabid expansionists claimed for us the region as far north as 54° 40′, the southern boundary of Alaska. One of our American inheritances from the red men seems to have been a love of slogans and battle cries, and the one adopted by the Democrats now (1844), "Fifty-four-Forty or Fight" (map p. 295) was as potent then as was "He Kept Us Out of War" in 1916. It won the election for the Democrats. But when we came to take up the matter soberly, two years later, our old contention for the 49th parallel was accepted by Great Britain and it was confirmed by the Oregon Treaty (1846) (maps p. 295 and following p. 298).

The Oregon Treaty

In the days after the Mexican War, as we have seen, national interest was greatly aroused over Central and South American questions and some urged that we should annex Mexico, if not everything south of it. Canals from the Atlantic to the Pacific were mooted—both by the Panama route and through Nicaragua. Indians in the latter region had been protected by Great Britain; we had promised what is now the United States of Colombia that her domination over the Panama Isthmus would be respected. The controversy over these various interests waxed warm, but a spirit of fair play was shown in making the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850) between us and Great Britain. It was agreed

The Clayton–Bulwer Treaty

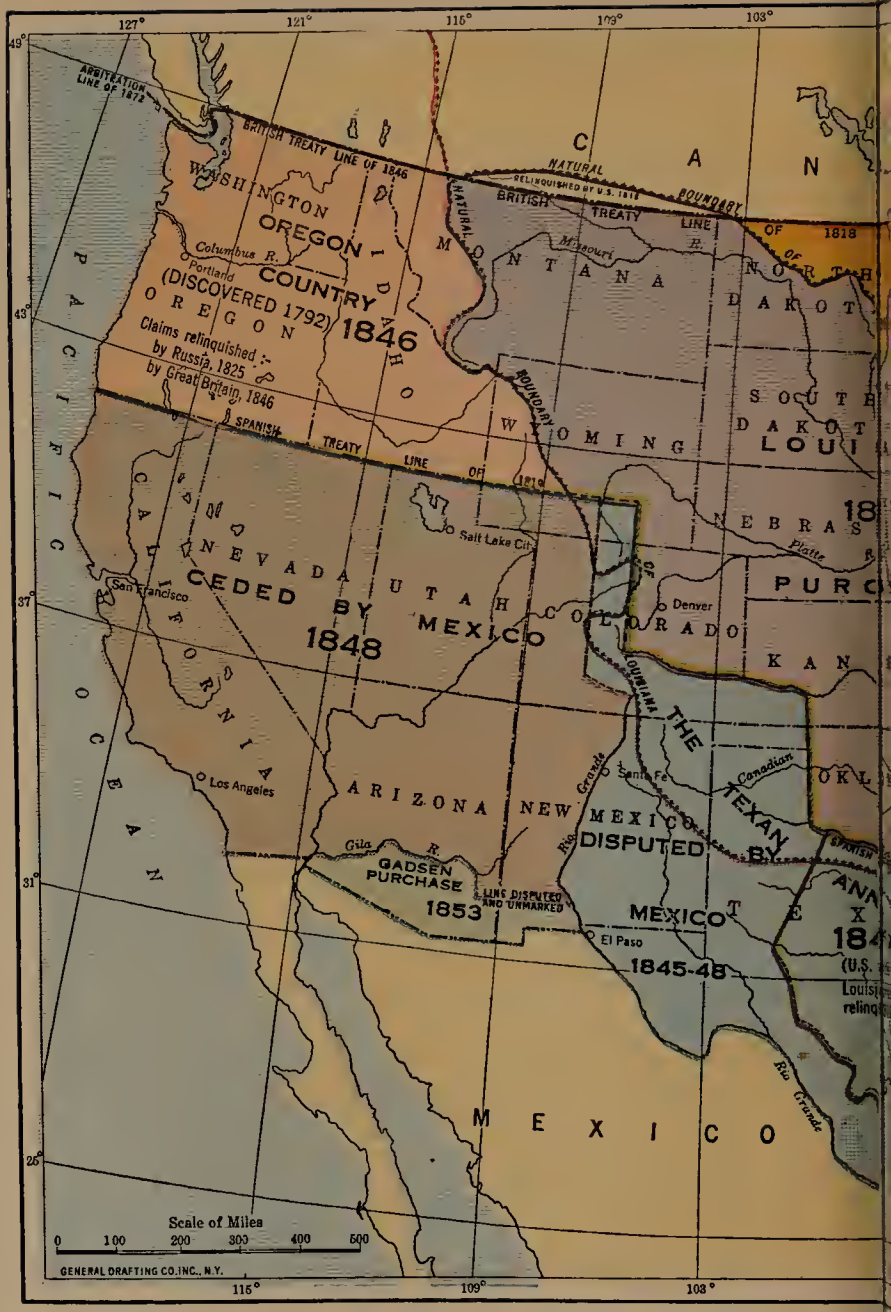
that England would make no settlement in the region; and both parties promised that, if a canal was built, the commerce of all neutrals should have access to it on equal terms.

Interestingly enough, sealed doors to the great kingdoms across the Pacific now began to be opened to us by skillful negotiations in the following order: China (1844), Hawaii (1849), Japan (1854), and Siam (1856). By the treaty with China we obtained five "open ports"—that is, ports which were open for residence and commerce to our citizens. Thus was laid the foundation for advocating strongly in later days an "Open Door" policy for all nations in China. On the other hand, we had lessons which came from bungling in international diplomacy as in the instance of the *Black Warrior* episode. The United States ship *Black Warrior* had been seized at Havana for minor neglect of customs rules just when President Polk had made up his mind as to the justice of the South's contention that we ought to have the island of Cuba in order to increase slave territory. Our ministers to England and France drew up the "Ostend Manifesto"—named from the Belgium town in which they met—which declared that if Spain would not sell us Cuba we were justified by something akin to "Divine Right" in taking it. Sober judgment, fortunately, got the upper hand and the administration reconsidered its stand in a matter which our state department had already disowned. In other cases, as in the *Creole* instance, we pressed steadily for legal redress and got it. This case involved the old question of England's "right" of search and seizure. The negro crew of the *Creole*, a United States ship, mutinied and sailed into Havana. British officials put the ringleaders of the blacks to death and freed the rest. A few years later, after we had pushed England for satisfaction, she settled score by the payment of an indemnity. This is the last instance of England's exercising the right of search and seizure. We shall see, however, that an American commander exercised it in Civil War days.

Commercial treaties with China and Japan

The "Ostend Manifesto"

The *Creole* case



THE TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF T

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NITED STATES FROM 1783 TO 1853

Again, skillful diplomacy in these pre-war days established better relations between Canada and ourselves than had formerly existed. This was fortunate because, had not friendlier feelings existed, Canada might have made us much trouble in the gruelling years between 1861 and 1865. Early in Van Buren's administration a revolt against Great Britain had broken out in Canada known as "The Patriot's War." Hundreds of Americans all along the borderline were inclined to help their "oppressed" neighbors to win the kind of independence that we had won in 1783. This feeling was fanned brightly on December 29, 1837, when the British authorities seized the steamer *Caroline* with which Americans had been illegally aiding the Canadian rebels and an American was killed. With the quelling of the rebellion hostility subsided, though many of our citizens never ceased urging annexation. Good diplomacy finally resulted, in 1853, in the establishment of mutually satisfactory arrangements with Canada. British shipping received rights to trade on Lake Michigan and we, in turn, received the same rights on the St. Lawrence (and Canadian canals connecting with it) for a period of years.

"The Patriot's War"

The *Caroline* incident

Thus all along the line these two decades before the Civil War saw some significant steps taken and decisions made which paved the way for hopeful settlement of the international questions which arose in the war-times following. It is often idle to speculate on what did not happen in history, but to do this sometimes gives us a valuable point of departure for the study of what did happen. When one contemplates what our case might have been during the Civil War if several of these important international troubles had not been safely settled, one is inclined to say with Morse, as his first message now flashed over his wires: "What Hath God Wrought."

There were other fields in which our Nation was making notable advances that would be of help in solving the problems of unification when war should burst upon us. To these attention should be given.

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3. CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY: McMaster, VII, Chap. 84; Fish, Chap. 21; Moore, 82; Foster, 326, 456; Fish.

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QUERY AND DISCUSSION

What nations bordered the United States at the outbreak of the Civil War? What were the last treaties made between them and us prior to 1861? Were there any embarrassing questions unsettled between them and us on that date? What might have happened if the Oregon and the Maine boundary lines had been in dispute in 1861? What important negotiations took place in the "Golden age of diplomacy" (1815–1825)? How does diplomatic history prove the adage that laws are no better or stronger than the character and earnestness of the men we appoint to carry them out? Are rabid expansionists true patriots? In what section of the country would you expect to find the most ardent expansionist sentiment? Would the conditions and experiences of pioneer life be conducive to such desires?

Section 36. The Northwest Girds Her Loins

Migration to the Great Lakes region

At the outbreak of the second war with Great Britain what is now the State of Michigan contained perhaps a thousand Americans; when she entered the Union, in 1837, Michigan counted a population of near two hundred thousand. In this period our inland seas became famous routes of migration and their little settlements of traders and soldiers were transformed, as if by the touch of a magician's wand, into thriving ports—soon to become the cities of Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee,

and Chicago. The rush in these years resembled a stampede rather than a migration, and bold must be the writer who attempts to picture its many lights and shades and give form and color to the ardent dreams of its adventurous thousands. Some one has well described the pell-mell advance by saying that the Lake Erie boats of this time were filled with "men, women, and children, beds, cradles, kettles, and frying-pans." "Dauntless" is the one word which describes the spirit of these Northmen; it created ships which could weather the savage Lakes storms; with steady patience it built harbors at Buffalo, Cleveland, and Chicago; it lifted Detroit from her ashes, brought up firm ground from Lake Michigan for Chicago to stand on, and it riveted the infant commerce of half a dozen states to the Great Lakes by means of canals; finally it linked the whole empire with steel rails (Map following p. 314).

The spirit of the Northmen

When, with the completion of the Erie Canal to Buffalo (1825), men looked abroad from this new "rail head" in the West they saw the same glittering waterway spreading westward that the hunter and trader had seen; but with what different eyes! From their feet Lake Erie stretched 250 miles to the southwest; northward from Detroit, Lake Huron spread its expanse 218 miles straight toward the keys of the upper lakes, the Straits of Mackinaw and the Sault Ste. Marie; from here Lakes Michigan and Superior, 345 and 381 miles in length, respectively, extended the panorama of waters to Duluth in the northwest and Chicago to the south.

The area of the Lakes

The attempts of men to outguess this marvelous riddle of opportunity for commerce and growth is interesting because of their mistakes. One man saw in the completion of the Erie, Welland, St. Mary's, Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan canals the welding of a giant empire by inland trade routes 2,200 miles in length—even if we ignore the Mississippi pathway (almost as long) from Chicago to New Orleans. Another, like Henry Clay, became dazed at the prospect which waited in the wilderness for shipbuilder, agriculturist, miner, and railway seer. Speaking in Congress in this year in which the Erie Canal was completed

to Buffalo (1825) on the subject of the St. Mary's Canal—which would connect Lakes Superior and Michigan—Clay described the project as one lying "beyond the furtherest bounds of civilization—if not in the moon." Yet in a generation passengers were going into Chicago in Pullman cars on railways, and Congress was building a road from Lake Superior to the Mississippi!

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SAULT STE. MARIE. (Looking toward Lake Superior.)

A great battle, however, was to be fought ere these triumphs were secured. The building of sufficiently staunch craft for the Lakes was one essential. Another, far more difficult, was the providing of safe harbors, for only in the case of Detroit was this an easy task. Here, in the protected Detroit River, wharves 140 feet in length were built as early as 1818. Buffalo had no harbor; all lake shipping had to stop at Black Rock two miles up the Niagara River—but now within the city limits; the mouth of Buffalo Creek had to be dredged before the port could begin its career. The advance of the city to a position of prominence was directly due to the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes traffic which it helped to create.

Ships and harbors to be built

The port of Buffalo

This traffic grew as the regions about the Lakes developed. Already the wheat fields of Ohio were calling for northern routes to

market because so much wheat soured on the long river voyage to the semi-tropical New Orleans. Ohio, moved by New York's success with the Erie Canal, began a system of waterways in 1822, and by 1847 had dug a thousand miles of canals. One of these, from the Ohio River to Lake Erie, was influential in the growth of Ohio's metropolis on Lake Erie, Cleveland, which had been founded by General Moses Cleaveland of Connecticut in 1796. Although the village had but fifty inhabitants in 1811, the records show that Lorenzo Carter was then being fined one dollar for keeping Goldsmith's *Greece* out of the public library overtime, a plain indication that the Yankee in the West was running "true to form." That his enterprise and ability were unaffected by migration, the splendid city of Cleveland became ample proof.

Founding of Cleveland

As early as 1803 the government had recognized the strategic importance of the southern shore of Lake Michigan and had there erected Fort Dearborn on the present site of Chicago. Little did men then foresee the importance of that sand-strewn southern tip of Lake Michigan. But if you lay a ruler across your map you will find that a fairly straight line can be drawn through Buffalo, Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, and Chicago; if you extend the line it will cut the Rocky Mountains close to the one vital passageway through them—South Pass. That Pass was to dominate transcontinental travel for untold years and that line marked the course of the "Star of Empire."

Beginnings of Chicago

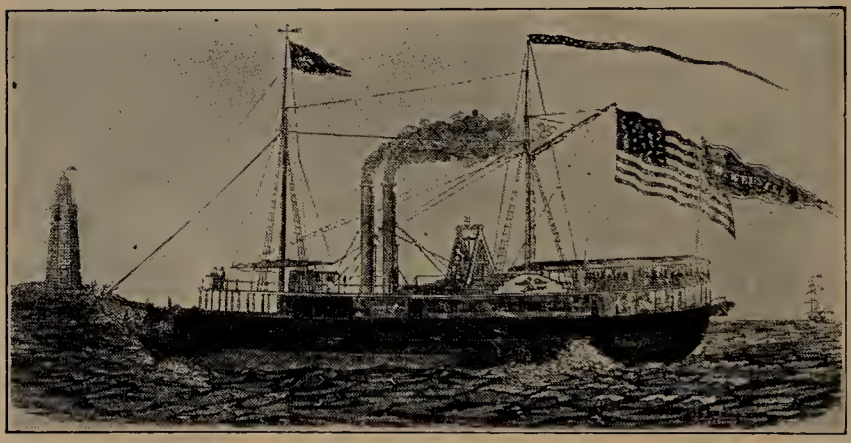
The Great Lakes—South Pass line of communication

The key of this mighty pathway of migration and commerce—Chicago—grew very slowly. In 1825 the village counted but fourteen houses. Five years later the celebrated "Illinois and Michigan Canal" was surveyed and its terminus (Chicago) on Lake Michigan was laid out. The Black Hawk War (1832) favorably affected the town's growth; what between terror-stricken pioneers hurrying eastward by way of Lake Michigan and bold troopers hastening westward by the same

The Illinois-Michigan Canal

route, Chicago town acquired a business and a population unknown before. Now was seen off its sand-strewn shores the first steamboat to visit the port, the *Sheldon Thompson*, with General Scott's soldiers aboard. Fortunately, steamboats were found to be able to navigate these treacherous waters better than sailing craft had navigated them; their engines enabled them to keep off shore in time of storm, something which craft ruled by the winds could not always do. The *Sheldon Thompson* was soon followed by the *Daniel Webster*, *Columbus*, *Anthony*

Chicago's first steamboats



THE "DANIEL WEBSTER." (An early lake passenger boat.)

Wayne, *Bunker Hill*, and many other steamers. While the population of Chicago was but 250 in 1834, it numbered almost that many doctors, lawyers, and merchants in 1836; the next year it counted a population of 4,000 and over.

A year earlier Illinois had pledged her honor in favor of the Illinois and Michigan Canal (connecting the Illinois River and Lake Michigan), and, after great difficulties, the work was carried to completion in 1848. This was one of the internal improvements works which profited from the optimism of foreign capitalists in this era (p. 270). London and French bankers advanced about $700,000 for the enterprise. It was a great day—that 26th of April, 1848—when the *General Thornton*

came into Chicago with a cargo of sugar from New Orleans *en route* to Buffalo and New York! But a moment ago (so it seemed) the town had gotten all its sugar from Indian maple sugar camps on the tinkling files of the trader Kenzie's ponies. Yet, overtopping this event, came a swift era of railway growth. In this very same year (1848) the good brig *Buffalo* brought to Chicago her first locomotive, the "Pioneer." In nine years four thousand miles of railways linked the city with every point of the compass.

This growth would not have been possible but for a mastery which was achieved in these years over the Great Lakes. The engines of the little *Walk-in-the-Water* (1818) had been so weak that she got out of the Niagara River only by means of what scoffers dubbed a "horn breeze"—that is, she was towed out by oxen! Stronger vessels were built soon after. The first boat equipped with cabins in the modern sense was the *Michigan* of 475 tons built by Oliver Newberry at Detroit in 1833; the first propeller was the *Vandalia* built on Lake Ontario in 1841. The construction of the Welland Canal (1824–1832) around Niagara Falls was a vital factor in the Great Lakes commercial development; and the construction of the St. Lawrence canal system and the Rideau system (joining the Ottawa River and Lake Ontario), opened the lakes to oceanic commerce. As early as 1856 a Cleveland-built ship reached Europe from Chicago, and the next year the *Madeira Pet* left Liverpool April 24 and dropped anchor beside Chicago's splendid new six miles of docking, July 14. The new propeller type of ship, although slower than the sidewheelers, introduced the era of the towed barge on the Great Lakes. The importance of the barge in our commercial development will soon be made evident.

Development of lake marine

The propeller and age of the barge

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10; J. O. Curwood, *The Great Lakes;* local histories of lake cities; E. L. Bogart, *Economic History,* Chap. 16; Fox, *Map Studies,* No. 17.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Compare Clay's outlook on the future when he opposed the St. Mary's Canal to Washington's in 1784 (p. 189). Explain how Chicago is a key to a mighty pathway of commerce with the West. How is Duluth? St. Louis? Trace a possible route of a steamship from Chicago to Liverpool. Which of the older sections was to profit most by the development of the Great Lakes region, the North, Middle Atlantic, or South? Which would profit least? What might have been the future of commerce and international friendship if the United States and England had begun in 1818 to fortify the Great Lakes and put navies thereon?

Section 37. The Sinews of Growth—and War

It must not be supposed that it was the Northwest alone which was girding up its loins by building steamboats, canals, and railways in these booming days before the war. That section of the country merely affords an illustration of a movement which was country-wide.

But all this activity in these years between 1840 and 1860 had to be preceded by long years of struggle and experiment in unearthing and forging those sinews—coal and iron—which could alone make possible an age of steel, make possible these steamships and railways as well as that pitiful mountain of shot, shell, and cannon which had to be appealed to in order to settle the burning question over States' Rights. For it is evident that the nation, particularly the North, could not have fought the fight the way it did had not great resources of coal and iron been ready for steamboat and railway building and for all the thirsty enginery of war.

The materials for an age of iron

In her possession of the lion's share of the world's coal and iron deposits, which form the basis of her material prosperity, the United States is very fortunate. The working of these mines throughout the early history of our country had been carried on with great difficulty, largely because the deposits were scattered and defied the poor methods of transportation then in use. Wagons, cars, and loco-

Our early mines

motives required iron; that iron could not be transported without those vehicles explains the tardy development of mining.

A good example of this struggle is afforded by the story of the famous Lehigh anthracite coal mines in Pennsylvania, now worth so many millions. The Lehigh Coal Mine Company was organized in 1793, its property embracing about five sixths of the present Lehigh fields, and the sum of $26.67 was spent on building a roadway from the mines to the Lehigh River! But when it reached that river it was found almost impossible to float the coal down to market; and when it arrived there it was difficult

The Lehigh Coal Mine Company

THE LOCKS AT DULUTH

to get people to try to burn it. The owners allowed one company to work the mine free of charge provided it would send to market 10,000 bushels annually; it failed. However, a wire concern in Philadelphia happened to get hold of some of the coal and liked it. The mines were therefore leased to this company for twenty years at an annual rental of one ear of corn—provided the company would agree to burn 40,000 bushels of the coal a year! After a long struggle to improve the water line of communication to Philadelphia, affairs began to mend, and by 1825 the Lehigh River and Schuylkill River mines were shipping 28,393 and 7,143 bushels of coal a year respectively.

Small mines of iron ore had been found and worked in most of the colonies in early days, such as the Accopeek mine opened by George Washington's father on the Rappahannock River. Roebuck's invention, by which coal was used in blast furnaces in 1760, and especially the employment of the steam engine to operate blasts for such furnaces in 1790, were important steps toward mastering this industry. The general substitution of coal for charcoal, previously noted (p. 252), was another good stride forward. Nevertheless the same old difficulty of successfully transporting such heavy products remained, greatly increasing the difficulty and expense of these enterprises. Coal and iron did not appear to be good neighbors; if ever the day came when they were found close together, or could easily and cheaply be brought together, that region and that day would become famous.

Our first iron mines

Fortunately such a combination was in the gift of Nature to our country. It was found in 1838 that bituminous coal was as serviceable in changing ore into iron as was anthracite. With the uncovering of the great seams of this coal in western Pennsylvania one condition of our proposition was fulfilled. Now, would great fields of iron ore be found in the same place—or in a region from which it could be transported easily to that locality? If so, there was good promise that the strategically located town of Pittsburgh, connected by rail to the East (in 1853) and by water (Ohio River) to the whole Mississippi Basin, would become one of the famous cities of the world.

The problem of uniting coal and iron

It was an interesting moment in our national story when the other condition of this coal-and-iron proposition was fulfilled. As the result of the "Toledo War" (as a contest between Ohio and Michigan for the northern strip of Ohio was called) Michigan received her "Upper Peninsula" in the place of the strip of northern Ohio which she had lost. Only the most optimistic of "Wolverines" agreed with their pioneer philosopher that "the white fish of Lake Superior might be a fair offset for the lost bullfrog pastures of the Maumee."

The "Toledo War"

As early as 1822 rumors were afloat that this Upper Peninsula contained minerals, both iron and copper. This had been the idea, however, in the back of the head of that ardent expansionist, Senator Benton, when he urged Congress to purchase lands here from the Ontonagon Indians. The finding of copper hereabouts led to a rush to the region in 1840, for steamboats now touched as far north as the St. Mary's River. On the 18th of September, 1844, a surveying party at work near Marquette, Michigan, under William A. Burt —inventor of the solar compass—suddenly found their compass-needles in a panic. "I shall never forget," wrote one of the party, "the excitement of the old gentleman [Mr. Burt] when viewing the changes of the variation. He kept changing his position to take observations, all the time saying 'how would they survey this country without my compass' and 'what could be done here without my compass?' At length the compassman called for us to come and see a variation which will beat them all. As we looked at the instrument, to our astonishment, the north end of the needle was traversing a few degrees to the south of west. Mr. Burt called out: 'Boys, look around and see what you can find.' We all left the line, some going to the east, some going to the west, and all of us returned with specimens of iron ore" (map following p. 314.)

The mineral wealth of Michigan's "Upper Peninsula"

The Burt party discover iron

The discovery of the great iron ore beds in the Lake Superior region was, thus, not made until lake ships were being built strong enough to carry such heavy cargoes and not until ports (where the enormous tons of ore could be handled) were ready to meet the demand to be put upon them. A Lake Superior marine was in existence even before the Sault Ste. Marie or "Soo Canal" was built (1855). Two years later the Iron Mountain Railroad was completed from the ore beds to the lake; in that year nearly 1,050 tons of ore were shipped to Lake Erie ports, and by 1860—when the demand for iron had grown prodigious—over 100,000 tons were shipped.

Lake marine ready to handle ore

From the standpoint of the national need of iron for railway building, and from the standpoint of the North as Civil War brought an unheard-of demand for it, the opening of these ore beds in this very nick of time is important. The problem of transportation to Lake Erie was already solved and the portage from there to Pittsburgh was short and easily provided for.

The railway mileage in the United States in 1840 was 2,818; in 1850 there were 9,021 miles, and in 1860 there were 30,635. At first railways, as we have seen, were mere connecting links between cities and the adjacent country. In these two decades continental systems came into existence, Chicago being joined to New York in the same year that Pittsburgh was, 1853. In 1854 Chicago was linked to the Mississippi River and in 1855 St. Louis was connected with the East (map following p. 314). The rapid extension of the electric telegraph notably aided railway development and operation. By the outbreak of the Civil War there were 50,000 miles of telegraph wires strung; even far-away San Francisco was then connected with the East. One can hardly see how the war could have been conducted on either side but for the timely perfecting of the telegraph instrument.

Growth of railways and railway systems

The telegraph

© *Brown Bros.*

A Model of Morse's First Telegraph Instrument

All this burst of material development, particularly in transportation, and the creation of an iron age by the wedding of the Lake Superior ore beds to the bituminous coal fields of western Pennsylvania, forms an epoch of great importance. It must be counted a factor, along with the completing of the program of expansion and the clearing up of the worst tangles in our international relations with the world, in the strengthening of

the national fiber against the days of terror and strain which followed. Perhaps it is due to these preparedness efforts—although they were not so planned or dreamed of at the time—that the nation did not break apart in the struggle which ensued.

READING LIST

E. L. Bogart, Chaps. 15, 19, and 20; C. D. Wright, *Industrial Evolution of the United States*, Chaps. 10 and 11; R. D. Paine, *The Old Merchant Marine*, Chaps. 8–10; Fox, *Map Studies*, No. 17.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

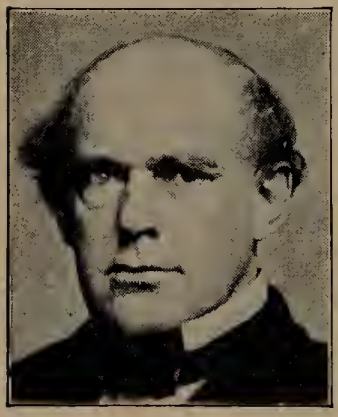
In what ways do coal and iron form the basis of our prosperity? Trace the route of ore shipments from Lake Superior to Pittsburgh. What different kinds of boats have been used in this trade? How was the electric telegraph an aid to railway development and operation? Had the Great Lakes been in Europe (and fortified according to European custom) might the Lake Superior ore fields have become another Alsace-Lorraine?

Section 38. The Great Debate and Its Leaders

As the great debate over slavery absorbed the country through the years from 1844 to 1860 the essentials of the question little changed, although the viewpoint of men and parties altered considerably as new phases of the subject presented themselves.[1] As we take up the story of the debate we are confronted at once with a singular fact. In this hot decade and a half, 1844–1860, in the very crisis of our country's history, an old school of leaders goes out and a new school comes in. Clay and Webster, famous pleaders for compromise and peace, died in 1851 and 1852, respectively. Calhoun, the most notable champion of slavery, passed off the scene in 1850. John Quincy Adams, stern opponent of slavery, had fallen (1848) to the floor of the

[1]One important change in the slavery debate was put into effect in 1836 when the foes of abolition in Congress passed the first "Gag Rule." By this resolution every petition relating to slavery was to be "laid upon the table" without discussion. Four years later this was made a "standing rule" of the House. It was John Quincy Adams's fight in opposition to this ruling, which defied the first amendment of the Constitution guaranteeing the people the right "to petition the government for redress of grievances," that added luster to a name long famous in the annals of American liberty.

House under a stroke of apoplexy. Lewis Cass and Thomas H. Benton were both withdrawn from the Senate in this period by their state legislatures, Cass of Michigan because of suspected favoritism toward the South and Benton of Missouri because of his sturdy hatred of slavery.



SALMON P. CHASE

The new school and its temper

The new-school leaders for the North were of a different temper from those whose places they came to occupy. In the place of Clay and Webster arose the large figure of Salmon P. Chase of Ohio; by his side we find Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, Edwin M. Stanton of Ohio, William H. Seward of New York, Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio, and others. And to carry on Calhoun's cause appeared the intellectual giant of the South, Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, backed by Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, Robert Toombs of Georgia, William L. Yancey of Alabama, and Senator Butler of South Carolina. While across the wide stage, playing politics with a masterly hand (until he fell in a pit-fall laid by his rival, Lincoln), strode the sonorous-voiced, debonair Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, the "Little Giant"—giant in vision, giant in finesse.

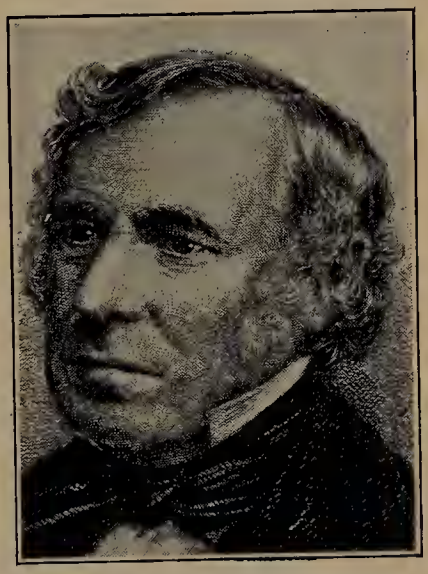
CHARLES SUMNER

The result of the Mexican War gave the country its issue for the presidential campaign of 1848, namely, the future status of slavery in the region secured by the war, New Mexico and California. Each of the great parties (Whig and Democrat) played politics

in choosing its leader. The Whigs nominated the hero of Buena Vista, General Taylor, a Louisiana slave-owner, as their candidate, and the Democrats took as theirs Governor Cass of Michigan, a mild pro-slavery Northerner. Dissatisfaction with this "on-the-fence" attitude of the big parties led Salmon P. Chase to write a new platform for a so-called "Free Soil" party. This organization stands as a connecting link between a "Liberty" Party of 1840 (also backed by Chase) and the Republican party. Governor Cass popularized in this campaign the theory of "popular sovereignty" of Leake of Virginia, that is, giving the people in any territory the right to decide by vote whether it should be "slave" or "free." The Free Soil party united too many of the various northern factions in this contest to permit the election of the "dough-faced" candidate, as they ironically dubbed Cass for his lukewarmness to slavery. Taylor was elected and took office in March, 1849. Oddly enough "squatter sovereignty" was suddenly put into actual practice this very year when the discovery of gold in California gave rise to a motley migration thither. These gold-seekers did not want negroes working beside them in their camps, and when they formed a state constitution, and applied for admittance to the Union, they debarred slavery.

Taylor elected President

Gold discovered in California



Zachary Taylor

How great was the need of a compromise on slavery is now evident. Some held that (a) Congress had no control of slavery either in the states or out of them; (b) some thought "squatter

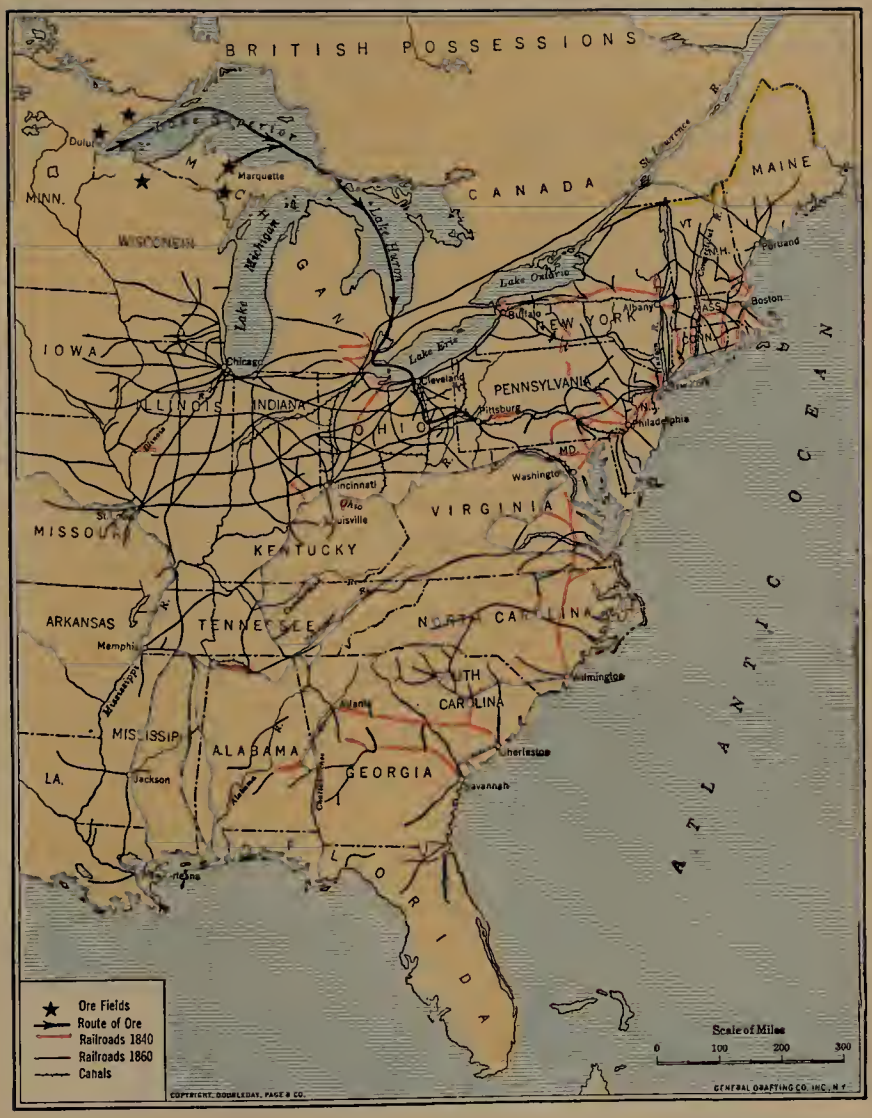
sovereignty" was the solution of the difficulty; (c) others, like David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, believed that Congress should exclude slavery from the new territories. Wilmot offered in Congress a "Wilmot Proviso" which sought to exclude slavery from all territory acquired from Mexico. This bill passed the House repeatedly, but was, as often, defeated in the Senate. In order to bring about the much-needed compromise, Kentucky summoned from his Ashland home the "Great Compromiser," Henry Clay, for his last and most famous effort. Governed by a signal, if hopeless, patriotism, Webster and Clay—as the last act of their great careers—put their shoulders now to the wheel and evolved the notable Compromise of 1850, or Omnibus Bill. This was a collection of bills that provided different salves for the different sectional ailments of the distressed country. They were offered with great courage and patriotism in the vain hope that the day for slaves had not passed. By its terms (a) California was admitted as a free state; (b) slave trade (not slavery) was prohibited in the District of Columbia; (c) New Mexico and Utah were made territories in which slavery was not prohibited; (d) a much stricter Fugitive Slave Law was proposed which allowed one who lost a slave the right to call to his assistance the machinery of local government in any state into which his slave had fled; (e) Texas was to be paid ten million

Edwin M. Stanton

The Wilmot Proviso, 1846

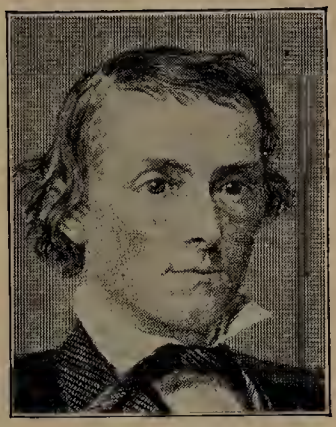
William H. Seward

Compromise of 1850

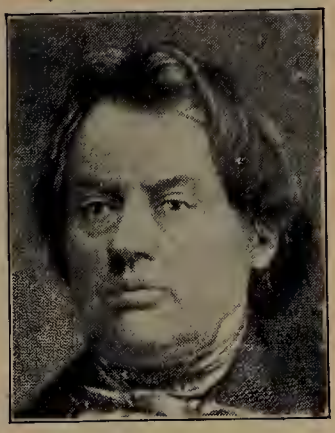


EASTERN UNITED STATES, 1840–1860. (Showing railway and canal routes.)

dollars for giving up her claim to what is now New Mexico. We have noted that slavery was prohibited in the Louisiana territory north of the 36° 30′ line (p. 235). Utah extended above that line. Which law prevailed there, the Missouri Compromise law or the Compromise of 1850? By one, slavery was excluded; by the other, it could be established there if the future inhabitants so voted. Curiously enough, the North did not raise this question at this time. Nor did the South foresee any more plainly how rabidly detested in the North the new Fugitive Slave Law would be. The Compromise of 1850 was anything but a compromise—at heart. Many in the South now favored secession at this time; at a convention held at Nashville, Tenn., in June, 1850, however, it was found that there was a lack of uniform sentiment. Vice-President Millard Fillmore of New York, who now stepped into the White House on the death of President Taylor (July 9, 1850), favored the compromise.



Alexander H. Stephens



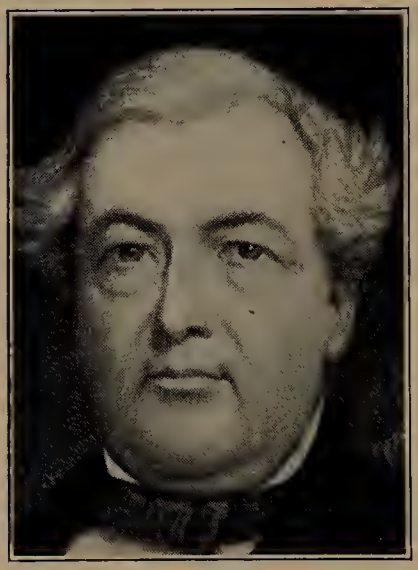
Robert Toombs

Those implacable foes of slavery, Chase and Seward, saw some of these dangers, however, and fought the Compromise of 1850 to the end, but hopelessly. All these bills passed both Houses of Congress by small pluralities. Many professed to believe that a great struggle had been ended peacefully. But the seeds of rivalry more bitter than ever had been sown—seeds now soon to be watered from a very unexpected source, by the book of

The seeds of bitter rivalry

a woman. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* soon appeared, to awaken national conscience as never before to the evils of slavery. This book did the South an injustice by making the exceptional appear to be the commonplace; for, as we have seen (p. 280) there was a distinct difference between "domestic" and "commercial" slavery. But the book struck straight at the heart of a real evil and wrung tears from millions of eyes—here and in England—over the forcible separation of negro families.

The North had always, in part, hated and evaded the old Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, and the plank in the Compromise of 1850 strengthening that system spelled anything except "peace." It was not even upheld by the United States Supreme Court, which declared that the national government could not compel a state government to enforce a national law. Such "personal liberty" laws as were now passed, by Massachusetts for instance, making the penalty five years in prison for aiding in the enforcement of the new law, were denounced in the South as nullification. True, southern planters aggravatingly put the law to extreme tests, as by having negroes seized who had long before escaped and were settled and married in the North. Sometimes anti-slavery mobs, as in the Shadrach case, took such captured slaves from the very hands of state officials and aided them to reach Canada. The exact situation, in a nutshell, was that the South had come to believe absolutely that it could force



MILLARD FILLMORE

The Supreme Court and new Fugitive Slave Law

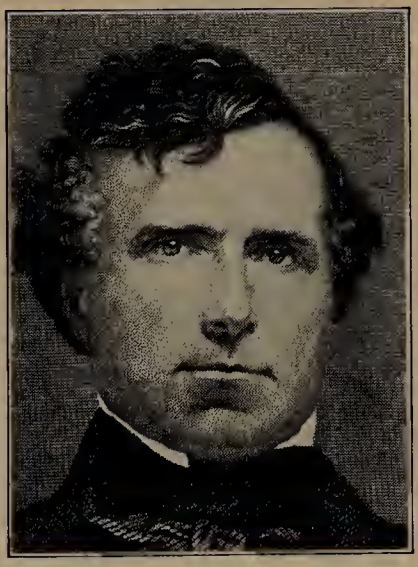
The Shadrach case

Congress to pass any law that it pleased by the threat of secession because, as it thought, the North loved peace and union and its growing riches too much to upset the nation by war. It thought the North would not fight since fighting would stop the money-making processes.

When the presidential election of 1852 came on both of the old-line parties—Whig and Democrat—blinded their eyes to the real issue and both swore allegiance to the Compromise of 1850. Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire was elected over his Whig rival, General Scott, by a large majority of electoral votes.

Pierce elected President

The political ambitions of the versatile Stephen A. Douglas now upset the lethargy which seemed like "peace," by introducing his famous Nebraska Bill in Congress January 4, 1854. Backed by the industrial interests of northwestern Democracy, Douglas had long been interested in the giant empire of the "Great Plains" lying north of the Missouri Compromise line of 36° 30′; he wanted it opened to occupation and not made an Indian reservation. Chicago financiers desired to push a Pacific railway straight west from Chicago. Douglas therefore easily obtained the support of legislators from Illinois in opening Nebraska to white man's advance. He also got the support of legislators of other northwestern states, for, if Congress was to aid (as it did later) railway building by grants of public land in Nebraska, the precedent could be used by promoters of railways in other states to obtain similar aid. Men in St. Louis, on the other hand, opposed it because they desired the

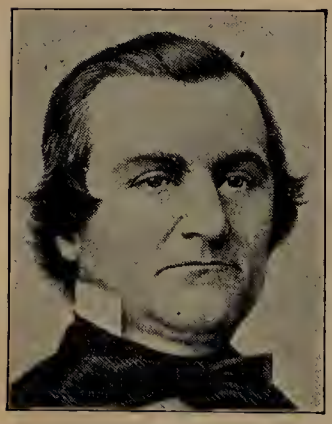


FRANKLIN PIERCE

new "Pacific Railway" to go west from their city and not from Chicago. Senator Atchison of Missouri declared that he would see Nebraska sunk in perdition "before he would vote for it as a free soil territory."

At this stage of affairs an amendment was offered to repeal the Missouri Compromise. Douglas had now three courses to choose from: 1. Create one big Nebraska territory; 2. Divide the region into two parts, Kansas and Nebraska, and make it all slave territory by abolishing the Missouri Compromise; 3. Divide it into two such territories and let them, like California, become "free" or "slave" as their future inhabitants should vote. He chose this last course and substituted his famous Kansas-Nebraska Act for the Nebraska Bill, January 23. It repealed the Missouri Compromise and set up Leake's "squatter sovereignty" theory in the territories. Their people (as California people had done) could vote to make the territories "slave" or "free" as they chose. Some have said that Douglas, in this decision, was guided by his belief in the squatter sovereignty theory; others have said he was "playing politics" and desired to please the South in the hope of becoming President.

The Kansas–Nebraska Act



W. L. Yancey

If the Missouri Compromise had been a "fire bell in the night," the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was a general alarm. The new Fugitive Slave Law was already a thorn in the side of the North; this new bill seemed like a sword at its throat. The bill was passed by narrow margins in both House and Senate; it struck from our statute books the Missouri Compromise and paved the road to more bitter feeling than ever. For, in general, scholars now agree that the Civil War was practically inevitable from this day on. In a marked way this bill cemented the political factions in both the North and the South. "Liberty Party" men,

abolitionists, "Know-Nothings,"[1] "Anti-Nebraska men," "Free Soilers," "Barnburners"—a faction favorable to destroying the barn (Union) to save it from rats (slavery)—and all others were now on the direct pathway to union. This rapid union of so many factions explains the quick growth of the Republican party. In the South, also, a unity never known before was springing up between southern Whigs and southern Democrats. The creation of the Republican party (1856) united most of the northern factions, members of the old Whig party forming the largest single element in the new organization. It failed, however, to put its best foot foremost in the presidential race this year and the northern Democrat, James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was elected over his rival, General Fremont.

James Buchanan elected President

The result of the Kansas-Nebraska Act might have been guessed. By main strength pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces began (1855) to rush settlers into the fair Kansas realm to fight a bloody duel.[2] Under such epithets as "Border Ruffians" and "Sons of the South" the two factions set up rival local governments and a Lecompton (Kan.) constitution was framed by the slavery element. The citizens were asked not to vote on the constitution, but to vote whether they would have it "with" or "without" slavery! The anti-slavery element refused to vote and their rivals "won." This farce was upheld by a partizan Congress. Two years later, however, the people formed a constitution prohibiting slavery and it was adopted by a majority of nearly 10,000 votes. In the struggle Lawrence, Kan., was sacked by the slavery fac-

Rival factions in Kansas

Anti-slavery wins

[1]The "Know-Nothing Party" was formed about 1850 as a secret organization; it was composed generally of Whigs, and its leaders hoped to make it a mighty Union Party opposing slavery. The name arose when one member of the party said in reply to a question as to his political belief, "I don't know."

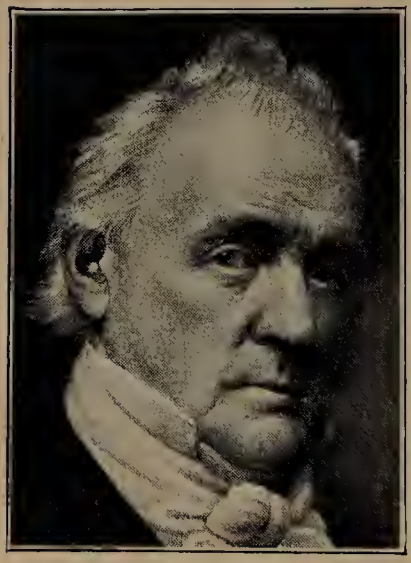
[2]Emigration from New England was largely encouraged by the New England Emigrant Aid Society, whose chief patron was A. A. Lawrence, a famous Boston merchant. From him Lawrence, Kansas, took its name.

tion and a rabid Northerner, John Brown, returned the murderous compliment by a massacre at Pottawattamie, Kan.

The trend of affairs toward the inevitable was hastened now by a singular decision handed down from the United States Supreme Court known as the Dred Scott Decision.

The Dred Scott Decision

Dred Scott was the negro slave of an army officer. His master moved from Missouri (a slave territory) to Illinois (a free state). Later he was sold to a citizen of New York. He brought suit against this master to secure his freedom. His claim was that when he was moved from a slave territory to a free state he automatically became free. The case went on up to the Supreme Court from a district court.



JAMES BUCHANAN

The singular thing about the decision handed down by the Court was that it consisted of two parts, one called for, the other uncalled for. The first part said that Scott was not made free by being moved from slave territory to a free state. This was in accordance with the Constitution which says that every state must sacredly honor the property rights or any other rights of any other state. The second part dealt with another question entirely, a question which Northerners thought the Court had no right to pass upon. This part dealt with the larger and more vital question of the right of Congress to legislate on slavery. It said that neither Congress nor territorial legislatures had any right to forbid slavery in a territory. It also said that Congress had had no right to limit slavery by such a boundary line as was

The question of property rights

The decision nullified the Missouri Compromise

created by the Missouri Compromise. It declared "popular sovereignty" to be illegal.

The decision was thus a knock-down blow to the North. As Lincoln said, it "squatted out squatter sovereignty." And, while the South was startled to hear its cherished "popular sovereignty" theory declared illegal, it was enormously pleased to know that, according to our highest tribunal, neither Congress nor the people in a territory had the right to keep slavery out. The South had been fighting valiantly for half an apple (popular sovereignty); the Supreme Court told it that it had done wrong to fight for half the apple; but that, in fact, no one had a right to keep it from having the whole apple!

It denied "popular sovereignty"

This decision stirred the North which had felt that, in the Missouri Compromise, slavery had, at least, been safely fenced off from a greater part of the fertile West. To be told at this late date that no law of Congress nor of a territory could legally debar it from spreading anywhere made all Northerners anxious and made many radicals "see red."

Its effect in the North

An episode of these exciting years equally stirred the South. The extreme abolitionist, John Brown, whose activity in Kansas we have mentioned, conceived the insane idea of establishing himself on a farm in an isolated spot within striking distance of slave plantations in Virginia and of making raids from this camp upon Southern planters, seize their slaves and bring them back to freedom. While prominent abolitionists denounced the scheme, many others were so rabid as to contribute nearly five thousand dollars toward it. Brown located his farm and then, with eighteen men, boldly raided and captured the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Md., October 16, 1859. He was immediately overcome by a detachment of United States troops. Had he been killed in this fray he would only have been remembered as a madman. He survived, however, and was at length brought to trial, tried, found guilty, and hanged. His calm demeanor and martyr-like spirit during

John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry

the interval between the trial and the execution had its effect on the anti-slavery men of the North. A man had shown himself willing, if not actually glad, to die for his convictions on the burning question of the hour.[1] The fact that many in the North thus applauded Brown's "heroism" affected the South deeply; it measurably did away with all remaining desire for national unity and was a real factor in steeling men's hearts to wish to settle the question with swords and rifles.

Its effect in the North and the South

READING LIST

Orations of Calhoun, Phillips, Clay, Sumner, Douglas, and Seward in S. B. Harding, *Select Orations*, 242–357; Fox, *Map Studies*, Nos. 18-21.

1. The Leaders: A. B. Hart, *Salmon P. Chase;* M. Storey, *Charles Sumner;* F. Bancroft, *William H. Seward;* G. C. Gorham, *Edwin M. Stanton;* G. W. Julian, *Joshua R. Giddings;* R. M. Johnston and W. M. Browne, *Alexander H. Stephens;* W. E. Dodd, *Jefferson Davis;* U. B. Phillips, *Robert Toombs;* J. W. Du Bose, *William Lowndes Yancey;* A. Johnson, *Stephen Arnold Douglas.*

2. Compromise of 1850: J. Macy, *The Anti-Slavery Crusade*, Chaps. 6–14; N. W. Stephenson, *Abraham Lincoln and the Union* (Chronicles of America, XXIX), Chap. 1; W. E. Dodd, *The Cotton Kingdom*, Chap. 6; McMaster, VIII, Chap. 76; U. B. Phillips, *Robert Toombs*, Chap. 7; H. C. Lodge, *Daniel Webster*, Chap. 9; J. Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I, Chaps. 2 and 3; J. F. Rhodes, *History*, I, Chap. 2; Clay's oration, Harding, 267–291.

3. Kansas-Nebraska Bill: Stephenson, Chap. 2; J. Macy, *Anti-Slavery*, Chap. 10; Dodd, 132–133; Rhodes, Chap. 5; Johnson, Chaps. 8 and 11; F. H. Hodder, *Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.*

4. Dred Scott Decision: Stephenson, 50–52; T. C. Smith, *Parties and Slavery*, Chap. 14; F. E. Chadwick; *Causes of the Civil War* (American Nation, XIX), Chap. 5; Rhodes, II, 332, 334; E. S. Corwin, "Dred Scott Decision," *American Historical Review*, XVII, 52.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Which boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase were definitely known and which were hazy? What were the Missouri Compromise lines? Its provi-

[1] A poem written about another John Brown was applied to this "martyr," and, set to a swinging tune, has come down through the years, a relic of days when rabid abolitionists were moved deeply by singing "His soul is marching on."

sions? What territory involved in the Compromise of 1850 lay north of the Missouri Compromise line if extended westward? If New Mexico and Utah were unfitted for cotton-growing, could slavery thrive there? Was Webster, then, disowning his principles by supporting the Compromise of 1850? How did transportation questions largely enter into the Kansas and Kansas-Nebraska bills question? How might Douglas be much embarrassed over harmonizing the Kansas-Nebraska theory with the Dred Scott Decision both of which he supported? Which could he give up with least loss of political support? For what crimes could John Brown have been prosecuted had his schemes succeeded?

CHAPTER IX

THE APPEAL TO THE SWORD

The "inevitable conflict" between the North and the South was now hastened by the election of Abraham Lincoln as President in 1860, an event which the South was determined to consider fatal to the cause of States' Rights. He protested that he would not disturb slavery where it existed, but he had already said that the nation could not live half slave and half free—which was the truth. Thus we face, in this chapter, secession and the appeal to the sword through four bloody years. The greater resources of men and means of the North—and the successful cutting off of the South from sources of supply abroad by an effective blockade—at last turned the tide against the armies of Lee, one of the few heroic commanders in history whose personal greatness could never be dimmed by defeat.

Over this "House Divided," through the four years, brooded the pure flame of Lincoln's faith and love—a mystery to many then and to not a few to-day. His confidence in the ultimate good judgment and ability of the men of the South was shared by few about him. On that rock of confidence was based his theory of reuniting the warring states at the close of the struggle, but most signs point to the conclusion that prejudice and spleen would have overruled and defeated him had he lived to carry out his theory.

In the period of "reconstruction" which followed the North attempted to make good its promises to the men of color whose fate had hung in the balance through the long four years. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution stand as milestones along the pathway of effort to fix the status of the African so that his progress upward should be steady and sure.

Section 39. Abraham Lincoln

Looking upon the death-mask of our beloved Lincoln the famous French sculptor Fremiet said: "It seems impossible that a new country like yours should produce such a face. I can do nothing with that head and I doubt if any one in these times can. The more I studied it the more difficulty I found. The subtle character of its forms is beyond belief. There is no face like it."

Fremiet on Lincoln's death-mask

In much the same way has mankind always stood in wonder at the character and attributes of that great Kentuckian, asking in amazement: "How could a race of frontiersmen have produced such a man?" The question is answered by those who believe in the power of heredity by pointing to Lincoln's ancestry—that Hingham, Massachusetts, Yankee stock which pioneered its way through the Jerseys (p. 75) and Pennsylvania into the Valley of Virginia, where it was united (in Lincoln's grandfather, Abraham) with typical southern stock. In this blending we find a heritage which made possible a temper so balanced and a heart so kind that Jefferson Davis is said to have exclaimed, on hearing of Lincoln's assassination, "We have lost a generous enemy."

The blending that was Lincoln

The parentage of Lincoln and Andrew Jackson was somewhat similar. While the two men were much unlike, yet in the prime quality of instinct for choosing right courses in crises—an instinct which comes from a knowledge of both the nobility and the frailty of the common heart of humanity—the two might have been brothers. Both were painfully misguided by friends and advisers on unimportant matters; both frequently ignored all counsel on questions of critical importance.

Born in Kentucky February 12, 1809, Lincoln came of age just as his parents completed a series of typically American frontier migrations—to Illinois and Indiana. His boyhood had been that of a migrating pioneer's son. His physique was

THE UNITED STATES IN 1861. (Showing slave and free states.)

finely developed and, while his education had been neglected, yet it was improved by a stepmother's interest and by Lincoln's innate ambition. During his latter 'teens he had not lived where a lack of materials for education existed; boys about him were working their way through college. The interesting thing is, not that materials were lacking but, rather, that from a mass of good, bad, and indifferent, the laxly guided youth chose with commendable care wheat from chaff and hugged tightly his borrowed copies of *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Æsop's Fables*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and nurtured a genuine love of Burns and Shakespeare. He became a good speller and penman and, quite early, was wooing the Muse with coarse satires, crude verse, and essays on the American government; his formal schooling, however, did not total twelve months.

Lincoln's youth

His love of good literature

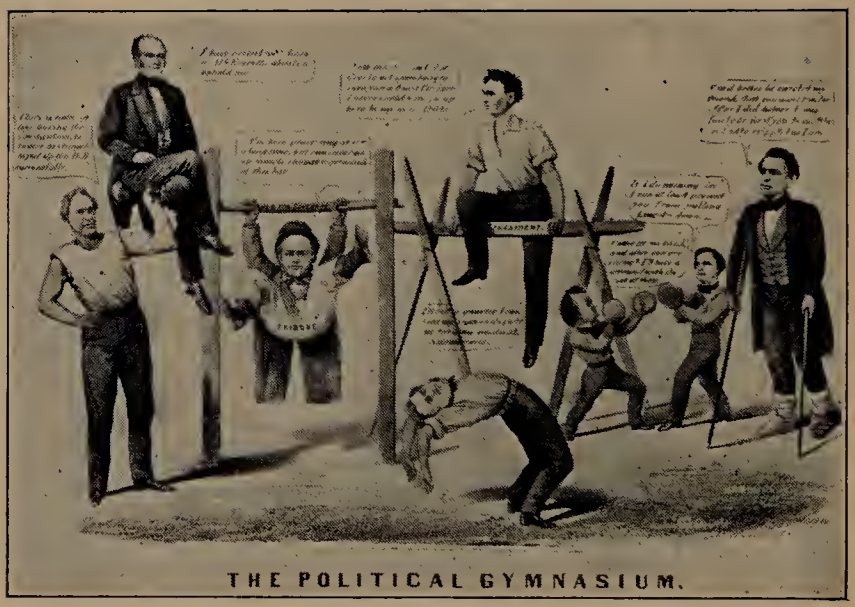
At the age of 23 he became a candidate for the state legislature; his popularity was heightened by his fund of good stories which were well told, rather than his fitness for office at so early an age. As a captain in the Black Hawk War his laurels gained seem to have been those of a good story-teller. Defeat in this election in no wise lessened his ambition and he was chosen two years later and served steadily until 1842, ranking as a Whig without abolition sentiments, although slavery (as he had seen it) in his own words, made him "miserable." Early he had set his eyes toward the legal profession and in 1836 he was admitted to the bar. It was the salvation of his career. His keen insight into human nature, his acquaintance with "all sorts and conditions of men," his power of analysis, all, fitted him for success in this profession and success here meant political advancement. In 1842 he offered himself for Congress but again met defeat; in 1846, however, he was elected, beating the celebrated Rev. Peter Cartwright by 1,500 votes. He in no wise pleased those who elected him by his course at Washington. He objected to the administration's forcing the Mexican War and was author of the "Spot Resolu-

His political advancement

Elected to Congress

tion" which demanded that President Polk name the "spot" where the Mexicans invaded American territory; also of a bill to free the slaves in the District of Columbia, after compensating their owners.

Luckily Lincoln did not seek reëlection; in fact, from 1849 to 1853 he was outwardly but little interested in politics. These days, however, as we look back on them, seem of immeasurable



A Cartoon of the Election of 1860 (see key p. 633)

importance. Applying himself strictly to his profession he now gained a state-wide reputation as a reasoner and cross-examiner at the bar. His homely sayings often went straight to the heart of a knotty question. He became admired for refusing to take "shady" cases and also for his efforts to conciliate antagonists and keep them from "going to law." He became a tall, gaunt, uncouth prophet of honor in his own country, an "honest Abe." What this meant when all eyes were turned from "bleeding Kansas" to oratorical Illinois, we shall see.

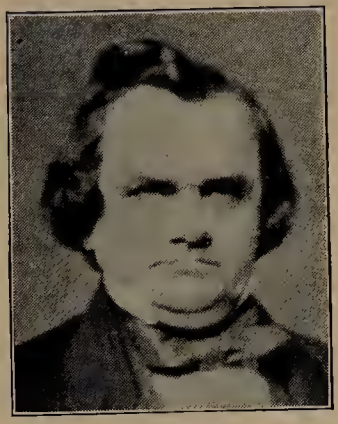
The arousing of the nation by the passage of Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Bill is well illustrated by its luring Lincoln out from the comfortable and successful life he had set for himself into the arena of politics. Now a powerful man, he played an important part in swinging Illinois from the Democratic column in 1854. With a million others he now aided in uniting all anti-slavery factions into the Republican party; in that year he missed by only three votes being elected United States Senator from Illinois. These services made him a national figure; and in the first Republican national convention (1856) Lincoln received 110 votes for the second place on the ticket with Fremont.

Lincoln becomes a national figure

Two years later the term of Senator Douglas expired; Lincoln was nominated by the Republicans of Illinois to oppose Douglas. This gave the occasion for the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates which were held in that campaign. In accepting the nomination Lincoln placed himself among the first rank of national spokesmen for Republican ideals by his "House Divided" speech, in which he expressed the opinion that the nation could not remain half free and half slave but must become the one or the other. He had previously expressed this opinion as early as 1855. In the second of the debates with Douglas he greatly increased his reputation by compelling Douglas to try to reconcile the Dred Scott decision with his "squatter sovereignty" theory. He then made Douglas admit that "slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere unless it is supported by local police regulations." Douglas said that the Dred Scott decision could not preserve slavery in a territory if the people voted to put it out. This admission the South called

The "House Divided" speech

Lincoln-Douglas debates



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

Douglas's "Freeport heresy" and it turned from him immediately, seriously threatening his political future. While Illinois went Republican in this year by nearly 5,000 votes, through an apportionment of districts favorable to the Democrats, Douglas was elected over Lincoln by a joint vote of 54 to 46.

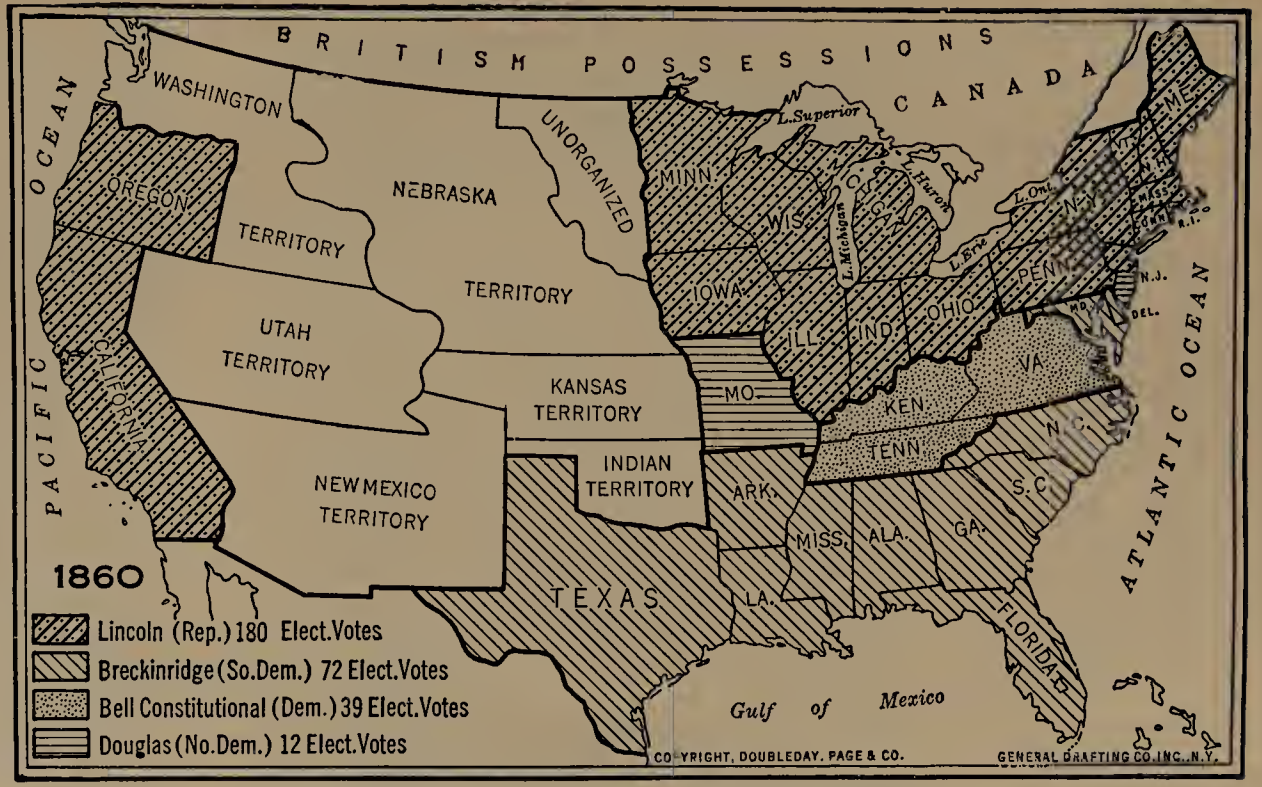
But Lincoln's name was made. He was soon called upon for political addresses in New York, New England, and elsewhere and measured well up to the high mark for solidarity of argument he had set in his home state. His contest with Douglas was now to be resumed in the national arena. Never for a moment did he relinquish the moral victory he had won in the Illinois debates; not a slip made by Douglas in logic or in knowledge of history escaped this keen and alert opponent. No sooner did Douglas declare that "the Fathers" of our country understood the slavery question "just as well and even better than we do now" (when they framed our government) than Lincoln, at Elwood, Kansas, and in Cooper Institute in New York City, proved conclusively to all unbiased men that those "Fathers" certainly believed that Congress had power to control slavery in the territories. And yet Lincoln's logic was not so impressive as the moral force which backed up his arguments, while behind both lay a winning spirit of candor and fairness that was never equalled in political debate—enlivened by his quaint stories and picturesque anecdotes which brimmed over with good humor and knowledge of human nature.[1]

Lincoln in the national arena

His Cooper Institute Speech

Illinois Republicans advanced Lincoln's name at once as their candidate for the presidency in 1860. Seward and Chase, who had long been national figures, as we have seen, appeared to

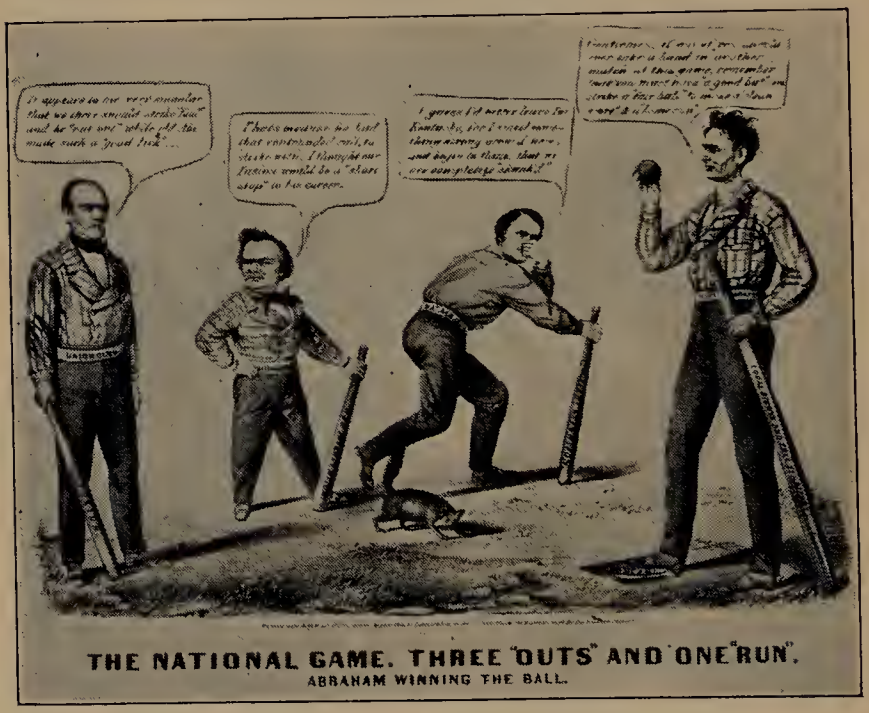
[1]Lincoln was master of one art of debate which every young debater should study and emulate. That is the art of emphasizing wherein one's opponent's argument is sound and good. To admit this creates in one's hearers the impression that the speaker is a keen judge of what is right and what is wrong. The hearer (or judge) is, therefore, much more ready to accept a speaker's statement when he refutes an opponent's argument on other points. See Lincoln's speech "against 'Squatter Sovereignty' and the Dred Scott Decision" delivered at Chicago, July 10, 1858.



GEOGRAPHICAL MAP OF THE ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1860

be the leading candidates when the Republican national convention met in Chicago in May of that year, but on the third ballot Lincoln was nominated. The campaign resolved itself into a four-cornered battle between the Republican nominee, Douglas (Whig candidate) and two representatives of Democratic factions. Lincoln was elected by a popular vote half a million greater than that cast for Douglas and by an electoral vote

Lincoln elected President



ANOTHER CARTOON VIEW OF 1860 (see key p. 633)

(map p. 33) fifteen times greater. Only one problem faced the voters of the nation in this election. The Republican platform demanded "no extension of slavery." Neither that party nor Lincoln favored any blow at slavery where it existed. From the beginning of the campaign, however, many Southerners threatened secession in case Lincoln was elected, on the ground

that the rights of slave-holding states, as granted (in their opinion) by the Constitution, would be ignored. By February 1, 1861, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas seceded and had set up a provisional government styled "The Confederate States of America" four days later. Jefferson Davis was soon after chosen President of the Confederacy and Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President.

Seven states secede

READING LIST

N. W. Stephenson, *Abraham Lincoln and the Union*, Chaps. 4–7; F. E. Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War*, Chaps. 7 and 8; Lord Charnwood, *Abraham Lincoln;* I. M. Tarbell, *Life of Abraham Lincoln;* Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, II, Chaps. 12–17; J. F. Rhodes, *History*, II, Chap. 11; A. Johnson, *Stephen Arnold Douglas*, Chap. 18; Lincoln-Douglas debates, S. B. Harding, *Select Orations*, 309–341; Fox, *Map Studies*, No. 21.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

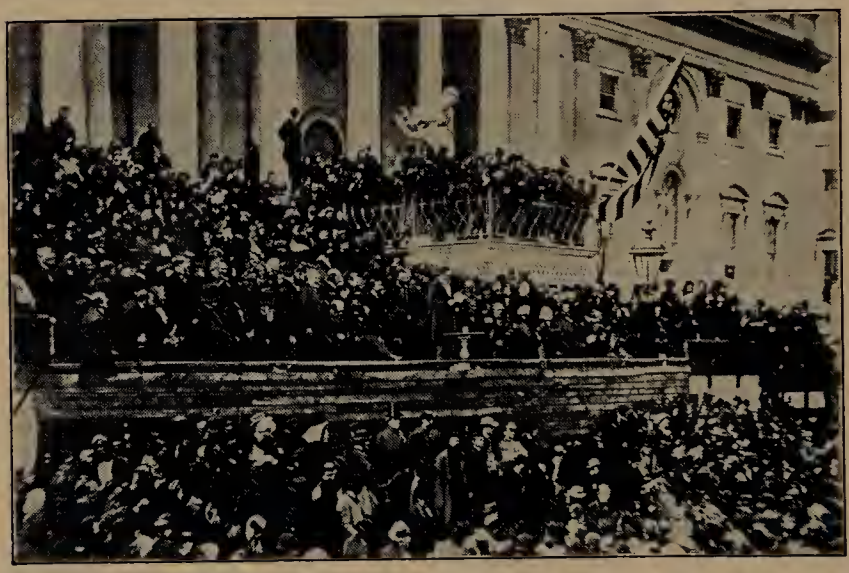
Have you any answer to the questions raised by the French sculptor concerning Lincoln? Are there racial instincts which have made it possible for Englishmen to analyze Lincoln's character? What great play and what notable biography have been written by Englishmen which prove Lincoln's character is not a great mystery to them? Was he a local or a world-wide personage? What do you consider his most sterling quality? His most endearing? What quality did he have in common with Benjamin Franklin? With Washington? Did Douglas disown squatter sovereignty or the Dred Scott decision in his "Freeport heresy"? Did the South have a "right" to secede? Was it justified in seceding? Explain the difference. By seceding on what theory of government did the South act? Name the chief exponents of that idea in our past history.

Section 40. The House Divided

Thus when Lincoln was inaugurated March 4, 1861, he found himself at the head of a House Divided. But there were more than two divisions. The people of the North held several views. Some thought that the action of the Southern States was rebellion and must be rebuked by the sword; others thought that the government should let them go their way in

Division of opinion in the North

peace. "We hope never to live in a republic whereof one section is pinned to another by bayonets," said Horace Greeley's New York *Tribune*. James Russell Lowell thought that the seceding states were "not worth conquering back, even if it could be done." The *Tribune* said that the South had a perfect right to form an independent nation and "could never be subdued while fighting around their own hearthstones."



LINCOLN'S FIRST INAUGURAL. (A Brady picture.)

If such sentiments were being expressed is it any wonder that the South thought it could never be conquered? Yet it, too, was divided in opinion. Its greatest man, Alexander H. Stephens, struggled hard against the tide of secession in his State of Georgia—so sturdily, indeed, that its state convention cast 130 votes against secession to 165 for it. But the odds elsewhere were much greater, as in the case of Florida, where the vote was 62 to 7. Yet note well this fact: when Georgia spoke, Stephens's course was settled; when Virginia spoke, Robert E. Lee's course was settled. No matter how the decision hurt these men in

Division of opinion in the South

mind and heart they would as soon have thought of suicide as of abandoning their state. This brings out clearly how Southerners thought in terms of states—a feeling very much less marked in the North. A great industrial revolution had swept over the North and had wiped out, in a commercial sense, state lines. It was "better business" to think in terms of union than in terms of states—more business, safer business. Again, in the case of a majority of the twenty-three "northern" states the state lines were quite artificially made. People do not have the same sense of affection for a state if they have to wait for a surveyor's squad to come and tell them what to love and what not to, as they do for a state that has certain natural boundaries which have long marked off, distinctly, a section which their grandfathers and great-grandfathers revered and honored for definite principles which local tradition had made glorious. The South had not been shocked into a revolution of business; with few changes it was going on the even tenor of a way long ago established. This peculiar fealty of state had been cemented by eighty years of fighting for States' Rights; it explains why, now, half of the officers of the United States army as it then existed quietly packed their kits and left for the South saying, often in sadness, "My state—right or wrong."

Ideas of state allegiance in the South

State lines obliterated in the North

When Abraham Lincoln assumed control in Washington and could look about (over the host of office-seekers which nearly swamped him), his eyes, therefore, gazed upon the very "sad and heart-rending spectacle" which Henry Clay prayed he might never live to see, and peered curiously into that very "abyss," over the edge of which Webster boasted he had never allowed himself to hang. Men wondered how he would treat the national situation in his inaugural address. Would it ignore the issue? Would it advise submission to the "inevitable"? Would it be a battle-cry or a "swan song" to the "once glorious Union"? Its actual words were a surprise to almost everyone for it amounted

Lincoln's perilous situation

His first inaugural

simply to a very tender appeal; as a mother might sing over quarrelsome children, so Lincoln, in words half-meaningless to the North and smacking of weakness to the South, spoke tenderly in hope of peace. It was a sign of weakness—if love were not the greatest thing, the strongest thing, in all the world!

> The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave [ran those stately lines] to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

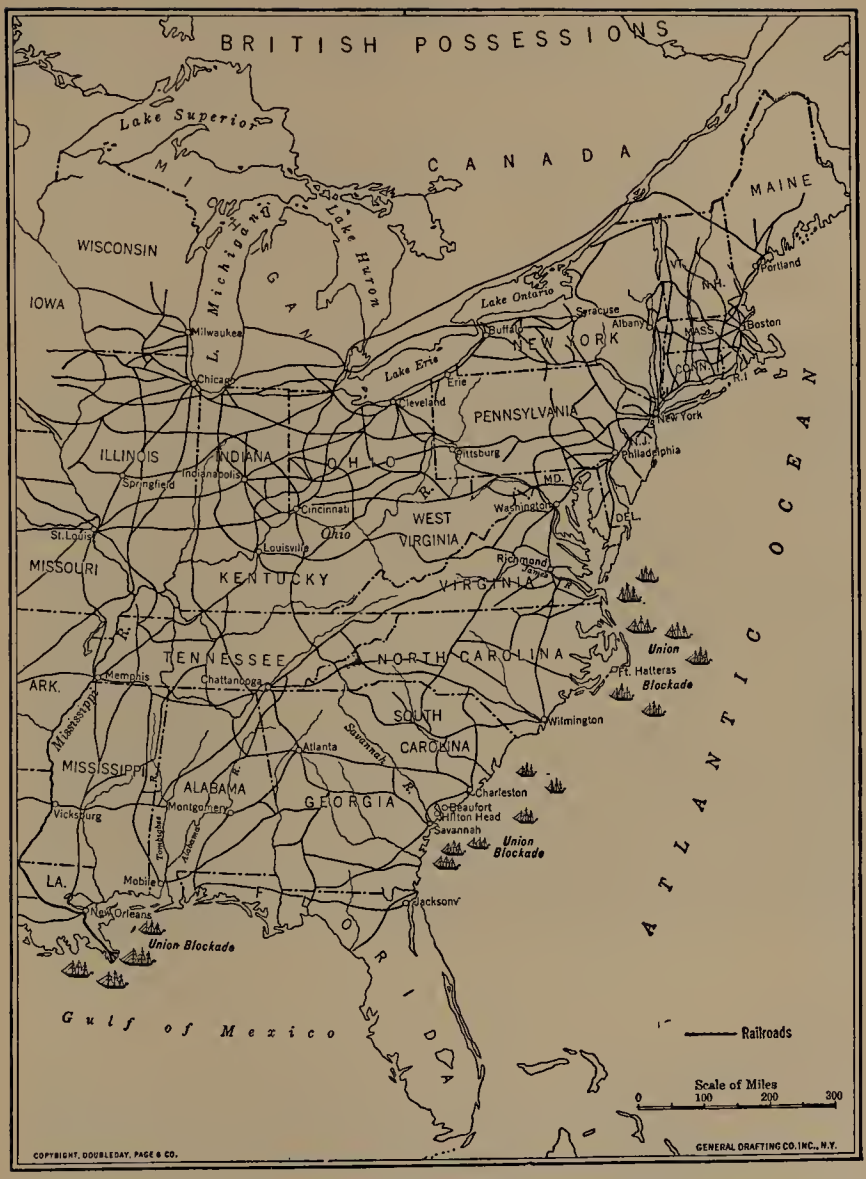
For all that this noble state paper spoke so feelingly, not a single reader of it could miss the fact that Lincoln laid down very plainly in it his purpose to preserve the Union and to use, to that end, every power of the government at his command.

Seward's prescription for the national disease

William H. Seward, whom Lincoln now made Secretary of State, looked upon himself as the mainstay of the new administration. He proposed that Lincoln should bring on a foreign war with Great Britain, France, and Spain, in order to distract the nation's attention from its troubles. Lincoln listened. Others brought him other advice, some of it good, some of it as absurd as Seward's. Patiently he listened to all. His poise in the midst of the rabble was like nothing so much as that of one of his pioneer ancestor's in the Allegheny or Kentucky forests—a man surrounded by harsh Nature and dependent upon his wits to keep soul and body together. He kept his ears open to the politicians but his heart was beating deep down among the hearts of the common people. Will-o'-the-wisps, in the form of rash steps, were held to his eyes by "ardent" patriots; jack-o'-lanterns, in the shape of idle compromises,[1] were flashed before his face.

Lincoln's poise

[1]One of these compromises suggested that the Constitution should be amended so that our nation should be definitely divided into slaveholding and non-slaveholding sections by the Missouri Compromise line. Another proposed that the Northern States repeal all "personal liberty" laws. Another, that slave owners be financially reimbursed for the loss of every runaway slave. Lincoln favored none of these, being conscious that they did not strike at the root of the trouble.



TRANSPORTATION ROUTES, 1861–1865. (Showing blockaded southern ports.)

To all suggestions he gave some attention; his inactivity angered many friends, gave false hopes to the designers of eccentric schemes, and made the South still more confident that the North "would not fight." If it was lethargy—it was not the lethargy of cowardice. One light he never lost sight of and never ceased to steer for—the preservation of the Union; the one policy he never once thought of abandoning was the battle-cry of his party, "No extension of slavery." Extremists assailed him from every side, but, in Professor West's splendid words, "the silent masses responded to his sympathy and answered his appeal with love and perfect trust, and enabled him to carry through successfully the greatest task so far set for any American statesman."

Moral uprightness and party promises

Lincoln never blamed the South; he saw how very deep the roots of the trouble had been driven, how naturally they had grown; and with sincere sorrow he saw the South throw itself into a one-sided conflict with a bravery and a determination never equalled since swords and shields had been fashioned by mankind. These were not, as Webster used the words, "dishonored fragments" of a once glorious Union. You cannot question the "honor" of a million and a half heroic American soldiers; you cannot gainsay Jefferson Davis on his knees all night in prayer after a last appeal to the United States Senate; nor can you impugn the motive of a "Stonewall" Jackson asking God's favor on his sleeping ranks of gray.

Lincoln's sympathy for the South

Amid all the confusion which followed the secession of the seven states (joined, six weeks later, by four more, Arkansas, Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee) the world seemed to wait for the "overt act" which should change guesses into certain knowledge and draw clear lines between "friend" and "foe." The South, believing that the North would not fight, was confident that it could make better terms out of the Union than in it; doubtless this argument was supreme in influencing moderate men to favor nominal secession. Between the rabidly partizan North and South lay the "Border States," Maryland,

Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia (1863), and Missouri. These states had known only the milder domestic type of slavery but in large part, they were doomed to be steadily over-run with armies for years.

The regrettable overt act came when Confederate batteries fired on Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, April 12, 1861, on the ground that Lincoln's resolute attempt to relieve its garrison was "an act of war." It is sometimes a relief "to know the worst." The opening of hostilities hushed the jargon of debate and warned

Fort Sumter bombarded

THE BOMBARDMENT OF FORT SUMTER. (An illustration from a contemporary magazine.)

every man to find his place in a uniform or in work. The South contained but about five and a half millions of whites to face nineteen millions at the North. But it was, plainly, a defensive war she was to fight, and she had nearly four million blacks to rely upon as laborers, who—be it forever remembered to their honor—

The sections compared

never promoted insurrection against the cause which spelled only slavery for them. The call of both sections for volunteers brought forward thousands in excess of the demands made.

The South's geographical position

While it was to be a defensive war for the South, that region was easily attacked from several points. The Mississippi offered access from the Atlantic; from the North as well, it was a giant highway southward. The 3,000-mile coastline of the South would be a prey to its enemy if not defended. For varying distances the land could be pierced from the sea or from the Mississippi—up the Potomac, Tennessee, Red, and Cumberland rivers, and the tidal Virginia streams. Railway systems from Washington on the east and Cincinnati and Louisville on the west offered passageway toward the heart of Virginia in one case and Tennessee in the other; and, from Tennessee, rivers and railways led to Memphis and Atlanta, in the very heart of the South. Yet while the South could be attacked from many sides, she was to fight on interior lines, defensively, and needed fewer troops than the North on whom lay the "burden of proof."

The South centralized power while the North distributed it

Although the South was governed by a constitution similar to ours, she had the wit to allow, in practice, the ignoring of "States' Rights" and granted a centralization of power in few hands which gave her an enormous advantage. Under the centralized control exerted by the Southern County Court people in that section had become accustomed to have authority exercised by individuals; social conditions had made this necessary. The South fought for a Confederacy with the methods of a Federal government, while, loosely speaking, the North fought for a Federal government with those of a Confederacy—its power being distributed. Orders issued by one bureau or commander were constantly being countermanded by another until often such confusion existed that generals in the field hardly knew who, if any one, was really in command. General Grant, commanding the Union armies advancing on Corinth, after the

capture of Forts Henry and Donelson in 1862, was so ignored by orders sent out by the departmental commander that he wrote: "For myself, I was little more than an observer." Only the intervention of General Sherman prevented his resigning his command at that time in disgust. All the old evils common to American armies—short-term enlistments, officers appointed through favoritism by governors of states, bounties, lack of centralization of power—hampered the North to a degree unknown in the South. In generalship, when the North had finally sifted the wheat from the chaff, it found officers fully as capable as those of the South.

North handicapped by old army evils

READING LIST

Stephenson, Chap. 8; Chadwick, Chaps. 10–19; Rhodes, III, Chap. 14; Nicholay and Hay, IV, Chaps. 3–6; W. E. Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict*, Chap. 13; J. Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederacy*, I, Parts 3 and 4; J. B. McMaster, *History*, VIII, Chap. 96; N. W. Stephenson, *The Day of the Confederacy* (Chronicles of America, XXX) Chaps. 1–3; War-time addresses of Davis, Lincoln, Stephens, and Beecher in Harding, 358–420.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

How fully would Andrew Jackson have approved of Lincoln's acts in 1861? Is pride in state or section a valuable asset to national patriotism? How could Southerners find Lincoln's First Inaugural consistent with his "House Divided" speech? How harmonize his statement that the nation could not exist half slave and half free with the statement that he would not touch slavery where it existed? Compare the classes into which Northerners were divided on the question of Civil War in 1861 to the classes into which the colonists were divided in 1775. How was Lincoln misunderstood in both North and South? Do you think he was equally misunderstood in the frontier cabins of the West? Explain the statement that the South fought like a Federal government. The Confederate Constitution made it possible for three states to compel the calling of a constitutional convention to vote on amendments. Was this as radical a change as you would have expected States Rights men would make when the opportunity to write a new constitution came to them? Would this change in our Constitution have satisfied the Kentucky legislature in 1798, the Hartford Convention radicals, or South Carolina in 1832?

Section 41. From Bull Run to Hampton Roads

The "Anaconda Policy"

Like a giant serpent the North planned to enfold and crush the South by an "anaconda policy." This meant: (a) blockading her coasts, (b) throwing armies around her western flanks by way of the Mississippi and its Tennessee tributaries, and (c) delivering a death-blow by armies which should pierce the heart of Virginia and Georgia. Initial steps in this giant task were made in 1861 and developed more clearly in 1862.

The Battle of Bull Run

The proximity of Federal and Confederate forces near Washington resulted in the first battle of the war. The first of many "on to Richmond" campaigns was started by General McDowell with 30,000 men, July 16, 1861. At Bull Run, a Potomac tributary, he met General Beauregard's Confederate force of 23,000 men, the battle opening auspiciously for the Union forces. In the nick of time, however, General Kirby Smith arrived on the half-lost field with a small but sufficiently determined body of Confederate troops from the Shenandoah Valley, and turned Union victory into defeat and then into rout toward Washington. The outcome very greatly elated the South. It was, however, of greater value to the North—teaching it at once how stern a task confronted it. The superb steadiness of a southern commander, Thomas J. Jackson, in standing his ground like a "stone wall," now gave that famous officer the nick-name of "Stonewall" Jackson for life—and eternity.

U. S. Grant

"Stonewall" Jackson

The shock of striking this "stone wall" at Bull Run stunned the North into taking more time, raising more troops, and

training them more carefully. To the westward of the Alleghenies, however, the "anaconda" performed much more successfully. The northern armies in that quarter were filled with Westerners who were, perhaps, better impromptu soldiers; at any rate, they were better captained and had at hand a ready-made asset for successful campaigning of great value. When the heyday of the western

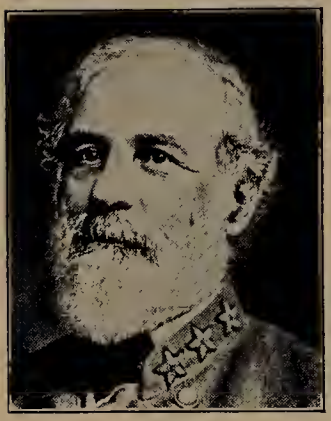
Progress in the West

BATTLEFIELDS IN THE EASTERN ZONE OF THE WAR, 1861–1863. (Showing alterations in Confederate territory.)

steamboat arrived in the early Forties the West eclipsed the whole country in steamboat tonnage. This is presented graphically to the eye by a table of tonnage of 1842:

DISTRICT	TONS
West and Southwest	126,278
Northwest (Great Lakes)	17,652
Atlantic Seaboard	76,064

Five inland western cities (St. Louis, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Louisville, and Nashville) had a registered tonnage of 45,285 and were all famous for their shipyards. This had largely increased by 1861. Thus the West was excellently equipped with transports for opening both the upper Mississippi and the Tennessee-Cumberland keys to the more level lands of central-western Tennessee and the line southward toward Atlanta. A federal "Army of the Cumberland" held central Kentucky under General Don Carlos Buell; and, with a (map p. 348) flotilla of over a hundred steamboats, the "Army of the Tennessee," under General U. S. Grant, now ascended the Cumberland and Tennessee to conquer Fort Henry on the latter and Fort Donelson on the former.



ROBERT E. LEE

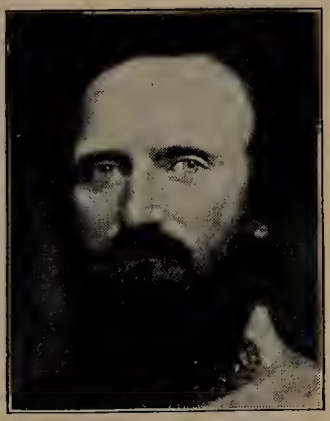
Grant's advance on Forts Henry and Donelson

The North was thrilled by Grant's uncompromising attitude in stating to the commander of Fort Donelson that he would give no terms but "unconditional surrender." He soon got it (February 16, 1862) and became known as "Unconditional Surrender Grant." People saw that when the "unconditional-surrender" men of the North met the "stone-wall" men of the South it was to be a contest of Titans. Smashing his way southward up the Tennessee, Grant (opposing Gen. A. S. Johnston) won the Battle of Shiloh (April 6) which gave him access to the railway center of Corinth, Miss., which commanded the railway east from

W. T. SHERMAN

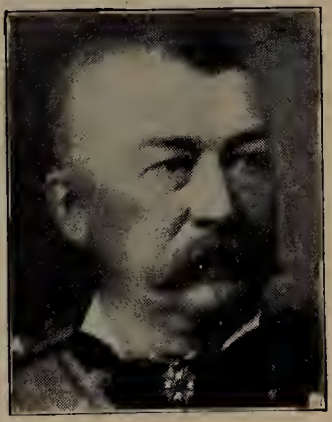
Battle of Shiloh

Memphis. At the same time General Pope and Flag Officer Foote captured the Confederate stronghold, Island No. 10, on the Mississippi (April 9). Two weeks later Captain David G. Farragut, after a vain attempt to bombard two forts which defended New Orleans, boldly ran by their batteries and anchored above that town; it immediately surrendered. These successes paved the way for the later capture of Memphis and the Confederate Gibraltar of the Mississippi, Vicksburg.



T. J. ("Stonewall") Jackson

The year of 1862 was to see another movement forward from Washington upon Richmond. Its able and exceedingly popular leader, General McClellan, labored under two great handicaps, however, which were to debar him from a fame in military annals of premier rank. One was the administration's fear for Washington and the other was his (McClellan's) own timidity; he could not throw away caution when to do so meant victory. With great cleverness the Confederates steadily threatened Washington from that fertile Valley of Virginia which opened out on the Potomac at Harper's Ferry; from that junction of the Shenandoah and the Potomac excellent roads led northward to the fertile granary of Pennsylvania, to Philadelphia, and Baltimore.



Philip H. Sheridan

Because of fear of what might come out from the Valley of Virginia, neither McClellan's nor the administration's plans were carried out, but rather a poor compromise resulted and the campaign,

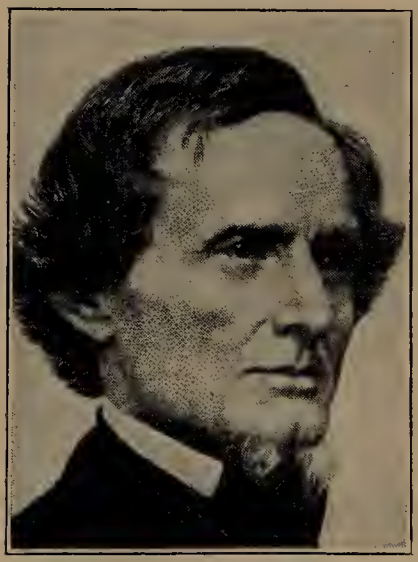
so to speak, fell between two stools. The administration wanted a straight thrust south from Washington which would always protect that city in the rear; McClellan wanted to push his army straight up the James to Richmond. The compromise arrived at was for McClellan to invade the Yorktown peninsula and march on the southern capital assisted by the navy which should ascend the York River. However, a goodly fraction of his force (40,000 men, under McDowell) was held behind by the good bluffing and skillful maneuvering of "Stonewall" Jackson's celebrated "foot cavalry" in and out of the "Valley." Slowly—too slowly—McClellan moved up the Peninsula; after he crossed the Chickahominy swamps nothing lay between his army of 105,000 and Richmond except Joseph E. Johnston's force of 80,000 and McClellan's own lack of intrepidity. Checked in the severe battles of Fair Oaks and Seven Pines (May 31), he fell back. With typical rapidity Jackson's fast-marching troopers scurried over from the "Valley" to Johnston's aid (though the beloved "Marse Robert" E. Lee had now supplanted Johnston as commander), leaving McDowell to defend Washington from "bogies" when McClellan needed him most. Lee took McClellan's measurement as perfectly as one rival ever took another's. Lee depended on McClellan's playing "safe and sane"; he left the road to Richmond wide open and struck hard at the Union force in the

A compromise plan adopted

Fair Oaks and Seven Pines

The "Seven Days"

Malvern Hill



Jefferson Davis

"Seven Days' Battle." McClellan did just what Lee expected, changed base to the south side of the Chickahominy. Though he stopped Lee valiantly at Malvern Hill (July 1) Richmond was safe and the Union campaign a failure.

JAMES LONGSTREET

It was now Lee's turn and he invaded the North as McClellan had invaded the South. A clever campaign by Jackson's "foot cavalry" against General Pope—McClellan's successor—ended in a second southern victory on the old Bull Run battlefield near Washington. Instantly Lee determined to carry the war far into the "enemy's country," expecting that Marylanders would rise to welcome him singing. Flushed with their well-won victories, the now-famous "Army of Northern Virginia" strode across the Potomac by (map p. 343) those many valley routes leading to the heart of Pennsylvania, and threatened at once Washington, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. When it is recalled that this army (50,000) numbered less than one half of McClellan's Peninsula army which assailed Richmond (supported by a fleet) the daring of Lee's invasion stands out clearly. In alarm the popular McClellan was again given chief command. The forces met beside Antietam Creek near Sharpsburg, Md., September 17th. So well did the northern army fight that Lee (disappointed in the support of the Marylanders) was compelled to reconsider his step and retire dog-

Second Bull Run

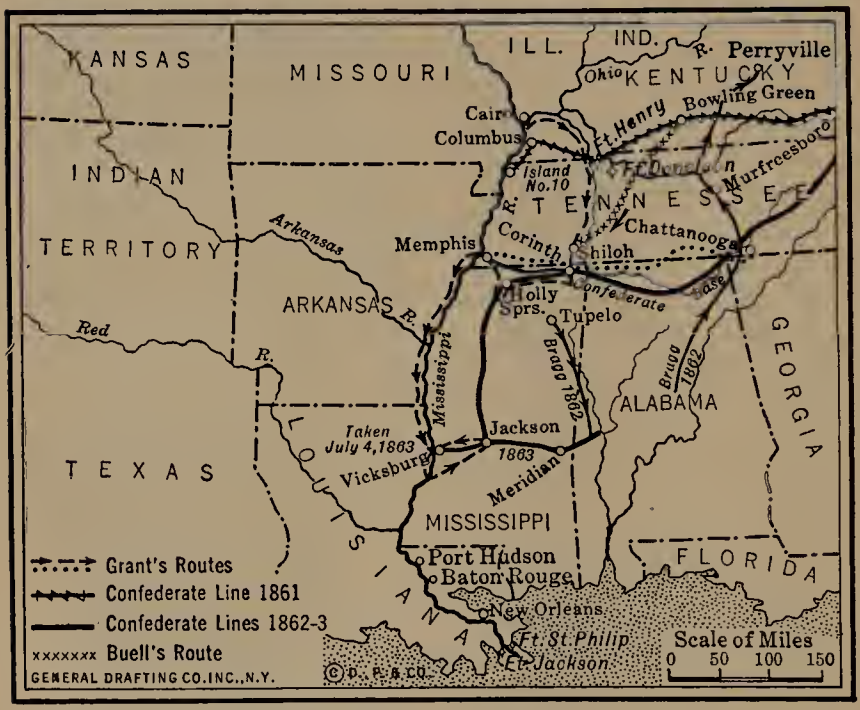
Lee invades Maryland

Antietam

G. H. THOMAS

gedly across the Potomac. Again McClellan laid himself open to criticism by not pounding the retreating Confederates to pieces as they went. His sloth was, however, less regrettable than his successor's rashness. General Burnside, who now took command, went to the opposite extreme when he faced Lee at Fredericksburg on the Rappahannock (December 13). Crossing the stream under fire and making a frontal attack, his fine army was butchered by the foe in one of the bloodiest battles of the war.

Fredericksburg



THE CIVIL WAR IN THE WEST, 1861–1865

While this duel along the Potomac had very much the appearance of a drawn battle, with invaders (whether blue or gray) standing the chief losses, the "anaconda" policy was proving of value. There was no doubt of Grant's contribution to victory in the West. In the latter months of 1862 he and General W. T.

Sherman advanced sharply upon Vicksburg. The Confederate general, Braxton Bragg, was attempting to counteract these successes by a stroke from Chattanooga to Louisville, but he was hurled back at the Battle of Perryville, Ky. (October 8), and worsted by General Rosecrans in the bloody battle of Murfreesboro, Tenn., or Stone River (December 31–January 2, 1863). The duel here in the Chattanooga-Chickamauga region was to be a long-drawn-out affair, but the "anaconda" was doing its work on the Mississippi and on the Atlantic coast.

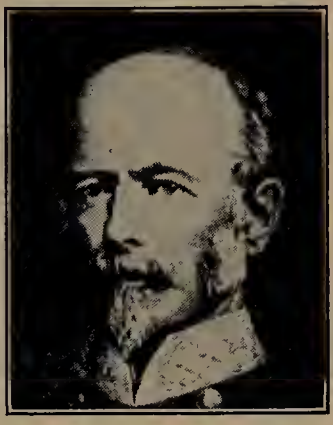
Perrysville and Murfreesboro

The problem of blockading the Atlantic coast (map p. 337) was an item of prime importance. Although the North acquired as quickly as possible such a navy as could be mustered into service, it was, when formed, an old-fashioned, out-of-date affair. The times—this new age of iron—called for a John Hawkins or a Henry Shreve to refashion the world's fighting machines of the sea. The French had, two years since, sent out the *La Gloire*, the first sea-going armor-clad ship; in the same year the British Government began the armor-plate frigate *Warrior*. Quick to see the advantage of iron-clads, the Confederate Government raised from her watery grave the old frigate *Merrimac* (renamed the *Virginia*) which the Federals had sunk before abandoning the Gosport Navy Yard on Elizabeth River, Va. The boat was cut down to the water line and a rectangular casement was constructed of 24-inch timber and covered with bar iron 4 inches thick, rising from the water on each side at an angle of about 35°. Its weak engines gave it a speed of only five knots an hour and it could not be turned around in less than thirty minutes. Yet the craft was the boast of the South.

The blockade

The iron-clad

The *Virginia*



Joseph E. Johnston

Her ten guns were of mediocre power, but her 18-inch cast-iron ram bade fair to leave a pile of wreckage in her wake. With poor judgment the progress of the work on this ram was reported by the press daily!

To meet this new behemoth of the seas the Federal Government turned to the famous inventor who had served her so well for many years, John Ericsson. Combining native intelligence with his power of invention, Ericsson drew the plans of his memorable craft, the *Monitor*—a "cheese-box on a raft" as it was dubbed. On a deck 172 feet long and 41½ feet wide, and practically level with the water's surface, stood a revolving turret nine feet high and twenty feet in diameter; it was protected by armor eight inches thick. Its draft was but half that of the *Virginia's* and it was manned by one sixth of the crew carried by that craft. It mounted only two guns, but each was two inches greater in bore than the largest on the *Virginia*. The *Virginia* was completed March 5, 1862, while the *Monitor* was turned over to the government February 19.

The *Monitor*

HAMPTON ROADS. (Scene of the conflict between the *Virginia* and the *Monitor*.)

On March 8 the *Virginia* steamed into Hampton Roads and began a career which, if not stopped, might have changed the outcome of the war. Soon the Union frigate *Congress* (50 guns) surrendered and the sloop *Cumberland* (30 guns) was sunk. Further destruction was postponed for another day.

The next morning, however, the crew of the triumphant ram awoke to find Ericsson's curious man-o'-war standing by ready for combat. The spectacular contest between them lasted, with intermissions, some three hours. Neither boat effectually injured the other but, eleven years later, the commander of the *Virginia* admitted to Chief Engineer Stimers of the *Monitor* that two more shots as effectually placed as were the last two fired by the *Monitor* would have sunk the ram. The combatants separated and the *Virginia* later steamed for Norfolk, where she was scuttled when the Confederates abandoned that port in the following May.

The iron-clads' duel

The wiping out of the fears aroused by the *Virginia*, the capture of New Orleans, Beaufort, S. C., Fort Hatteras, N. C., Hilton Head, S. C., and islands at the mouth of the Savannah, proved that the "anaconda" was likely to do its work (map p. 337) on the Confederacy's 3,000-mile seacoast. But a blockade is a two-edged sword; it injures the nation which is blockaded but it may also injure the nation which establishes the blockade by upsetting international trade relations.

READING LIST

Stephenson, Chaps. 4 and 5; W. Wood, *Captains of the Civil War* (Chronicles of America, XXXI), Chaps. 1–6; J. K. Hosmer, *The Appeal to Arms* (American Nation, XX), Chaps. 4, 6, and 8; Rhodes, III, IV, Chap. 1, 25–54; *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee*, Chaps. 4 and 5; U. S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs*, Chaps. 21–24; Davis, II, Chap. 27; J. T. Scharf, *Confederate States Navy*, Chaps. 7–10; Fox, *Map Studies*, No. 22.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

How far does geography explain northern successes in the West and failures in the East in 1861–2? How far does weak or strong personnel explain both? To what extent did the campaigns of 1862 seem to prove the N. Y. *Tribune's* statement (beginning of Section 40) that the South could not be conquered? Give the reasons each side then had for optimism. How does a study of Farragut's and Foote's successes on the Mississippi help to answer a question asked under Section 27? Compare the services to their day of John Hawkins, Robert Fulton, Henry Shreve, and John Ericcson. Were the same questions raised concerning the *Monitor* and the *Virginia* as "unregulated" craft as have been raised against the submarine in recent days? Did they attack merchant ships?

Section 42. The World Influence of the Proclamation

When John Ericsson was asked by the Navy Department what he would christen his iron-clad when it was launched, he replied, the *Monitor*, because it would be a warning to Southerners who fancied that their riverside batteries would keep the northern fleets from entering their streams. Most significantly he added:

> But there are other leaders who will also be startled and admonished by the booming of the guns from the impregnable iron turret. Downing Street will hardly view with indifference this last Yankee notion, this monitor. To the Lords of the Admiralty the new craft will be a monitor, suggesting doubts as to the propriety of completing those four steel ships at three and a half millions apiece.[1]

A "paper" blockade

Until it was certain in May, 1862—though the news may not have gotten to England until much later—that the *Virginia* would no longer contend for mastery, the boast of the South that the blockade of her coastline was merely a "paper blockade" found many believers. But the British markets by this summer of 1862 were giving the lie to these boasts. In the six months prior to the date of the scuttling of the *Virginia* the cotton received in Liverpool from the United States amounted to less than one per cent. of the quantity received in the same months of 1861. The suffering which this caused made many fear that the North's blockade would prove a two-edged sword. The distress of the English working classes was appalling; half the spindles in the great cotton factories were idle. At one time over four hundred thousand workmen were dependent "for their daily existence either upon parochial relief or public charity." Mr. Gladstone now esti-

The British cotton market

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[1] By "Downing Street" Ericsson meant the British cabinet, which meets in a house on that street in London. The four steel ships mentioned were the *Achilles*, *Minotaur*, *Agincourt*, and *Northumberland* which were built by Great Britain after her iron frigate *Warrior* proved a success.

mated the total loss in wages for thirteen months to be upward of fifty million dollars.

No more fertile field for southern propaganda could have existed, therefore, than England afforded at this time. If Great Britain could be brought to offer mediation, and if mediation would not be accepted by the North—and it would not—the next step would be armed intervention. The British ministry was favorable to recognizing the Confederacy. The defeat of Pope at the Second Battle of Bull Run and Lee's bold invasion of Maryland seemed to mark the culmination of Confederate success—coming directly after the failure of McClellan's Peninsula Campaign. During the very hours in which McClellan was hurling back the tide of invasion at Antietam, Earl Russell, British Foreign Secretary, wrote the British Premier, Lord Palmerston: "I agree with you that the time is come for offering mediation to the United States Government, with a view to the recognition of the independence of the Confederates . . . in case of failure we ought ourselves to recognize the Southern States as an independent State."

Mediation and intervention

Lord Russell's note to the Premier

It is difficult to judge what a disaster such a course on the part of Great Britain would have been to the cause of unity on this continent. In this course of action she would have been seconded eagerly by France. A French army was already in Mexico because that republic had been slow to pay her French debt. France had erected an "empire" in Mexico and placed Maximilian (an Austrian archduke) on the throne as "Emperor." In reply to the letter quoted above Lord Palmerston said ". . . France, we know, is quite ready and only awaits for our concurrence."

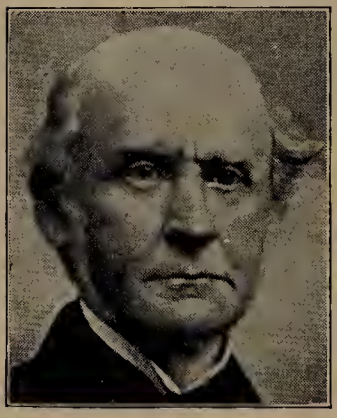
France favorable to intervention

All the lines of influence which prevented this tragic event cannot now, and perhaps never can be, accounted for. Among them, however, stands our record in those days of "international house-cleaning." The most prejudiced Britisher could not deny that we had usually drawn back when in the wrong and had stood solidly for our international rights only when in the right.

Charles Francis Adams

This could not have been proven more clearly than when (November, 1861) an energetic American skipper, Captain Wilkes, seized on the high seas two commissioners whom the Confederate States were sending to England. These men, Mason and Slidell, were taken from a British mail ship, the *Trent*, and brought to one of our ports. Despite the fact that the people, the press, and Congress itself applauded Wilkes's action, Lincoln and Postmaster-General Blair saw that Wilkes had exercised the right of search—the very thing we fought England for doing in 1812! They promptly told England that Wilkes had acted without authority and the commissioners were, soon after, released and sent on their way to England. Our brilliant ambassador to Great Britain, Charles Francis Adams, therefore, stood before the court of British public opinion with "clean hands"; he cried for fair play—a thing which Englishmen, at heart, always loved.

The *Trent* Affair



Charles Francis Adams

On the other hand, England had not been, in the present instance, true to her innermost convictions. Southern agents, in order to acquire a navy, had been fitting out ships of war with the aid of British shipbuilders and with the connivance of British officials—contrary to every rule of neutrality for which England had fought numerous wars. These agents had secured the *Florida* against the protest of Mr. Adams. The famous *Alabama*, and the never-to-be-captured *Shenandoah*, had both gotten away to sea for bold courses which cost the North at least fifteen millions of dollars—a bill which Great Britain later paid. Also, any strict reading of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (p. 297) would have induced England to object to Napoleon III's high-handed course in Mexico. The British ministry did not stand

The *Alabama* and *Shenandoah*

before the world's tribunal of public opinion, therefore, with "clean hands"; it did not have the courage of its convictions because it did not represent real British conviction.

Many influences worked directly and indirectly to prevent the scheme of mediation proposed by Lord Russell. The destruction of the *Virginia* and the repulse of Lee, together with Union success in the West, gave less strength to the steady argument of the Confederate agents that the South had won the right of recognition. Again, the rivalry of Palmerston and Gladstone was so bitter that when the latter, in a foolish address at Newcastle, "let the cat out of the bag" by prophesying the cabinet's probable action toward the Confederacy, Palmerston refused to call the cabinet meeting because of the criticism which Gladstone's remark had aroused. Two great English statesmen, John Bright, a brilliant, impassioned orator, and Richard Cobden, a close-reasoning political philosopher, were ardent champions of the North and of freedom. Anxious above everything else that the British nation should not commit itself to any unworthy course, these men through notable addresses influenced both Parliament and the people of the land; they declared their hatred of slavery and their opposition to England's swerving from an honest neutral position. Henry Ward Beecher, a famous Brooklyn preacher, went to England and made many addresses in behalf of the North and against slavery. While, at times, he was received with almost tragic insults, he maintained a supreme command of himself and won a large hearing. Again: Queen Victoria, influenced by Prince Albert, was unfavorable to recognition, and a Russian fleet was anchored in New York harbor awaiting the outcome of England's decision and ready to assist the North if that decision had been favorable to the South.

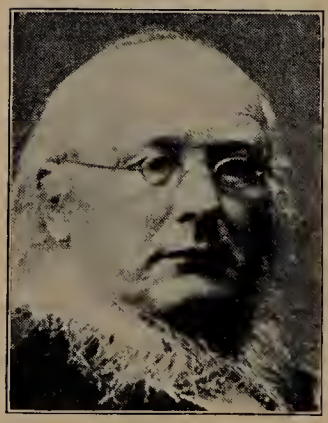
Cobden and Bright

Another influence—hard to measure with accuracy—was unquestionably strong, and that was the effect created on the popular imagination by *Uncle Tom's Cabin* which was now being read and cried over by millions in the British Isles. England, as we have noted, started the moral wave against the slave

trade. Slavery itself was repulsive to the British heart. So long as the struggle in the United States seemed a political struggle, English opinion varied and British conscience was not touched. All that was needed was to make the North's struggle appear to be a struggle for freedom—which, inherently, it was—and there was no question that the English nation stood by Cobden and Bright whatever its cabinet voted. Mrs. Stowe's novel was a challenge to a struggle for freedom and it was written in language that could not be misunderstood. Its prophecy was now fulfilled by Lincoln's announcement, following the Battle of Antietam, of his proposed Proclamation of Emancipation.

Slavery and the British conscience

Lincoln hitherto had stood firm on his ground that the war was being fought to restore the Union. Very honestly he had replied to Horace Greeley's "Prayer of Twenty Millions,"[1] that he purposed to save the Union whether that involved the preservation or destruction of slavery. Yet he found himself unable to keep the slavery issue out. In manifold ways it intruded itself into almost every problem, as, for instance, in handling the crowds of refugees which poured into Union camps everywhere. Lincoln had been in hot water more than once because his commanders in the field, in meeting the actual exigencies of campaigning, had emancipated slaves. True, Lincoln, by his first confiscation act of August 6, 1861, had freed



Horace Greeley

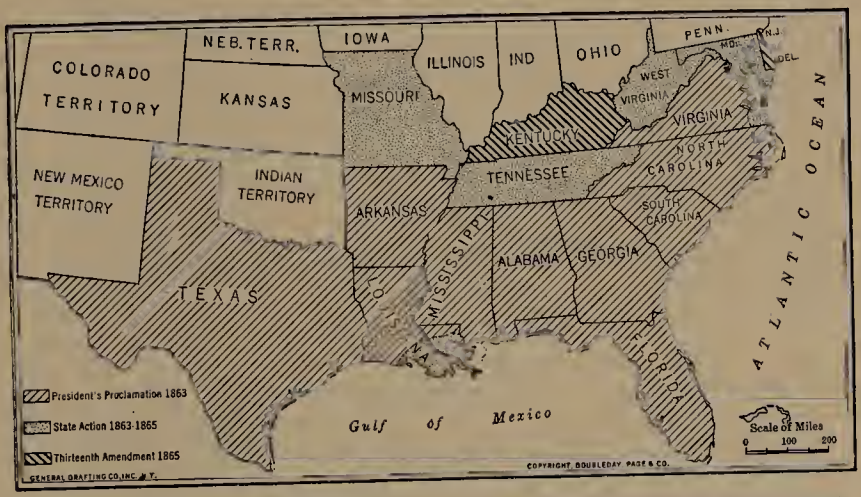
Lincoln's answer to Greeley

[1] In an appeal to Lincoln entitled, "The Prayer of Twenty Millions" (of northern anti-slavery patriots) Greeley took the President to task for "upholding" and "inciting" slavery while at the same time fighting the South. Rabid abolitionists wished Lincoln rigorously to execute acts passed by Congress which declared that slaves were property and could be confiscated.

slaves, but it was because the South had compelled them to work on Confederate fortifications. Such proclamations of emancipation by his commanders Lincoln had declared null and void; though giving delight to abolitionist radicals, they tended to alarm Unionist slave-holders in the border states.

We have noted that Lincoln, from his first appearance in Congress in 1847, had always favored emancipation with compensation. The inherent honesty of such a proposition and his sturdy advocacy of it to the very end is one of the fine things in his life. Early in 1862 he desired to spend $173,000,000 to free the slaves of five border states. His efforts for emancipation with compensation were futile; he could not even get the coöperation of the

Emancipation with compensation



THREE METHODS BY WHICH SECTIONS WERE "EMANCIPATED," 1863–1865

border states, for they would not believe that slavery was to be wiped out—any more than some equally blinded men in our day could believe that the nation would "go dry."

It was to a surprised cabinet, then, that Lincoln read, July 22, 1862, his proposed "Proclamation of Emancipation." It was wholly a war measure—issued by the President as Commander-in-Chief of the Union armies. It did not propose freedom to all the slaves. It freed only those in territory not yet

in control of Union armies. It did not free slaves in the loyal slaveholding border states nor in the sections of the South then occupied by Lincoln's troops; it was an old tool of conquest, often used before in history, this freeing slaves of an enemy power. True, the Proclamation was a theory; it freed no slaves, actually. But it raised a new ideal to fight for; it made it clear that one object of the war was the freedom of slaves; it rallied to the war all radicals; it changed the war from a political struggle to a moral struggle in the eyes of most men. It unified sentiment in the North; and it so unified the sentiment in England created by *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the brave speeches of the North's great friends, Cobden and Bright, that no further consideration could be given to "mediation" or "recognition" on the part of Great Britain without affronting one of the deepest convictions in the heart of the Anglo-Saxon.

The Proclamation of Emancipation a war measure

The President's cabinet suggested that the announcement of the Proclamation be delayed until it could be launched at a favorable moment of victory; the Confederate repulse at Antietam gave this opportunity and the Proclamation was then issued to the world; it went into effect January 1, 1863.

READING LIST

Stephenson, Chaps. 3 and 8; Hosmer, Chap. 20; C. F. Adams, *Charles Francis Adams*, Chaps. 9, 12–16; C. F. Adams, *Trans-Atlantic Historical Solidarity*, Chaps. 2 and 3; Montagne Bernard, *The Neutrality of Great Britain;* Rhodes, III, Chap. 16; IV, Chap. 22; J. W. Foster, *A Century of Diplomacy*, Chap. 10; C. R. Fish, *American Diplomacy*, Chap. 22; *The Education of Henry Adams*, Chaps. 9–12.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

After re-reading the terms of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty discuss the question of England's having acted toward us in a friendly fashion when France invaded Mexico. What European struggle might have been precipitated had England recognized the South? List the influences, in the order of their importance, which kept her neutral. How did the Proclamation of Emancipation unify the North? What was its effect on the South? What is meant when we say the Proclamation was a strictly military measure?

By issuing it was Lincoln in the least sacrificing the ideal which had always been nearest his heart—the saving of the Union? Sketch Lincoln's attitude toward emancipation with compensation from his first entering Congress.

Section 43. From Antietam to Lookout Mountain

So dominating were the vital factors of topography and the laws of supply and demand as related to war essentials that, to a degree, the outline story of the war during 1863 is a repetition of that of 1862—a sort of confirmation of the decisions of the year gone by.

GRANT'S CAMPAIGN ON VICKSBURG

John Fiske well says there was something Napoleonic in Grant's memorable campaign for the capture of the Gibraltar of the Mississippi, Vicksburg. That city's position on high bluffs, surrounded in large part by swampy ground with its filmy network of treacherous bayous, was formidable. Sherman had found it impregnable in 1862. To an "Unconditional Surrender Grant," better armed and ably seconded by Sherman, no opposition, whether in the guise of brain and muscle or in the form of difficult topography, was unconquerable.

Grant

The great adventure was undertaken buoyantly by the four corps of the Army of the Tennessee in the spring of 1863, one corps covering the Memphis-Charleston line of communications and the other three under Sherman, McPherson, and McClernand moving by water upon their destination. If the task re-

The Army of the Tennessee advances

quired doggedness, Pemberton, commanding at Vicksburg, might well have taken warning from the fact that he was being attacked by three Scotchmen, counting Grant.

The task of coming at their goal from the west, after a long struggle, was abandoned. A bold alternative was adopted. Capturing Grand Gulf below Vicksburg, Grant cut loose from his new base, struck up-country "on his own" toward Jackson, Miss. "Can Grant supply himself from the Mississippi?" wrote the astonished General Johnston to Pemberton, knowing that the Union commander was defying the rules of formal warfare by ignoring his base of supplies. After pluckily fighting three battles he forced Pemberton,

The bold attack on Vicksburg from the east

THE SIEGE OF VICKSBURG. (From a contemporary magazine.)

at the Battle of Champion's Hill, back into Vicksburg, which Grant now invested from the east. From May 18 to July 4 the siege was carried on, the defenders and citizens of the town enduring every privation which heroes can suffer for the cause nearest their heart. On the anniversary of American Independence, however, Pemberton gave up hope of succor and surren-

dered. With the capture of Port Hudson in Louisiana, soon after, the Mississippi River was now wholly in Union possession. The capture of the Mississippi not only split the Confederacy in two, but it made the rich western division powerless to aid the eastern. It was a great record of achievement and caused the country to acknowledge that in General Grant it had a leader of Napoleonic order, one whom obstacles but inspired to redoubled effort (map p. 366).

But the eyes of North and South were distracted from these Mississippi battles, in part, by a drama of spectacular proportions being enacted in the East. After Burnside's tragic assault at Fredericksburg, the command of the Army of the Potomac was passed over to "Fighting Joe" Hooker, who, in May, 1863, made bold to attack Lee's army at Chancellorsville, Va., (May 1–4) half way between Washington and Richmond. The brilliancy of Lee's strategy never shone in a clearer light than now. With but 57,000 men he so disposed and shifted them that, although assailed by an army of 105,000, at every point of actual contact the gray ranks equalled or outnumbered the blue! From the standpoint of generalship this was one of the most ably fought battles in the world's history. Chancellorsville was the bloodiest defeat registered throughout the war for a Union army, every other Confederate soldier killing or wounding an antagonist. Yet in the death of "Stonewall" Jackson, who was accidentally killed by a volley from his own men while he was returning from a reconnaisance after dark, the South lost the equivalent of many thousands of men.

Lee's victory at Chancellorsville

Jackson killed

Fresh from this battlefield Lee arose, just as a year before he leaped from the Chickahominy swamps after the "Seven Days," for another lunge northward into the "enemy's country." Sweeping by the distracted Hooker— who now, by another shake in the northern ouija-board system of choosing commanders, was supplanted by General Meade—Lee's columns, supreme in their confidence, crossed the Potomac again on (map p. 343)

Lee again invades the North

pathways into Pennsylvania. The two armies, racing northward, crossed the Potomac within one day of each other, the Army of the Potomac keeping between the enemy and Washington. Meade proved to be all that the administration had hoped; he moved with alacrity and soon forced a momentous battle by taking up a position on Pipe's Creek, screened by forces under General Reynolds and Buford at the village of Gettysburg, Pa. Lee could not permit the Federals to take and hold this point, for its roads commanded the country in his rear and would seriously threaten his communications if he proceeded farther north. The preliminary shock came July 1 north of the town, the Federals retreating through Gettysburg to a rise of ground south of it, Cemetery Ridge. At the southern extremity of this broken ridge stand two ragged little hills, Round Top and Little Round Top. Meade chose to make his battle from this ridge and on the night of July 1 hastened his feverish regiments forward to grip their vantage-ground in the darkness.

Gettysburg

THE ENVIRONS OF GETTYSBURG

Confronting Cemetery Ridge on the west lies a parallel rise of ground, Seminary Ridge, upon which Lee quickly placed his long ranks of artillery, 115 guns; below the line of guns crouched his 75,000 troopers intent upon nothing but repeating on the morrow the successes of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. They soon found, however, that to be compelled to act on the offensive whether or no, as McClellan, Pope, Burnside, and Hooker had had to do, was murderous work. Longstreet commanded the southern tip of the Confederate line and Ewell the northern tip,

The battle-ground

where the line curved with Cemetery Ridge to the east ending in two hills, Cemetery Hill and Culp's Hill. Lee's task was plain. Either he must turn one of these Union flanks and, from one height or the other, batter the Union position, or else the center of Cemetery Ridge must be carried by storm. This was a big order—with the entire countryside around him ablaze with anger and with a force eight thousand less than the one confronting him. His foe was well entrenched and was being

Pickett's Charge

reinforced hourly by regulars, militia, and home guards—and "Dixie" was many long miles away.

Yet July 2 saw the gray lines go confidently to their work. Upon General Sickles at Little Round Top, Longstreet's tried regiments cast themselves with their wonted impetuosity; the Union lines bent back but Round Top was saved. In turn, Ewell strove to capture Culp's Hill; he gained enough foothold there to spend the night; but the morning of July 3 saw Meade's

Longstreet and Ewell attack

desperate men in blue blast this hold gained on Culp's Hill and the road to Baltimore. Lee's final resource was an attack on the center. Next to Ney's charge at Waterloo, Pickett's charge at Gettysburg was probably the most spectacular episode in modern military history. Preceded by a lull, as though all Nature stood breathless, came a bombardment on both sides of upward of two hundred guns—whose echo was heard at Greensburg, Pa., across the Alleghenies. Then Pickett with 13,000 men marched across the open field and up the slight incline toward Hancock's division, the Federal left center, carrying on their bayonets the hope of the South. As they neared the blue lines, Stannard's Vermont brigade went forward at one side, turned and enfiladed the gray ranks with a withering fire. The line faltered, but went on; it broke over the stone wall and then was smothered. Only scattered groups ever went back.

Pickett's charge

The terrible conflict left both opposing commanders, so to speak, in a daze. Meade, hardly knowing that he had won, telegraphed Washington that he could hold out another day. Lee waited two days for a renewal of the battle; but recognizing his case to be hopeless he then began his retreat. Meade permitted it to go on without serious opposition, just as McClellan had allowed Lee to retire safely from Antietam. Reasons have been given for these failures but they have never satisfied layman or critics. The autumn, therefore, saw the two armies back in the old familiar camp grounds in Virginia, feinting and maneuvering, and sending aid to Rosecrans and Bragg who were facing each other in that whirlpool of war in the Tennessee mountains, at Chattanooga. The latter won the desperate battle of Chickamauga but he could not take the town and was at last driven off the mountains lying about it in the battles of Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain by Thomas, Hooker, and Sherman, all acting under the eye of the hero of Vicksburg, Grant.

Lee retreats

Victory in Tennessee

From now on the South fought a losing fight; in 1864 the North demanded that this Lochinvar, Grant, come out of the

West and put an end to the dreary tableaus of retreat in the bloody Rapidan-Rappahannock sector of Virginia.

READING LIST

1. VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN: Wood, Chaps. 4 and 7; Hosmer, Chap. 18; Grant, I, Chaps. 30–38; Rhodes, IV, Chap. 21.
2. GETTYSBURG CAMPAIGN: Wood, Chap. 8; Hosmer, Chap. 19; F. A. Haskell, *Gettysburg;* Rhodes, IV, Chap. 20.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Compare the length of Grant's march from Grand Gulf to Jackson and Vicksburg with Lee's march from Virginia to Gettysburg and the difficulties each commander encountered. Compare the relative merits of Grant's and Meade's victories. Consider the result of a Confederate victory at Gettysburg at home and abroad. Of the defeat of Grant before Vicksburg. List Grant's accomplishments as a commander since the outbreak of the war. In what qualities did he excel? Was it that he had easier tasks to perform or was he a more talented leader that his successes seemed so noteworthy? Grant has said (*Memoirs* I, 16–18) that the Ohio town in which he lived after his second birthday numbered about 1,000 people and that, if it had been put to a vote, it would have favored Davis rather than Lincoln at any time during the war; yet it furnished four general officers, and one colonel to the regular army for the North and nine generals and field officers of volunteers for the North. How can such a statement be explained?

Section 44. The Conquest of Virginia

Many things besides Grant's taking command of the Army of the Potomac gave the North courage for the struggle of the memorable year of 1864. The southern hope of invasion of the North and recognition by foreign powers was dead. The new troops called in to fill the great gaps in the Confederacy's brave armies were not of the type which won Chancellorsville; nor, indeed, were the new northern armies raised by drafting a match for those who defended Culp's Hill and smothered Pickett's charge. But such as they were, they came in great numbers and by sheer weight and momentum they proved powerful. The South was being drained dry of the materials

Grant brings hope of victory

of war while the North's resources had increased rather than lessened.

Sheridan's Valley campaign

The beautiful and rich Valley of Virginia had been a lurking-place from which at any time a dirk, in the shape of Jackson's "foot-cavalry," or a bold raider such as Early or "Jeb" Stuart, might be thrust into the heart of the North. It was now laid prostrate by General Philip H. Sheridan. In succession Sheridan fought the enemy near Winchester, near Strasburg, at Mount Jackson, and at Cedar Creek; here it was that Early surprised

THE BREAKING UP OF THE CONFEDERACY. (Showing the lines of penetration made by Grant and Sherman.)

the Union troops in Sheridan's absence and drove them headlong. Sheridan raced from Winchester "twenty miles away" only to find the rout stopped when he arrived and preparations made for advancing. The country had been swept bare of sup-

plies and both Union and Confederate troops were soon withdrawn from it to the aid of armies needing them. The "Valley" was conquered.

Grant, now commanding in the East, was given supreme control, and, fighting like a Federal government, with power properly centralized, the Army of the Potomac became a new machine. Grant's simple plan, to pound Lee to pieces without thought for cost of life, was put into dreadful operation as he now marched upon Richmond. He was beaten here but he went on; he was defeated there, but, turning aside, he still went on. In the savage battle of the Wilderness (May 5–6) Grant lost 18,000 and at Spottsylvania Court House (May 8) he doubled his losses. He then fought the profitless battle of North Anna and, on June 3rd, the unwise and costly battle of Cold Harbor, where six thousand fell in an hour's time. But he maneuvered around Lee, crossed the James, and laid siege to the heavily fortified town of Petersburg, after having paid out 72,000 lives in two months to reach this objective. From the 15th of June, 1864, to the 29th of March, 1865, the "war of attrition" lasted, when finally Lee was compelled to break away from Richmond in the forlorn hope of uniting with Johnston who had been fighting Sherman all through Mississippi and Georgia. Inability to secure rations compelled Lee to surrender to Grant at Appomattox Court House, Va., April 9th. The Union commander had the good judgment to permit Lee's officers to retain their swords and his 30,000 men to keep their horses.[1]

The new Army of the Potomac

Petersburg invested

While Grant was pounding his way to Petersburg and Richmond, General Sherman had been making his famous campaign from Tennessee to Atlanta, the capital of Georgia, and on to Sa-

[1]General Grant's desire not to humiliate his brave foe was always remembered to his credit in the South. Few generals ever fought harder for the capture of a city than Grant fought for Richmond. Far less in number are the men who would have refused to enjoy a triumphal entry after making the capture. This Grant refused to do. Military annals contain the names of few soldierly gentlemen fit to stand beside those of Washington, Lee, and Grant.

vannah, the seaport of that state. It was one of the famous campaigns of history from the military strategist's standpoint, for the three armies making the march (armies of "the Tennessee," "the Ohio," and "the Cumberland") abandoned their base of supplies in May, 1864, and were in the enemy's country until the war ended a year later. On September 3rd, after three battles with General Hood, Sherman occupied Atlanta. It had cost him in all 32,000 men. The North was elated at the news of the capture of Atlanta, and well it might be; the blow struck straight to the heart of the Confederacy. Sherman stated that only one fifth of the destruction he brought upon the country was of any advantage to the invaders. His victory was great, but it would have been greater had he saved the South the eighty millions of unnecessary property damage that he inflicted (map p. 366).

Atlanta captured

With what power the blow was delivered became plain as the autumn advanced, for, in this zone of the war, Sherman now faced his enemies with two armies, either of them greater than any force which could be gathered to oppose them. With one of these Sherman made his famous "March to the Sea." Leaving Atlanta November 15, he covered the 350 miles to Savannah in less than a month and on December 20 he occupied it. His northern army under the command of General Thomas in Tennessee defeated the Confederates under Hood in the Battle of Nashville, December 16. Sherman marched north from Savannah and worsted General Johnston in the Battle of Bentonville, N. C., March 19, 1865, and the war was over. A general amnesty was declared by the President, May 29, which is the date of the official closing of the terrible struggle.

Sherman's "March to the Sea"

The war ends May 29, 1865

But it was President Johnson—not the patient, steady-purposed Kentuckian—who signed this amnesty. Lincoln had begun his second term as President thirty-six days before Lee's surrender. While he had received 212 electoral votes to General McClellan's 21 in the presidential election of the autumn before, his popu-

Lincoln's re-election in 1864

lar vote was only 407,351 greater than that rolled up by the Democratic party for "Little Mac." This fact is significant of all the opposition to the war which existed in the North, or, rather, the objections of fault-finding men to the way it was carried on.

The war against the war in the North

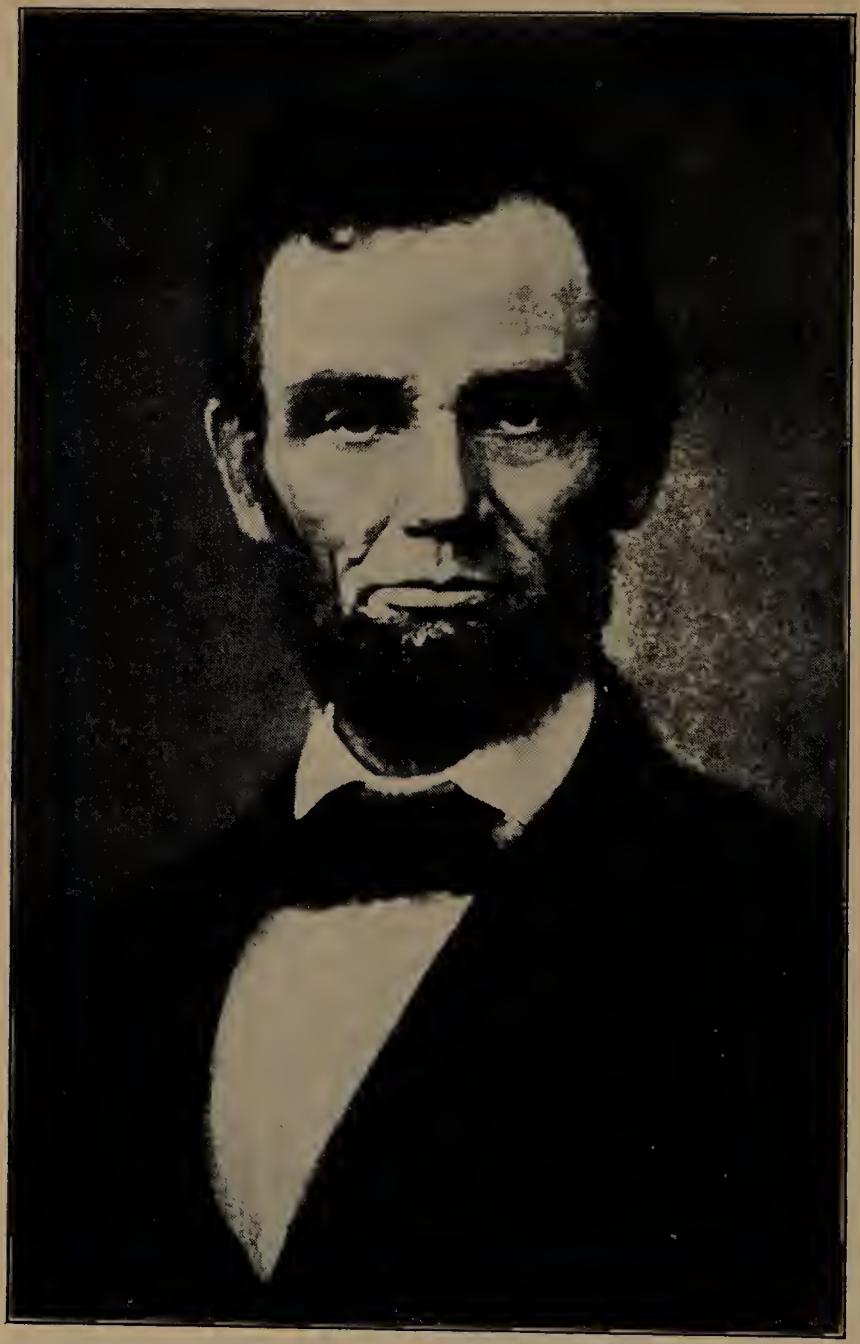
The slow progress of the war, augmented by the lack of centralization of military authority, the enormous "war powers" conferred upon the President, the great loss of life, the accumulation of a debt of almost three billion dollars, the arbitrary arrests by military authorities, the suspension in cases of the right of *habeas corpus*, the draft (which Democrats affirmed was sometimes used to satisfy political vengeance), and the dissatisfaction of some Republicans like Chase, all combined to lessen Lincoln's majority in the 1864 campaign. The opposition platform declared the war to be a failure, a statement McClellan was gentleman and soldier enough to repudiate instantly. Three new stars had come into the flag in these exciting years—Kansas, West Virginia, and Nevada. Lincoln carried every northern state except New Jersey and two border states to boot, Maryland and Missouri.

New states

Lincoln as war-president

Mistakes in plenty were made by our great war-president; but it is inconceivable that another should have made fewer serious ones—and unthinkable that another could, through sunshine and storm, amid the torrent of bickering, wrangling, and double-crossing of political and military rivals, have remained so kindly tempered to snarling friends and stolid foes as did Lincoln. It is handsomely illustrated in his forgetting every consideration but his country's in making up his war-cabinet and keeping harmony in it. As noted, the brilliant but egotistical Seward (Lincoln's principal rival in 1860 for the presidency) was made Secretary of State in 1861. His wise handling of the Confederacy's intervention schemes abroad give him a deservedly high place among our civilian fighters for the Union. In naming his other political rival, Chase, as Secretary of the Treasury, Lincoln conferred a

Seward and Chase



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

favor on the nation at the danger of having a great man, with an ambition to be supreme, in a position of power. Before 1864 the entire financial policy of the nation was changed by the establishment by Secretary Chase of a national bank system and by the issuing of legal tender paper ("Greenbacks"). This made possible the North's financing the war; an immediate market for national bonds was secured and a permanent, uniform national currency, inelastic, but yet absolutely stable, was created.[1] An overpowering desire to succeed Lincoln led to Chase's resignation in 1864; but, Lincoln-like, the President ignored this alienation and appointed Chase Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. To his great Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, Lincoln always acknowledged his debt. While this rugged Ohioan was partly responsible for the confusion which existed in the minds of Union generals as to who was commander-in-chief, to him a large share of the final success must be attributed.

No man but one of the very highest order would have united in his cabinet these three jealous, brilliant, powerful men. Yet each in his own way contributed more than can possibly be accredited to them toward a sane solution of the problems, international, financial, and military, which the hard years demanded. In humoring playfully their eccentricities, in vetoing sturdily many of their proposals, in standing by them staunchly when to do so often cost him dearly in popularity, Lincoln is seen at his next-best.

The cabinet's part in the final victory

But the greater Lincoln—the Lincoln at his best—is seen in his ability to sink prejudice and rancor in the treatment of his

[1]The national banks now established were not authorized to carry on the government's business, as was true of the National Bank of Jackson's day (p. 261). They were private banks but chartered and regularly inspected by the government. They greatly facilitated the government's floating of loans of over two and a half billion dollars, giving either certificates or bonds—"promises to pay"—in return. The national banks took government bonds and were allowed to issue notes or "bank bills" up to 90 per cent. of the amount of government bonds they held. The bonds secured the bank bills. Thus the government floated its debt, national banks prospered through handling it, and additional money was available for business.

southern friends, the enemy. He was, *par excellence*, a "generous enemy," as Davis is reported to have called him. No friend is worth the name who is not frank. The friendliness of Lincoln to the South shines out clearly as, near the close of the mortal struggle, efforts toward conciliation and a hasty peace were put forward. No one recognized so fully as did Lincoln what an unfriendly thing it would be to the South to make a patch-work peace, one leaving the loose ends of disputed questions flying, a peace capable of endless misconstruction and misunderstanding. The terrible operation had been performed; what sacrilege to have left (through sentiments of false pity) the gaping wound open and not now bind it up, despite the needle's pain, in order that a genuine healing of the tissues might in God's own time take place! Such was the gist of his reply to a Confederate commission sent to him at Hampton Roads in February, 1865. For the peace of both sections he demanded (a) the restoration of national authority throughout all the states; (b) that the President's policy regarding slavery should stand unchanged; and (c) that no vague armistice should be substituted for absolute surrender.

The greater Lincoln

He was the South's truest friend

Lincoln's ultimatum at Hampton Roads

The news of Lee's surrender, with its certainty of the victory for which Lincoln had so diligently labored and ardently prayed, brought great comfort to the man who had steadied the Ship of State now coming into the port of Victory. Yet, after all, the most cheerful aspect of promised peace was this self-same man, his patience, his spirit of fair-play to the fallen foe. In the hard, or harder, work of reconstruction it was to him that the Nation, especially the South, might hopefully look for wisdom, freedom from bitterness, clear-sightedness. As he met the cabinet on that fateful 14th day of April, Good Friday, this task confronting them was earnestly considered. Lincoln did not want the price paid by North and South to be forfeited; he desired, above everything else, that no son of the North or of the South should have "died in vain."

All the more terrible, therefore, was his tragic assassination that very evening at the hands of the half-maniacal actor, John Wilkes Booth, in Ford's Theater, Washington. We do not know with certainty what degree of success would have attended Lincoln's handling of the giant problem of welding the torn nation together. Perhaps Providence foresaw that he, like Washington when similarly placed, would have "wished he was in his grave" and took him at the hour of his triumph to save him from his friends. Throughout his term as President, Lincoln had been persecuted by fanatical Congressmen who not in the least shared his temper and his poise; his killing the Wade-Davis bill (which prescribed the condition on which certain seceded states should be admitted to the Union) by a veto in 1864, aroused the intense animosity of many radical Congressmen. There is small reason to expect, had Lincoln lived, that his temperate methods of solving the perplexed "reconstruction" problem would have been accepted. Bitterly sad as was his untimely death, many believe that his possible repudiation at the polls would have been, in one sense, as tragic, even, as his assassination.

His assassination

Perhaps the world's pity has done something to exalt and enshrine much in Lincoln which had otherwise seemed commonplace. Certainly at a moment's notice many who had consistently questioned his motives and policies now saw him as one of the world's greatest characters. It was happy proof of that innate British love of fair-play that the journal *Punch*, which had persecuted Lincoln as bitterly as any, should now say:

Lincoln glorified in death

Beside this corpse that bears for winding sheet
The Stars and Stripes he lived to rear anew,
Between the mourners at his head and feet,
Say, scurrile jester, is there room for you?

Yes, he had lived to shame me from my sneer,
To lame my pencil, and confute my pen;
To make me own this hind, of princes peer,
This rail-splitter, a true-born king of men.

Punch's manly retraction

Of the anguish of his close friends, of the grief of the stricken North, no word need be said; this was depicted in the thronging to his funeral car, as it slowly took its way to Illinois, with many stops, of countless thousands of the poor and humble—those among whom Lincoln's heart always abided.

The results of the war were clearly defined and it was worth the tremendous cost of life and treasure. Slavery was at an end. Four million blacks became free men, the only men of color who, now, can become citizens of the United States. The war put an end to nullification ideas forever, as well as to all talk of peaceful secession of a state from our Union. It settled the fact that we are a Nation—not a Confederacy. The South was freed from an economic and labor system under which it could never have properly thrived in the industrial age which was to follow. Best of all, American unity was preserved. Our enemies in the late Great War bemoaned the fact that England made a fatal mistake in 1862, from the standpoint of world trade supremacy, in not taking sides with the Confederacy and breaking the United States apart into two rival, jealous nations. By playing one of these against the other, said these theorists, Europe need never have feared the dominating influence which one powerful American Republic might exert on European or world affairs. This fact, American unity, is one thing with which the world, let us hope, will always have to reckon. It could not have become what it is without the mutual sacrifices of the North and South during the years 1861 to 1865.

Questions settled by the war

American unity preserved

READING LIST

Wood, Chaps. 10–12; Rhodes, Chap. 23.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Explain the increase of resources in the North during the war. What was the case in the South? What excuse had the opposition party in the North in 1864 to declare the war a failure? Why did its candidate repudiate the statement? What ground did he have left for asking that voters favor

him rather than Lincoln? Compare Chase's services in Lincoln's cabinet to those of Hamilton in the first cabinet. Why are the President's powers increased in war-time? Does this always happen automatically? Explain the expressions "good loser" and "good winner." The exercise of which quality demands most self-control and nobility of character? What are the dangers of a premature peace such as Lincoln refused to make at Hampton Roads? Have some so criticized the Armistice of November, 1918?

Section 45. Reconstruction Days

Despite its utter prostration the South was prepared in 1865 to make the best of its forlorn situation; yes, and yield gracefully to its fate. Under wise and considerate leadership it is believable that the nation might soon have recovered its balance and swung forward to the great days ahead without serious friction.

Lincoln had a typical Lincolnian plan of reconstruction. He held that the highest officials and officers of the Confederacy and its armies should not at once, at least, receive amnesty. But when one tenth of the voters of 1860 in any seceded state should vote to accept the acts of Congress and the President's proclamation and would form a constitution republican in form, that state should be considered in good and regular standing. He also declared that he would not object to local laws regarding the freedmen, if these were not stumbling blocks to their education, amelioration, and advancement. He recognized that the South must be led by its own leaders and that only a few of the blacks were then capable of full enjoyment of political privileges.

Lincoln's plan of reconstruction

But there seemed to be few such level-headed "Lincolns" in the North. Congress was blessed with little of this feeling of kindness and even temper. It held that the question of reconstruction of the South should be handled by itself and not by the President. It passed the radical Wade-Davis bill previously mentioned as early as July, 1864. Lincoln's veto of it, as we have seen, resulted in his being attacked bitterly by northern partizans. However, all agreed on one thing. Slavery should be prohibited by law. On February 1,

Congress opposes presidential reconstruction

1865, Congress proposed the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery or involuntary servitude in the United States. By the Constitution, three fourths of the states must ratify an amendment before it becomes a law. How many states now comprised the Union? A good many fine-spun theories were advanced in these days over this question; with these, as can well be imagined, Lincoln had scant sympathy. He looked upon the Union as indestructible. He pretended, even, that Virginia had never seceded and had recognized the "Alexandria government" as "Virginia" throughout the war. He also early recognized governments in Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana. When Congress assembled in December, 1865, all the seceding states except Texas had formed constitutions and elected governments under the "Lincoln Plan." Eleven of these had ratified the Thirteenth Amendment; these, with sixteen Northern states, made the necessary number, twenty-seven, to make that amendment the "law of the land"—and so Secretary Seward proclaimed it to be.

The Thirteenth Amendment

Its ratification

But no sooner was this done than Congress proceeded to act on the theory that no one of these eleven states was really back in the Union after all! Instead of recognizing these "Lincoln states," which had been formed largely through the agency of a temporary Freedman's Bureau[1], and going on with the work, Congress continued that Bureau in existence and outlined a

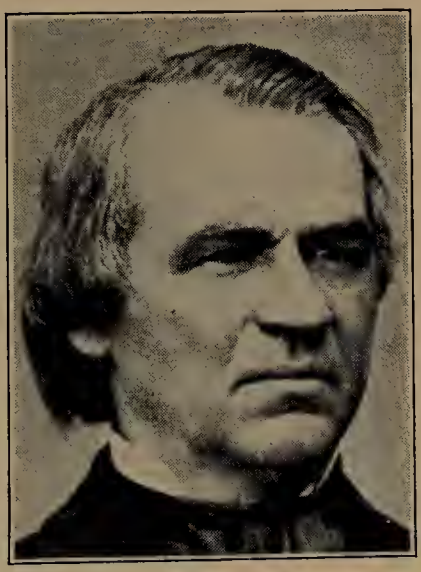
The Freedman's Bureau

[1]The official title of this bureau was "Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands"; it was given very wide authority to assist the bewildered hordes of freed slaves to find means of assistance and occupy abandoned lands; it was concerned with protecting them in their struggle to secure, actually, privileges and immunities which were legally theirs; its officers —forerunners of the carpet-baggers of later days—were men of all grades of ability and honesty. One of their missions was to protect the freed slave from being discriminated against by local laws; these laws were sometimes very unjust, as, in the case of Mississippi, which made it impossible for the freedman to purchase land. Incompetent, if not disreputable, men connected with the Bureau sometimes made the deluded freedman believe that the lands of former masters were to be divided up among the free negroes. All such officials were hated wherever they went.

"Congressional Plan" of reconstruction. Congress shared not at all the late President's chief tenets; it had no confidence in the South's being led aright by its own leaders, and it had a high idea of the average negro's political ability as a voter.

Diligent search by scholars for excuses for this record has developed these facts: the South passed harsh laws known as "Black Codes" and "Peonage Laws." Vagrancy, for instance, could be punished by involuntary servitude; it is plain that any negro freedman out of work might, in a pinch, be called a "vagrant" and be made to work out his "fine" under his old master! Cases of this kind made Northerners easily believe that all such legislation was bringing a disguised kind of slavery back. Again, if every negro was now to be counted a whole man instead of three fifths of a man as formerly (in determining a state's representation in Congress) then the South had now the promise of a considerable increase in its voting power in the national halls of legislation. Congress believed it could neutralize this advantage in two ways: (a) it could say that no state should be considered "reconstructed" until Congress itself so declared; and (b) it could give the negro the vote and see to it that, if he was a whole man, he should be a whole "Republican"!

Congress and the South



Andrew Johnson

For the most part Vice-President Johnson had clung closely to Lincoln's main ideas, though he shifted his ground and interpreted them with a temper never known in Lincoln. Taking office immediately upon Lincoln's death, he was the author of the amnesty proclamation of May 29, 1865. This act de-

barred from amnesty all who had voluntarily served in Confederate armies and all who owned $20,000 worth of land, showing the typical attitude of a Unionist Tennesseean toward the planter class. He had, however, favored the "Presidential" or "Lincoln" plan and had recognized eleven states as having been "reconstructed."

It should be remembered that only six Northern States at this time had given the black man the right of suffrage and Johnson believed that the states themselves should decide whether the negro could vote. Congress first passed (over Johnson's veto) a Civil Rights Bill (April 9, 1866) to punish illegal discrimination against the negro. In June of that year it started out on the path of attempting to force the South to knuckle under its will. This was to be brought about by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. This Amendment offered an inducement to the South to give the right to vote to the freedmen. If this was not done the penalty should be a reduction of a state's representation in Congress. It also disqualified large classes of prominent Southerners from holding office. Johnson opposed this theory as stoutly as Lincoln would have opposed it. Such was the situation when the Congressional elections came on in the fall of 1866. The issues were clear cut: (a) should Congress be upheld in its un-Lincoln-like attitude toward the South as represented by the Fourteenth Amendment? (b) should Southern representatives be admitted to Congress if their state had not ratified the Fourteenth Amendment? President Johnson stumped the country before this election. He allowed himself to go far beyond a dignified discussion of the topic of the hour and criticized, in harsh terms, the bitter Republicans. By so doing he turned many conservatives against him and the verdict of the country, in this election, was in favor of this radical program and against President Johnson.

The Fourteenth Amendment

Elections of 1866 approve Congress's radical attitude

The Fourteenth Amendment was, therefore, passed by Congress but could not be ratified by the necessary three fourths

of the states, for the South numbered more than one fourth of the twenty-seven comprising the Union—and the South proudly opposed the measure. Better would it have been had she sunk her pride and accepted the humiliation, for then she might have escaped the orgy of "military governments" which followed.

In the high tide of its victory over Johnson, Congress now yielding to the leadership of that master of bitter invective and the implacable enemy of the southern whites, Thaddeus Stevens, proceeded to pass the Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867. This act divided the South into military districts, each under the command of a former Union general. By this scheme any state

Act of March 2, 1867

A Contemporary Cartoon on the Carpetbagger

could now form a constitution, all adult males being allowed to vote. When such a constitution was approved by Congress, and the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified by the state in question (provided that amendment became a Federal Amendment by a vote of three fourths of the states), then such a state could send representatives to Congress and they would be seated if they took an "iron-clad oath" of loyalty.

President Johnson steadily opposed the policy of Congress and

the opportunity to impeach him was eagerly courted. It passed a Tenure-of-office Act which made it impossible for the President to dismiss a cabinet officer without the consent of Congress. When Johnson suspended Secretary Stanton from office and appointed General Grant in his place, the Senate refused to confirm the appointment and Grant had the good sense to vacate the office in favor of Stanton. Johnson then (to test the Tenure-of-Office Act) proceeded to remove Stanton. For this he was impeached for (a) violating the act he desired to test, and (b) his continual opposition to Congressional reconstruction. He was acquitted of the charge by the Senate by the narrow margin of one vote.

Tenure-of-Office Act

Johnson impeached

Congressional (military) Reconstruction in the South now proceeded. The active work was done by men sent to the South for this purpose. These men, some of whom seemed to carry all their earthly belongings in a satchel, were dubbed "carpetbaggers." Southerners who aided them (because of a former hatred of the planter class) were termed "scalawags." The "carpetbaggers" were sometimes very ignorant of Southern conditions; too frequently they were drawn into the work because of the salaries offered. Some were incapable and some dishonest. The "scalawags" were ruled by prejudice, and were, also, often "fortune-seekers." These men were supported by 20,000 troops quartered in 134 posts distributed throughout ten states.

Military government

"Carpetbaggers" and "scalawags"

The South met this new situation first by trying to keep all whites from going to the polls; thus, since a majority of registered voters was necessary to adopt a state constitution, they hoped to prevent constitutions being adopted. Secondly, they met the situation by forming secret organizations, as the Ku-Klux Klan, to scare the negroes from the polls and from taking the active part in politics which their tutors, carpetbaggers and scalawags, were encouraging them to take.

By peculiar or unusual interpretation of words (as the word "voluntary" in the law which read that no one who had volun-

tarily served in the Confederate Army could register as a voter) and in manifold other ways, the South neutralized almost all legislation which was distasteful to her. Nothing but a large standing army could have divorced the people of wealth, intelligence, and industry in the South from operating their local governments. In practice they would not submit to such a solution; in theory they blandly accepted enough fictions in the case to meet the demands of the northern "bitter-enders" and become "regularized" in the eyes of the Constitution as amended (map p. 357).

Methods by which the South neutralized hostile legislation

Slowly the Congress plan won the day. Tennessee had been admitted to the Union in 1866. Certain states "came in" and "went out" of the Union numerous times; Georgia holds the record of having done this three times. By 1868 Arkansas, the Carolinas, Alabama, and Florida had yielded and had adopted constitutions agreeable to Congress. However, the realization finally came to those in power that Lincoln had been right; that the hope of the South lay in the manhood of the South, in their intense love of country, in their ability to sink prejudice and to build up that splendid thing we have seen arise from the ashes of nullification and fraternal strife—the New South. As this vision became more clearly revealed it seemed necessary, by constitutional enactment, to preserve what had been gained and prevent the utter disenfranchisement of the negro when the men of the South came into control. This was the purpose of the Fifteenth Amendment (February 26, 1869), which declared that the right to vote could not be abridged either by nation or any state on account "of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." To this the remaining states not reconstructed (Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi, and Texas) were compelled to assent before they were taken into the fold. The amendment was adopted by the required number of states and declared in force March 30, 1870. By local statutes, however, as we have suggested, Southern States found ways to

Lincoln's views finally prevail

The Fifteenth Amendment

neutralize, wholly or in part, its provisions.[1] In 1872 an amnesty act was passed relieving the political disqualifications of most Southerners, with the exception of those who had resigned high office in the Union to accept high office in the Confederacy. By the withdrawal of federal troops from the South in 1876 and the exchange of "Republican" for normal Democratic governments, the aftermath of the Civil War was over.

The Amnesty Act

READING LIST

W. L. Fleming, *The Sequel of Appomattox* (Chronicles of America, XXXII), Chaps. 1–12; W. A. Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic* (American Nation, XXII), Chaps. 3–8; Rhodes, Chaps. 4–7; C. R. Lingley, *Since the Civil War*, Chap. 1; P. J. Hamilton, *The Reconstruction Period;* W. H. Page, *The Rebuilding of Old Commonwealths;* P. S. Pierce, *The Freedmen's Bureau;* D. L. Wilson, *Ku Klux Klan;* Fox, *Map Studies*, No. 23.

1. Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction: W. A. Dunning, *Essays on Civil War and Reconstruction*, Chap. 2; Rhodes, IV, Chap. 23, V, Chaps. 24 and 25; Fleming, Chap. 3; Johnson on Reconstruction, Harding, 421–433.

2. Congressional Plan of Reconstruction: Dunning, *Reconstruction*, Chaps. 4–6; Rhodes, V, Chap. 30, VI, Chap. 31; Fleming, Chaps. 5 and 6; Stevens on Reconstruction, Harding, 434–442.

3. Ku Klux Klan: Rhodes, VI, Chaps. 34 and 37; Fleming, Chap. 11; M. L. Avary, *Dixie After the War*, 268–278; Dunning, *Reconstruction*, Chap. 7.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Distinguish between the rights given the negroes by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments. What provision of the Fourteenth

[1] So long as the South remained "solid" in its adherence to the Democratic party, the negro was not a disturbing element. When in later years the Populist movement divided the white (Democratic) vote the situation changed. Then severe laws restricting the suffrage by property or educational qualifications, etc., were passed. Louisiana (1898) by the "Grandfather Clause" in her Constitution made an exception of the negroes who were sons or grandsons of legal voters on January 1, 1867. In 1890 the Republican House passed a bill which sought to place southern elections in Federal hands, but this "Force Bill," as the Democrats called it, was killed in the Senate by the combined vote of southern and western (Silver State) senators. Our Supreme Court has generally refused to pass on acts which southern states have enacted limiting the suffrage by educational or other tests, on the theory that the South should be let alone to regulate its own suffrage laws. The "Grandfather Clause" has, however, recently been declared unconstitutional.

was most objectionable to the South? How was its provision concerning property rights made unexpected use of in later years (p. 428)? Compare the permanent effects of the Civil War and reconstruction on the healing of sectional animosity in later years. What has been the most powerful influence in healing the wounds made in 1861–1865? Was the cruelty of reconstruction due to malice, misunderstanding, lack of wise leadership or what? Is "carpet-bag" government always a failure? Has it been so in the Philippines since 1900? Explain. Was Johnson's position on the Tenure-of-Office Act justified at a later date (p. 434)?

PART FOUR
ECONOMIC REVOLUTION AND ITS PROBLEMS

CHAPTER X
THE AGE OF MIRACLES

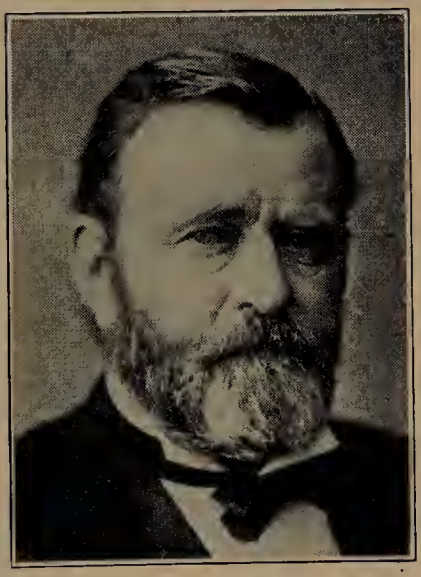
Following the period of "reconstruction" the United States entered upon a marvelous epoch of growth and consolidation, the keynote of which is indicated by the words "economic revolution." This period has its difficulties for the student because of the myriad of subjects which are called to his attention and because the majority of these, as tariff, civil service, currency, agrarianism, and trusts, demand the technical knowledge of the trained specialist. The topical method which we use here will enable the student to get the running story of each of the issues of the period; but in our chart of the Presidencies in the appendix the important events of each administration will be found in chronological form.

These were typical after-war days. Together with tremendous expansion in business, came readjustment of individuals to the new life—the readjustment of society in general. It was a day of dreamers, of men who planned new things on a scale never heard of before. Such days find the honest and the dishonest, the upright and the schemers, jostling each other wherever risks are to be run and great prizes won. Such days are likely to see moral standards lowered and conscienceless men obtain fitful power and fall before awakened public indignation. These days saw all this.

Reconstruction, more than war, created a (Democratic) "Solid South." The Republican party fell heir not only to the glory of having kept the Nation united, but, also, to the herculean responsibilities and trials of this miraculous period of readjustment. Within

eleven years opposition to its policies so strengthened the Democratic party that in 1876 the popular vote for its party candidate for the presidency exceeded that of the Republican candidate by over a quarter of a million votes. Our chapter covers the presidencies of Grant, Hayes, and Garfield-Arthur and sees the rise of the strong but temporary power which the western farmer has wielded at times in American politics, now as "Granger," now as "Populist," and, more recently, in the Nonpartizan League. The part played by the West in this era is also emphasized by the story of development of railway building, of gold and silver mining, of the rise of the cattle-raising and meat-packing industries—and the political influences exerted by these forms of occupation.

Underlying the whole, however, is the greater story of a nation becoming transformed from one employing primitive methods of agriculture and manufacturing and importing much from abroad, to the chief industrial nation of the world exporting and manufacturing goods to be sent to the uttermost confines of the globe.



Ulysses S. Grant

Section 46. Material and Moral Growth

The sixty years lying between 1860 and 1920 may well be called "The Age of Miracles." The history of these days presents a bewildering medley of transformation, growth, and development. As an introduction to this period, let us take our stand for a moment on the pinnacle of 1860, so to speak, and cast our glance backward and then forward. As we did not begin our real national development until the year 1800, this year of 1860 marks closely

The viewpoint of 1860

the exact halfway post between 1800 and 1920; sixty years lie on either side of it.

In the prime matter of physical growth, as we have seen, there has been no change in our contiguous continental growth since 1860. The table tells the story:

Physical growth

YEAR	SQUARE MILES OF TERRITORY
1800	843,246
1860	3,026,789
1920	3,026,789
1920 (including outlying territory)	3,743,487[1]

In our growth in population, on the other hand, we find a marked change:

Growth in population

YEAR	POPULATION
1800	5,308,483
1860	31,443,321
1920	106,389,246

Immigration from foreign countries has brought us about thirty-two million souls in the ninety-nine years since records were kept. The largest of these annual armies came in 1854 (427,000), 1882 (788,000), and 1907, 1910, 1913, and 1914 (over a million each).[2] Favorable and unfavorable have been the effects of this immigration; it has given us millions of eager hands for mill, mine, and

Effects of Immigration

[1]These 716,556 additional square miles include Alaska, 590,884 (Oct. 9, 1867); Hawaii, 6,449 (July 7, 1898); Porto Rico, 3,435 (Feb. 6, 1899); Philippines, 115,026, (Feb. 6, 1899); Guam, 210 (Dec. 10, 1898); Samoan Islands, 77 (Dec. 10, 1899); Wake Island, 1 (Dec. 10, 1899); Canal Zone, 474 (Feb. 26, 1904); Virgin Islands, 142 (1917).

[2]The new Immigration Restriction Law of May 19, 1921, operative until June 30, 1924, defines "alien" as any person not native born or naturalized, exclusive of Indians not taxed, and citizens of the islands under U. S. jurisdiction. It limits the number of aliens admissible to our country each year to 3 per cent. of the number of the particular nationality in each case resident in the United States as shown by the 1910 census. Exceptions are foreign government employees, their families and servants, visitors for pleasure or business, others merely going through the country as a convenient route, one-year residents of Canada, Newfoundland, Cuba, Mexico, or Central or South American countries, and children (under eighteen) of United States citizens. Not more than 20 per cent. of each nationality may be ad-

factory without which many of the "miracles" of this age would not have been possible. On the other hand, the unsettling effect of cheap labor, the crowding of thousands of aliens in our cities and mining towns, the lack of interest on the part of many for American traditions (as for the "American" against the "Continental" Sunday) have given rise to serious problems.

Looming up as a most significant fact in this period is the industrial revolution which has taken place with the expansion of manufacturing. In 1860 we were fourth in the list of nations in the value of our manufactured products; in 1894 we took the lead. Our advance, as compared with all Europe, is interesting:

Our industrial revolution

	1860	1894
	(In millions of dollars)	
Europe	11,479	17,325
United States	1,907	9,498

The reasons for this notable growth are summed up by Professor Bogart of the University of Illinois as follows: (a) the vastness of our contiguous territory, the variety of its soils, and its great mineral resources; (b) the abundance and cheapness of our agricultural products; (c) the ingenuity, inventiveness, and energy of our people; (d) our great coastline, its accessibility and numerous harbors; (e) our numerous inland systems of water

Concentration of industries

mitted in any one month, preference being given to relatives and fiancées of United States citizens, of applicants for citizenship, and of persons eligible to citizenship by service in United States military or naval forces between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918, inclusive. The penalty for bringing aliens in who are inadmissible under the Restriction Act is $200 for each alien.

In Appendix V (p. 628) two interesting tables will be found giving statistics of immigration and emigration for countries of southeastern and eastern Europe and number of aliens admissible from southern and eastern European countries and western Asia under the Immigration Act of May 19, 1921. The fact that emigrants outnumbered immigrants from southern and eastern Europe between July 1, 1921, and June 30, 1922, is interesting although many of these went to South America and elsewhere. *The Statistical Abstract of the United States for 1920* shows that while the number of immigrants unable to read in any language has reached as high as 337,573 in one year (1907) it dropped as low as 2,827 in 1919. In 1921, 27,463 illiterates were admitted.

communication (giving cheap freight rates), complemented by an enormous railway mileage; (f) the absence of artificial restrictions to trade within our borders and (to a certain degree) to the restriction of competition from foreign nations laid by protective tariffs.

The chief characteristic of this industrial growth was the remarkable concentration of industries in order to secure large-scale production. In the half century after 1860 the number of cotton manufactories, for instance, increased only from 1,091 to 1,324, while the average capital of each plant increased from

Pioneer Railroad Engineers in Camp

$90,000 to $621,000; in the same period the steel plants increased only from 542 to 654, while the average capital of each increased from $82,000 to $2,282,000.

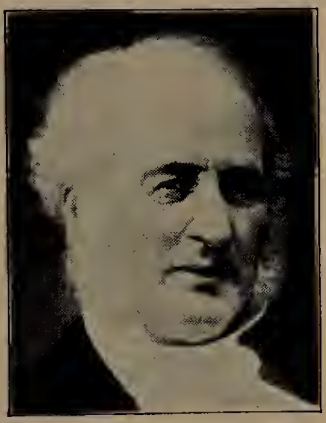
No factor was so important in this work of consolidation as development of transportation by means of railway building.

Railway development

In fact, it underlies the whole story of our material prosperity since the Civil War. Despite that war, railway development had gone on rapidly in the North and West. The country's railway mileage increased from 30,000 miles in 1860 to almost 53,000 in 1870. Grant's first term (1869–1873) saw a marvelous railway develop-

ment in the West (map following p. 344). The admission of California (1850), Oregon (1859), Kansas (1861), Nevada (1864), and Nebraska (1867) had revived early dreams of a trans-continental railway line. The war had brought home the military and political necessity of such communication to the Pacific, and the Republican party—inheriting the old Whig bias for internal improvements—favored granting lands and money for such an enterprise. Between 1862 and 1872 twenty million acres (alternate sections of land, see above mentioned map) were granted to the Union Pacific (building westward from Omaha) and the Central Pacific (building eastward from Sacramento). These lines were joined near Ogden, Utah, May 10, 1869, forming our first continental railway. Thirteen millions of acres were similarly granted to the Northern Pacific and the Kansas Pacific. Other grants by Congress or by states brought the total up to over one hundred and fifty million acres granted for the purpose of aiding transportation development, although less than a third of these were actually confirmed to land-grant railroads by 1880.

Land grants to railways



CORNELIUS VANDERBILT

Our table presents our immense railway growth to the eye at a glance:

YEAR	MILEAGE
1860	30,626
1880	93,267
1900	198,967
1920	250,000

Railway growth

Heavier construction in rails, cars, engines, etc., marked the difference between the Old World railways and our own; this was demanded by the heavier and bulkier freights of the United States, for half of our tonnage borne by railways con-

sists of coal, iron, and grain. Thus the supplanting of iron by steel in construction (about 1870) was a prime factor toward mastery, the steel passenger coach (1915) practically completing the transformation in every department of the service.

Great abuses, as well as great achievements, mark the history of this important phase of our physical development as a nation.

Railway scandals

Freedom from government supervision in early days of lowered moral standards gave rise to such episodes (types of their kind) as the *Crédit Mobilier* and the "wrecking" of the Erie Railroad. In the former instance the leading stockholders of the Union Pacific organized themselves into a construction company, *Crédit Mobilier*, and, in their capacity as stockholders of the railroad, voted themselves, in their capacity as directors of the construction company, unduly profitable contracts, thus defrauding both the government and innocent stockholders. The financial wrecking of the Erie by foisting upon the market $40,000,000 worth of fraudulent stock, involved the more deplorable wrecking of people's faith and a state's honor by the corruption of the state judiciary.

Two main lines of development mark our later railway history: (a) the combining of lines into giant systems and (b) the regulation of the industry by state and Federal legislation.

Development of railway systems

Economy dictated the wisdom of the uniting of short lines into long lines in order to secure through traffic without expensive transfers of freight and passengers. The growth of long-distance business made combining profitable, and, under Jay Gould, Cornelius Vanderbilt, and Thomas A. Scott, great trunk lines came into existence about 1880. Inevitably competition led to the cutting of rates or tariffs charged by the rival systems. This led to the

"Pooling"

evils of "pooling" issues, by which the earnings were divided between companies on a prearranged basis, thus abolishing competition. Together with this transformation came (1875) the rise of incidental companies to handle the sideline business created by railways, namely, express, sleeping-car, and fast-freight companies.

The power conferred by our Constitution on Congress to regulate interstate trade was little exercised in the old days; as far back as in the days of the Lancaster Turnpike (1792) toll companies had been compelled by state legislation to make public their books and limit their profits to a reasonable per cent. In this new era of railway combination public welfare demanded government control. Transportation was being sold at any price the trans-

Early regulation of transportation

THE SCENE AT PROMONTORY POINT, UTAH, WHEN THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD WAS COMPLETED

porter could get; the big shipper was found to be paying the minimum rate and the little shipper the maximum. To this the farmers of the West, known in politics as "Grangers," made first outcry, as we shall see, on the ground that railways were quasi-public institutions. Regulations brought about by the "Grangers," however, left loopholes which clever men were sure to find. One of these men was at the head of the Standard Oil Company, which had been built up largely through shrewd manipulation of transportation

Law evasion

factors. This company's refineries had put most of its rivals out of business and, by 1882, held control of most of the traffic in petroleum by means of special rates and rebates.[1] The company's lobbies were successful against legislative attacks because its legal advisers were keener and more energetic than those representing their opponents. In the hands of such an organization the rebate tool was still successful.

Legislation equally powerful was soon, however, discovered in shape of the epoch-making Interstate Commerce Act of 1887.

Interstate Commerce Act of 1887

This important act prohibited (a) discrimination, (b) pooling, and (c) making a disproportionate charge for a short haul as compared to a long one. It also required publicity of rates and, most important of all, it created an Interstate Commerce Commission of five (now eleven) men who should sit as a tribunal to hear complaints and render decisions. Weak as the new law was in some particulars, it formed a precedent of vital importance. It was strengthened, substantially, by the Elkins Act of 1903, the Hepburn Act of 1906, and the Mann-Elkins Act of 1910. The Hepburn Act forbade rebates, put the rate-making power in the hands of the Commission and authorized that body to stipulate how railways should keep their accounts. The Elkins Act gave the commission power to "determine and prescribe what will be the just and reasonable rate"; but appeal to the Federal Courts was possible if the railways considered decisions unjust. The conditions after the Great War (when the railways had been under government control) demanded extraordinary treatment as provided in the Cummins-Esch Bill of 1920. By it (a) the Interstate Commerce Commission was empowered to fix railway rates so that the railroads would earn $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on their estimated valuation and (b) the Commission was given control of the issuing of railroad stocks and bonds.

Interstate Commerce Commission

One marked effect of railway growth has been the decline of

[1] By rebates, we mean that while a certain service was performed by a railway at a "set" rate, favorites (like this oil company) would secretly be paid back a part of that rate.

business carried by canal and river boat. In 1903 New York State voted to spend a hundred millions to enlarge and improve the Erie Canal. That route, although far from meeting expectations, is hauling a traffic (in barges of 1,000 tons) that was never handled in the old days. Vast sums have been expended for dredging, levees, and slack-water navigation on our greater rivers, as the Ohio and Mississippi, but, even counting the large shipments of coal southward from Pittsburgh, river traffic has dwindled to about one fifth of its old-time proportions. On the Great Lakes, however, the successors of the *Walk-in-the-Water* and *Vandalia* have much more than held their own; they are carrying a total tonnage of a billion tons of freight, nearly one half of which comes from the Lake Superior ore fields. In the same period we have seen an enormous growth in electric and interurban lines, which now have a mileage approximately equal to the total railway mileage of Russia, about 50,000 miles. These have been an important factor in city growth, affording quick means of transit for produce and freight (such as milk) to the cities; also they have been instrumental in suburban growth, bringing town and city school privileges within reach of all. Probably the most marked change in our transportation systems of the future lies in the further development of these lines, and especially in the much greater use of the motor truck.

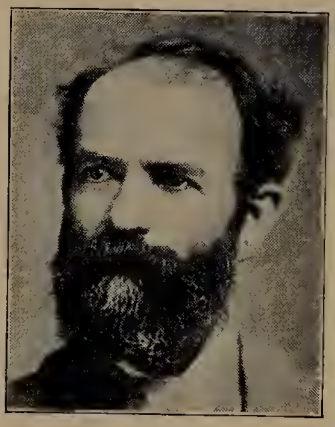
Railways destroy river competition

Electric and interurban lines

The westward trend of our population brought our present center of population to Bloomington, Ind. (1920), and our industrial center of the nation has moved into Ohio in this period; these advances were made possible by railway development. Western growth will be discussed later. The steady maintenance of the prestige of our Northeast, financially, is a recognized fact, while the rise of the new Southland, surviving pluckily the injury of war, stands out spectacularly in these sixty years and should be specially remarked. By the side of the numerous southern rivers arose many cotton manufactories which bade fair to challenge New England's monopoly in that industry. The coal and iron

Sectional development

resources of the southern Alleghenies have proven a great asset to that section and to the world. In a score of years (1880–1900) their output increased 525 per cent. (to two and a half million tons); in the same period southern manufactures increased in value 295 per cent. (to $1,184,000,000); meanwhile the value of the nation's manufactures increased from $1,885,861,676 to $24,246,435,000. Our national wealth increased from $16,159,616,000 to $187,739,071,090 (1912).



Jay Gould

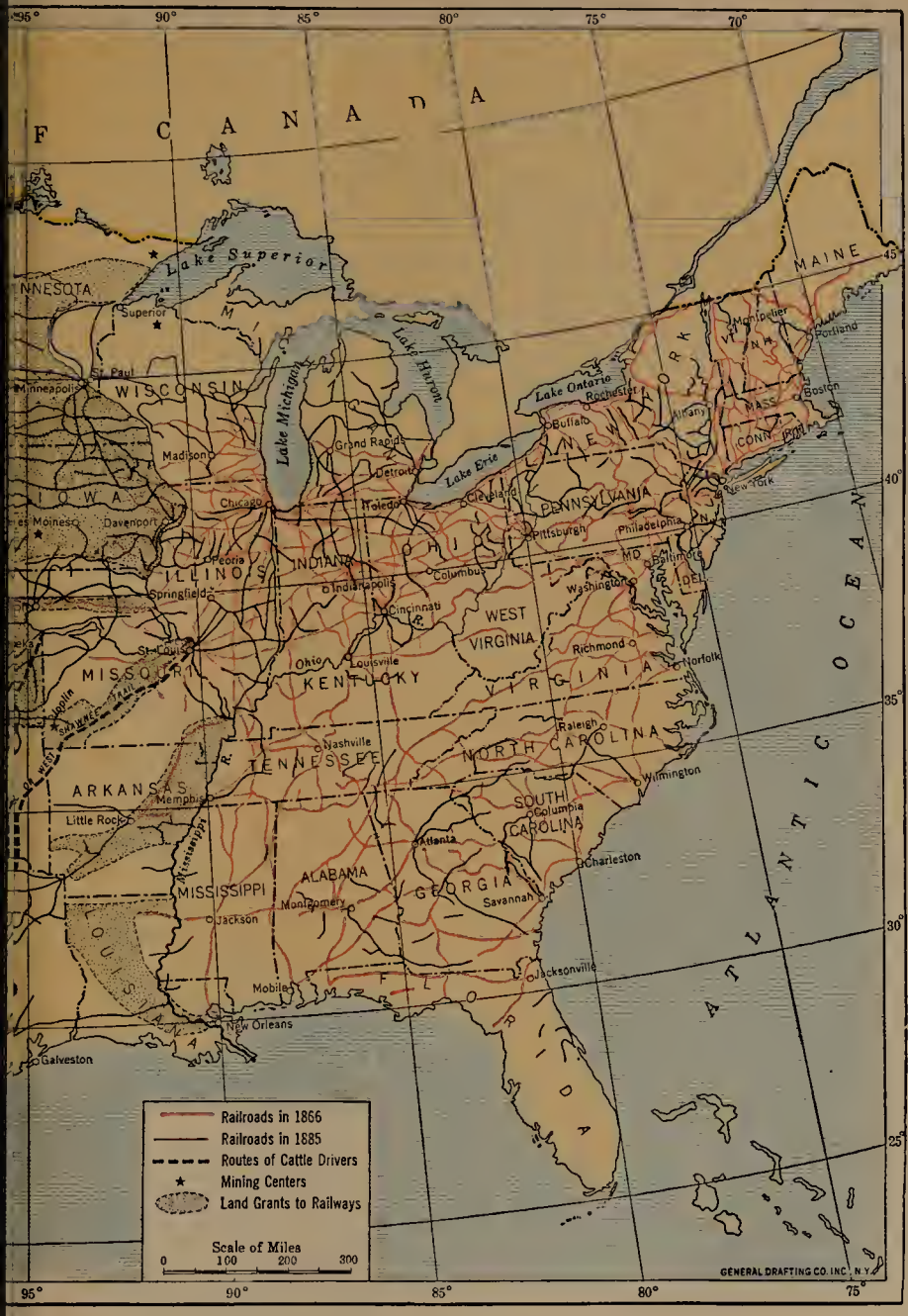
Ethical development

But St. Luke's ancient challenge, that a man's life consists not in the abundance of the things he possesses, rings down the centuries to us above the whistle of engine and the clash and clangor of mill and factory. Happy it is that we can point to evidence, in these miraculous six decades of material advance, that we have kept abreast of the world, and led it at times, in the educational, ethical, moral, and spiritual realms. To this reference will be made as we take up the story in detail; yet a brief survey of these tendencies should be made here to give proper balance to our bird's-eye glance across these years.

National health

In the department of national health these years have seen notable progress. Experts in hundreds of lines of activity have awakened public conscience. Great sewerage systems have supplanted in our towns and cities the disease-breeding gutters, rendering the congestion of population, which has taken place, more healthy. Boards of health (city, state, and national) have limited pestilence and contagion. Public clinics have been established. Wise campaigns, as against special diseases and the common housefly, have reduced suffering and death-rates everywhere. Government (local and national) has made strides, which would have warmed the heart of Jefferson, in protecting the health of the in-

THE UNITED STATES, 1866-1885. (Showing railway development



of the cattle drives and mining centers; insert showing Alaska.)

dividual citizen. Some of the factors which have counted strongly in these directions are: (a) the creation of parks and playgrounds; (b) wiping out of the festering sores in our great cities; (c) the betterment of the condition of babes and children; and (d) courses in our schools teaching lessons on public health.

Great advances are to be recorded such as (a) improving the relationship between employer and employee, (b) caring for the poor, the maimed, and the unfortunate, (c) prison reform and world-relief for those stricken by famine, convulsions of Nature, flood, and fire. Much has been done in these lines to give the word "brotherhood" a meaning it did not have before. Our great need is more wisdom for such work rather than greater means for carrying it on. Such an outpouring of wealth as was bestowed upon the Red Cross and supplementary organizations by the Allied Nations and the Central Powers in the recent Great War was significant of the same thing. Space forbids even the attempt to catalogue the great strides made in this era in music, in science, in the ethics of business conduct, in systems of credit and banking, and in the vast domain of invention.

Practical philanthropy

The Red Cross

READING LIST

1. Material Growth: C. D. Wright, *Industrial Revolution*, Chaps. 13 and 14; E. L. Bogart, *Economic History*, Chaps. 20 and 22; J. Moody, *Railroad-Builders* (Chronicles of America, XXXVIII); C. R. Lingley, *Since the Civil War*, Chap. 3; H. Thompson, *The Age of Invention* (Chronicles of America, XXXVII); D. R. Dewey, *National Problems* (American Nation, XXIV) E. E. Sparks, *National Development* (American Nation, XXIII); S. P. Orth, *Our Foreigners*, Chaps. 5–8; H. Thompson, *The New South* (Chronicles of America, XLII); B. J. Hendrick, *The Age of Big Business* (Chronicles of America, XXXIX) Chap. 1; Fox, *Map Studies*, No. 24.

2. Moral Growth: Wright, Chap. 19; E. E. Slosson, *The American Spirit in Education*, Chaps. 15–17; Lingley, Chap. 4; B. Perry, *The American Spirit in Literature*, Chaps. 9 and 10; A. B. Hart, *National Ideals Historically Traced* (American Nation, XXVI) Chaps. 10, 11, 14, and 19; F. L. Paxson, *Recent History*, Chap. 1; *American Ideals;* Wright, *Practical Sociology;* Jane Addams, *Twenty Years in Hull House; Democracy and Social Ethics;* J. A. Riis, *Battle With the Slum;* H. Van Dyke, *The American Spirit;* Jas. Pennell,

Art and Progress; H. K. Carroll, *Religious Forces;* H. W. Grady "The New South" in Harding, 489–500.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

In what ways has the development of your city or community been due to railways? What were the local conditions before those railways were built? When were they completed? What development in transportation facilities do you anticipate in your section in the next fifty years? What industries or enterprises are affecting the development of transportation in your region? What is being done in your community to increase public health? What is the death rate from contagious diseases in your town compared with the average for the nation? The average for your state? What oversight of public health in your community falls to city authorities? State authorities? National authorities? Are you happier than your grandparents were at your age? Healthier? Better citizens?

Section 47. Two Decades of Republican Rule

Four Republican Presidents

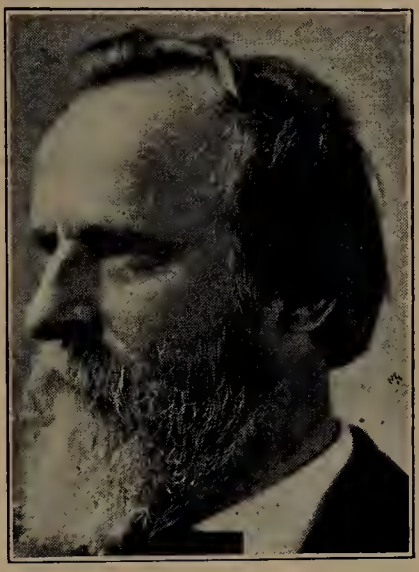
With the election of General Grant to the presidency in 1868 there began a succession of four Republican Chief Executives, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur. These days are interesting from a political standpoint because of the strenuous battles which were fought at the polls between the party in power and the strong opposition which the Democratic party rallied in these years. While the "Solid South" was Democratic from reconstruction days onward, that party had by no means lost all of its old-time strength in the North. Throughout the war it showed its former conservatism on the matter of strict construction of the Constitution by opposing Lincoln's war-time powers. In the election of 1864, in the midst of the war, it showed surprising ability to rally all discontented persons under its banner. Its candidate, the popular "Little Mac" (McClellan), received half a million more Democratic votes in the North alone than Douglas had received in 1860 from both North and South combined. An opposition party is often a "party of expedients," which means that such a party adopts this or that policy more in the hope of beating the party in power than because it heartily believes such

Democratic strength in days of war

a policy is a cure-all for a national ailment. What "expedients" the Democratic party adopted we shall see.

From the slough of reconstruction the Republican party rose to the new era with confidence and ability. These days of readjustment were not easy ones for a party in office. The period, as we have seen, was one of lowered moral tone; both political parties suffered from this; the Republicans, being in power, seemed to suffer the most. That party inherited, as one of its great responsibilities, a war debt on the nation of nearly three billion dollars. In order to finance a government which was growing by leaps and bounds, and pay up what, for those days, was a giant debt, there was necessary the maintenance of a high standard of money and not only a much greater revenue than ever before but a closer relationship between the nation's officials and the money centers of the nation. Any party advocating a high tariff to raise money, especially when its officials are in alliance with the monied interests on questions of money standards, opens the way for the opposition party to shout loudly about "corruption." When, as happened now and then, public officials betrayed their party's principles and their own honor, the rival organization had strong arguments with which to secure votes. The political battles of these flush days of material growth and development were fought over such ethical questions as these. As the party of "sound money" and "protective tariffs" the Republican party was attacked as the party of "the interests" and of

The basis of the political battles of this era

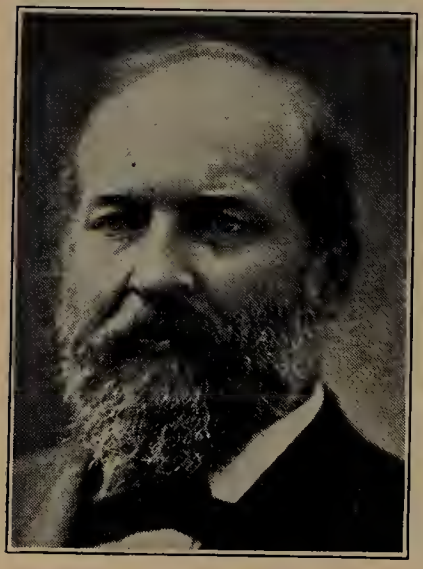


Rutherford B. Hayes

plutocracy; in turn the Democratic party was assailed as the party "of expedients," advocating whims and conceits for the sole purpose of winning political victories.

General Grant was desired by both parties as presidential nominee in the campaign of 1868. His close association with leaders of the "Union Party"—as the Republican party and allies called themselves in the later war years—made him the logical candidate to be nominated by the Republicans, and he was triumphant in the election, having a popular vote of 3,015,071 as against Horatio Seymour's Democratic vote of 2,709,615. That the latter carried a great northern state like New York, however, was significant of the latent strength of the party.

Grant elected President in 1868



JAMES A. GARFIELD

Grant was popular for four reasons. His soldier record was one, of course. It made him a favorite in the North whose battle he had fought. His soldierly bearing made him popular in the South which admired his Lincoln-like spirit, shown in his inaugural address, when he said, "Let us have peace." The West loved him because he was her world-famous son. The East gave him its approval, politically, because he stood for what it called sound finance.

Grant's popularity

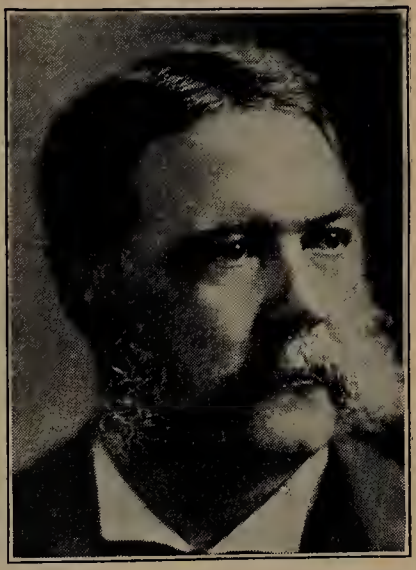
In the 1868 campaign the Democratic party chose, as an expedient, to favor a scheme to pay the bonds of our war debt with the depreciated "Greenbacks." But our government had promised to pay this debt in gold. The West was the debtor section of the nation, the East the creditor. A debtor usually wants to pay his debts

How to pay the war debt

in the cheapest money he can get; a creditor always wants the best money he can get. Grant agreed with the East that, since the government had promised to pay in gold, it would go back on its word if this scheme of paying it in poor money was victorious at the polls. Even the Democratic candidate, Seymour, agreed with Grant on this point.

It sometimes happens that a great military leader develops weaknesses in civil life. So it was with Grant. His choices of assistants in camp had been excellent. As President, however, they were peculiarly unfortunate; "favoritism and incapacity," as Professor Paxson has said, distinguished both his choices and appointees. A marked demoralization in the public service ensued. Shifty financiers courted the President successfully, and, while involved in no personal taint himself, Grant (though successfully reëlected in 1872) laid the basis for strong opposition to Republicanism in later days.

Grant and the "spoils system"



CHESTER A. ARTHUR

Grant was the victim of success, of the ignoring of moral values to which every nation is subject in days of great prosperity, and the country suffered. Men of high position were found guilty of (and confessed to) graft. Two members of Congress were expelled on such charges; a cabinet member resigned to escape examination, and even the Vice-President of the United States was involved. For the most part these shady transactions were connected with the promotion of transportation companies, particularly the *Crédit Mobilier* previously mentioned.

The public, of course, soon demanded reform, but partizan-

ship was a mighty handicap to reform. This showed very plainly in the selection of a President to succeed Grant in 1876. Neither of the great parties seemed to have an available candidate of first-rate caliber for the office. The feeling of reaction against the Republican administration was, however, becoming very marked. This showed plainly in the Congressional elections of 1874; our table presents at a glance the Republican losses in that year:

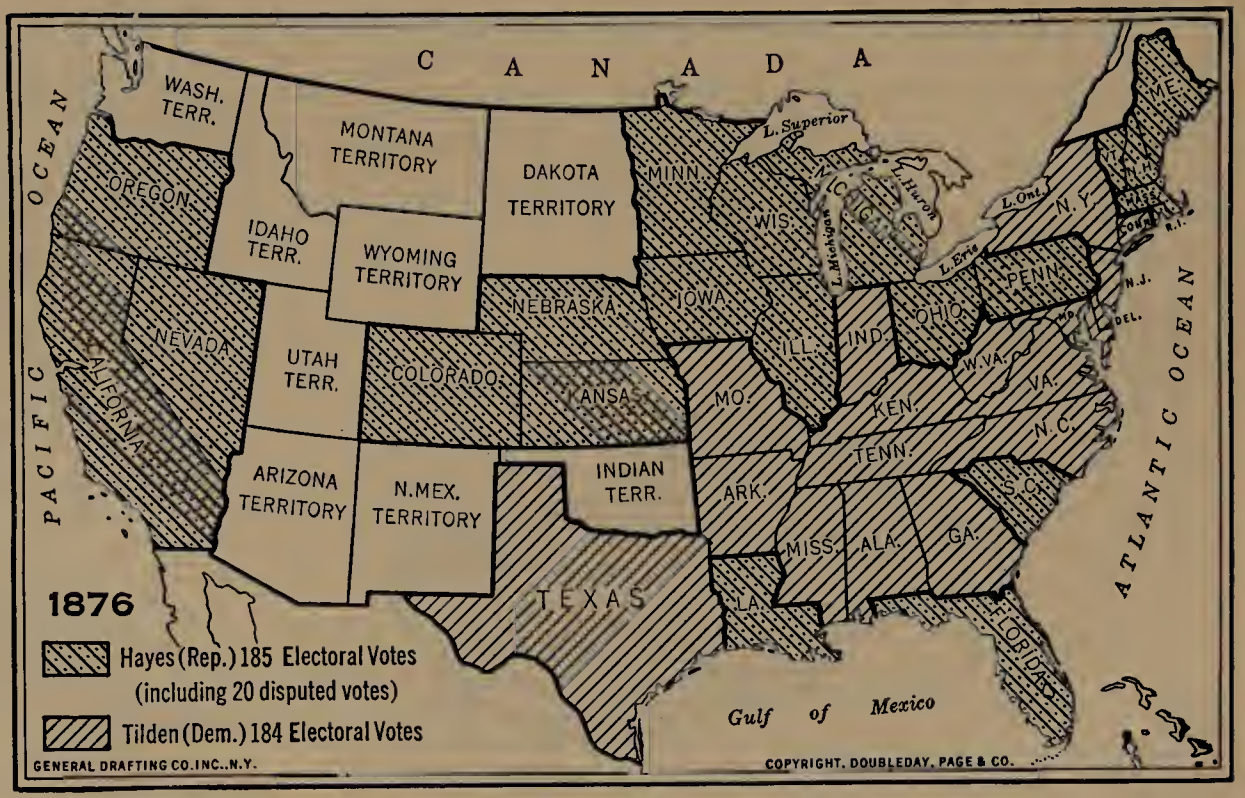
	1874	1875
Republicans in the House	195	108
Democrats in the House	92	182

The exposure of the St. Louis "Whiskey Ring" in 1875 shocked the Nation. This ring had been defrauding the government of a million dollars a year with the aid of government supervisors of internal revenue. "Boss" William M. Tweed was at the head of a crowd which plundered New York City of millions of dollars before he was caught and sent to jail. The proof, now published, that Grant's Secretary of War had taken bribes for appointments also made honest men shrink; these exposures contributed toward Democratic strength in 1876. The Democratic candidate, Samuel J. Tilden, received 4,284,885 votes in the presidential election of that year to 4,033,950 for Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republican nominee. Tilden had 184 electoral votes to 165 for Hayes, but 185 electoral votes were necessary for election. Twenty electoral votes from Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Oregon were in dispute. Both parties in these states were doubtless guilty of intense partizanship. A single one of these votes would have elected Tilden (map p. 401).

The Hayes-Tilden contest

An electoral commission of fourteen was appointed by Congress to settle justly the question in dispute. The members of this commission and their party affiliation are shown in this table:

	DEMOCRAT	REPUBLICAN
U. S. Senators	2	3
U. S. Representatives	3	2
Members of the Supreme Court	2	2
	7	7



GEOGRAPHICAL MAP OF ELECTORAL VOTE, 1876

A fifteenth member of the commission was to be chosen by the four members representing the Supreme Court. It was expected that they would appoint Justice Davis, who was an independent in politics. In the eleventh hour, however, Davis was eliminated as a candidate by being elected a senator from Illinois. No other member of the Supreme Court was an independent and Justice Bradley, a Republican, was appointed the fifteenth member.

ONE OF THE FAMOUS NAST CARTOONS ON "BOSS" TWEED

Strict partizanship prevailed in the balloting and every one of the disputed votes was thrown to Hayes, who was inaugurated March 4, 1877.

Hayes elected President

But this biased Commission gave the Nation a President greater than almost any one believed at the time. As the years pass Rutherford B. Hayes stands out clearly and more clearly as a good Chief Executive. True, he was hindered greatly by the Democratic party which controlled the House of Representatives, and not much constructive legislation can be recorded for his administration. Yet he did a valuable work and strove manfully for some important measures. For example, he immediately removed Federal troops from the South, ending forever the disgrace of "carpetbag" government. He appointed an ex-Confederate to his cabinet as Postmaster-General, thus indicating an independ-

Removal of troops from the South

Geographical Map of Electoral Vote, 1884

ence of party control not common in those days. That control was gained, however, at the cost of the loss of friendship of the old-line Republican politicians who called themselves "Stalwarts," and who dubbed the President and his friends "Half-breeds." Numerous good financial laws, to be treated in their place, were passed during Hayes's term in office. In general, the period shows a distinct trend upward of the moral tone of the nation; in promoting civil service reform Hayes contributed his "bit" to this end, as we shall see.

Garfield's election and assassination

The prosperity of the nation during Hayes's administration served to keep the Republican party in power for the succeeding four years. The reform elements, rallied by the President, held their ground against the "Stalwart" faction and succeeded in getting James A. Garfield nominated as Republican candidate in the presidential election of 1880, through the help of James G. Blaine and John Sherman, his chief rival candidates. Yet, out of a popular vote of nearly nine millions, Garfield defeated his Democratic opponent (General Hancock) by only a paltry 7,023. The assassination of Garfield by a crazed office-seeker four months after his inauguration (July 2) and his sad death (September 19) brought Vice-President Chester A. Arthur, a "Stalwart," unexpectedly into the White House. Although not rated by his opponents as of presidential caliber, Arthur proved to be an excellent President. His term of office saw no marked changes save for distinct progress in reform and in tariff legislation.

Arthur becomes President

James G. Blaine, the "Stalwart" Republican, who was a rival of Garfield's for the party nomination for President in 1880, was the successful aspirant for it in 1884, to the chagrin of the advocates of civil service reform and to the anxiety of those who believed stories of his "shady" relations with western railways. These reformers, called "Mugwumps" which was Indian for "Big Chief" (men who would lead but not follow), hailed with pleasure the Democratic nomination of Grover Cleveland, then the successful Governor of New York, to make the fight against

Republican defeat in 1884

Blaine. By carrying his own state, Cleveland was victor (map p. 403) by 37 electoral votes, and, for the first time since the war, a Democrat took his place in the White House.

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1. The Hayes-Tilden Election: P. L. Haworth, *The Hayes-Tilden Election;* Dunning, *Reconstruction*, Chaps. 19–21; Rhodes, VII, Chaps. 43 and 44; H.J. Ford, *The Cleveland Era* (Chronicles of America, XLIV), Chaps. 1–3; F. L. Paxson, *The New Nation*, Chaps. 5–8.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

What were the main questions at stake in the election of each of the four Republican Presidents in this era? Account for the large vote cast by the Democratic party in 1876 and 1880. Why did many Republicans vote for Cleveland in 1884? Has our history proved that military success in the field has usually been followed by executive and administrative success in the office of Chief Executive? Is a nation's moral tone usually lowered by a war? Explain this in the face of the recognized fact that the tone of patriotism is always raised in war-times. Is war-time patriotism the soundest and truest kind of patriotism? Compare the patriotism required to wrest a city from an enemy in war and that required to wrest it from "bosses" and "gangs" in time of peace. Which kind has most representatives in the Hall of Fame?

Section 48. The Cowboy's Kingdom[1]

The sixteen years embraced in the administrations of Grant, Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur present the fascinating story of our material development as a nation. During this time the basis of many great industries was laid. One of the most interesting

[1]The author desires to express his indebtedness to Emerson Hough for certain phrases used in this section. No one could read that author's *The Story of the Cowboy* and *The Passing of the Frontier* without being obligated to Mr. Hough for certain words, at least, for which there seem to be no synonyms. P. A. Rollins, *The Cowboy*, is very valuable on the whole cattle subject.

and important of these was the cattle industry on our western plains. This industry, in which the cow, the cowpony, and the cowboy were the actors, is one of never-ending, seductive interest. Although these topics overlap we will treat them in the order named.

The cattle industry

The cow of the western plains is a descendant of cattle brought into Mexico from Spain; on the northern plateau of Mexico these small, hardy, long-lived animals roamed the wide ranges, being accustomed to long migrations from uplands at the end of the rainy season to lowlands where the remainder of the year was spent. For two centuries these herds increased in size and became accustomed to their peculiar environment; they form the background of all that is contained for us of to-day in the words "ranch," "round-up," "corral," "stock yards," and "packing house." The Spanish origin of the cattle business is suggested by the many words in the cowboy's vocabulary derived from that language, as "quirt," "chaps," "ranch," and "corral."

As our Texas-land begin to acquire a population these Mexican herds began to drift northward, and soon it was found that the short gray grass of upland Texas would rear cattle of a size unknown either in their Mexican homeland or in the coastal regions. Cows weighing 500–600 pounds would increase to a weight of 700–900 pounds after feeding on the sun-cured short grasses, buffalo, gramma, and mesquite, of the Texan upland plains. Mexico had uncounted herds, but every "ranchero" was cow poor; there was so little market for his product that cattle were hardly esteemed wealth. Somewhat the same condition seemed likely to exist, also, in Texas. As herds increased in size, energetic Americans made brave efforts to find a sale for this greatly increasing product which had been a veritable drug on the market in Mexico. Efforts to drive cattle to Illinois in 1857 failed and in 1861 some were driven to Louisiana; after the war daring men sought to drive cattle across the "Indian Nations" to the hungry miners of California and to Nevada. Lack of success of these drives, however, led to an effort to can the beef

Futile efforts to market Texas cattle

THE FAR WEST IN 1850. (Showing main trans-continental trails with insert of California missions.)

of these herds at Rockport on the Gulf; and the experiment of shipping cattle to New Orleans and Mobile was tried. All such methods promised no return worth the candle; Texas was stocked with millions of cows but it seemed that they could be converted into nothing better than millions more.

The problem solved

Climate, vegetation, and water courses made easy, however, a northward movement of these herds and the coming of the railways across Kansas made a possible outlet for this immense bottled-up wealth of the West. With a rush one of the most interesting migrations of all history now got under way and across the Red, the

View of a Ranch in New Mexico

Cimarron, the Brazos, and the Canadian rivers surged the great cattle drive along a score of curling trails focusing upon Newton, Wichita, Ellsworth, Great Bend, and Fort Dodge to the northward (map following p. 394).

The more famous of these pathways from Texas were the Chisholm Trail, the Old Shawnee Trail, and the Middle or West Shawnee Trail. The first of these left the Red River at the mouth of Mud Creek and ended at Abilene, Kansas; in 1868,

75,000 cattle reached the Sante Fé railway system at Newton, Kansas, in 1869, 160,000; in 1870, 300,000; and in 1871, 600,000. The Old Shawnee Trail left the Red River at Snivel's Bend and went across the Creek Indian Reservation to Baxter Springs, Kan., on the Fort Scott and Gulf Railway. The Middle Trail left the Red River at Rock Bluffs, ran to Fort Smith, Ark., and zigzagged through the Ozark Mountains across southeastern Missouri. These giant tracks, from 200 to 400 yards in width, were worn deep and can be traced to-day at many points. They stand as mute monuments of the thriving days when a great American industry was being established.

The great northward trails

Once in the northland it was found that the "cattle kings" who ruled these great droves could dispose of their wealth in more ways than by shipping cattle East. The new environment (despite the hazards of the march) improved the Texas longhorn as much as bringing the Mexican cow to Texas had improved it. Feeding on the succulent buffalo and sweetwater grasses of the North the Texas cow, which had weighed 700–900 pounds, took on from 900 to 1100, and this additional meat was firmer and better than the beef of the Texas cow.[1] Instantly great territorial ranges were established in the "empire of free grass" north of Kansas, and to the bosses of these ranges the drivers of cattle could make ready sales. Also, a large amount of beef was now needed by the government for its Indian agencies. Crossing the western cow with the Durhams, Herefords, and Devons, which had been driven into the Ohio Valley early in 1805, and had spread widely, the "rancheros" of Nebraska, the Dakotas, and Montana were producing an excellent quality of beef almost as soon as stock yards were ready to distribute it throughout the country.

The Texas cow in the "empire of free grass"

This 2,000-mile pathway from Texas had many projecting circles; one crossed the "Panhandle" and the "Indian Nations"

[1]Climate favorably affected the cattle; "Spanish fever," common to them in the South and in low malarial regions, disappeared on the high uplands of the middle and northwest in large part.

(Oklahoma) into Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Montana; one circled eastward into Missouri, Iowa, and even to Illinois; branches reached the far Yellowstone and Sweetwater; and the hoof-prints of the dust-covered herds were found beyond the Musselshell, beyond the Dakota "Bad Lands," and in Canada. In Texas cattle had sold by the head; in the kingdom of our cowboy this wealth began at once to sell by the pound; and within five years after the great drives northward occurred, cattle were being driven back over the same trails for sale in Texas.[1] The great range was occupied as if by magic and to a large degree within the years 1866 and 1870 (map following p. 426).

Extent of the cattle range

A Panoramic View of

The most interesting cog in this machine of the cattle industry was the indispensable cowboy. Squint-eyed, lank, lean, and brown, toed-in, slouchy, and shambling, this specimen—on foot—was a strange and ungainly sight in his shaggy "chaps" and high-heeled boots. On his

The cowboy

[1] By 1880 short-horned cattle of English origin, but bred in our West, were being shipped back to England.

throne, or rather, work-bench—his 40–50 pound high-cantled saddle—he was a marvel of dexterity and hardihood. Oddly enough he was of no particular race or country; his fraternity was gathered from all the world, built of all timber; but in him the United States gained a new citizen and the world another hero fit to stand beside knight and Crusader of old and by the *voyageur* and *coureur-de-bois* of New France.

To this monarch of the West as he rode from the home ranch (whether it was in the Dakota grass lands, on the plains of

THE CHICAGO STOCKYARDS

Wyoming or Montana, in the great Basin of the Big Horn or in a hanging garden-of-the-gods between Long's Peak and the Mummy Range), the level world beneath its cover of intense blue was a kingdom for which he willingly slaved and to which, in sunshine, rain, and blizzard, he sang his somber but piquant songs. Out to meet him, from their winter retreats, in the spring come the lean cows with the wabbly "doggies"; he counts new arrivals to be branded; also the breaks in the ranks of stock made by wolf and bear. The summer's sun turns him to iron as the heat seems to make the range shrink with the dwindling of the

streams, while the lips of the "tenderfoot" shrivel and blacken. In the fall when the great droves of sleek and fat cattle are collected in the "roundup" come his gala days crowded with savage toil but blessed with companions and a fellowship much to be recalled in the lonely days which follow. The winter is his lazy, lonely period, and yet then he often rides the white plains and hills, a brave human St. Bernard, hunting cows lost in box cañons or drifted "down the wind" into death-traps or on unprotected hillsides sheathed in ice. Yet in this blizzard-world he marks the deer creeping down for water, the lion's or otter's track, and hears the sobbing wail of the gray wolf on his forty-mile hunt for food.

The cow pony

But the cowboy cannot be described as a tool in the most important industry of the young West apart from his faithful companion, the cow pony. This unique creature, as singular a species of animal life as was his master among human kind, made the cattle industry possible. A descendant of the horse the Moor brought to Spain and the Spaniard brought to Mexico, the cow pony lost flesh through the centuries and took on angles. When introduced to the American cowboy he was small, wiry, and hardy, "as strong as an ox, wild as a hawk, and fleet as a deer." With his ewe neck and poorly set-on head (with its Roman nose!), he looked weak enough, but experiments proved this weakness an illusion. With his back roached up forward of the coupling (as though the arch always sympathized with his ever-empty stomach), with his narrow hips and hind legs set far under him so that they might project on occasion far backward, and with his flat-bladed shoulders set on obliquely, he presented a very ungainly appearance. But the cow pony's skeleton, perfect as a greyhound's for its prime purpose, was the very anatomy of speed. The chest is deep enough for breath, yet gives room for heart and lungs; his stomach, built up on generations of dry feed, completed a beast of not over 600 pounds in weight which could "run all day and then kick your hat off at night." Very early, about 1700, these ponies were drifting northward into our plains; the Indians who first obtained them ("Horse Indians") became con-

querors of the inland. Long and Pike found herds of these wild ponies roaming the plains in bands of thirty or more. The influence of environment on these ponies was marked; those which went up the western side of the Rockies to the moist Oregon country soon took on from 150–200 pounds in weight and became the "cayuse" of the Northwest.

Our table presents quickly to the eye the growth of the cattle industry in the cowboy's kingdom; the increase in value of cattle in the North, over the Texas valuation, shows the profit to be made by driving cattle thither:

REGION	1866			1876		
	Cows	Other Cattle	Value	Cows	Other Cattle	Value
Texas . . .	653,410	2,458,065	$11.20	500,100	2,343,700	$15.72
Kansas . .	82,075	139,428	32.11	235,700	486,200	23.76
Nebraska . .	23,436	67,542	41.81	59,700	86,900	28.09
Territories[1] .	175,000	426,000	26.94	290,500	786,000	27.50

It will be noted that in the Territories the total number of cows and cattle nearly doubled in number between 1870 and 1875 despite the unknown number sent to market or sold to the government. The invention of the refrigerator car in 1869 was a factor of prime importance in the cattle industry; by it the meat of the West was transported to the East and from the East to all the world. Between 1890 and 1895 our government began supervision of the meat-producing industry by inspection of the slaughter houses for which Omaha, Kansas City, St. Louis, and Chicago became famous. This was not done thoroughly, however, until the national meat inspection law of 1906 was passed.

The refrigerator car

As to money made by the "cattle kings" and their cowboys we have, of course, few actual records. One of these, properly attested, shows that in the spring of 1879 a company invested $24,000 in cattle and added $16,000 more in the spring of the next year. The herd was moved from North Park in Colorado 300 miles northwest. In 1880 $17,000 worth were sold; by December, 1881, when other

Profits from cattle

[1] 1870.

expenses to the amount of $9,000 had been incurred, the valuation of outfit was then $110,000, showing a profit in less than two years of about $50,000.[1]

It is at once seen that the kingdom of the cowboy was a feudal kingdom; the "cattle kings" occupied the empire of free grass as they pleased and wherever they pleased. Such a free and easy system could not endure in a nation which was continually growing. Soon the pressure of migration began to be felt in what was the "far west"—western Kansas, Nebraska, Montana, the Dakotas, and Colorado. The homebuilder had arrived; he wanted a plot of ground and wanted to fence it in. This meant the destruction of the range, and the "nester," as men of the cowboy's kingdom called him derisively, was looked upon as an invader to be hated and uprooted.

The arrival of the "nester" on the range

In 1862 the Republican party had passed a Homestead Act which allowed any head of a family 160 acres of land if he would cultivate it for five years. Thousands took this chance act to get "a new start" in life; at the same time hundreds took advantage of it to secure vast tracts of land by filing false names to applications for land at the land offices. These may in some cases have been the "cattle kings" made indignant at the invasion of their realms by the "nesters," or, such large tracts may have been bought from "land sharks" by the cattle owners. The result was the same; even the Homestead Act did not for many years break up all the great ranches. With the crowding of new settlers into the West many a "nester" was guilty of pilfering the herds of the cattle owners, and a "cattle war" was fought more or less actively throughout two decades. The so-called "last" of these wars was fought in Johnson County, Wyoming, in 1892 between settlers (some of whom were doubtless cattle thieves) and

The Homestead Act of 1862

The cattle war

[1] G. R. Buckman, *Lippincott's Magazine*, XXIX, 425 (May, 1882). In later days Theodore Roosevelt lost just about this sum ($50,000) on his ranch in the "Bad Lands" along the Little Missouri in the fifteen years 1884–1899.

cattle owners who raided a whole community to punish it for the sins of a lawless few.

Slowly the great ranches of other days have dwindled to small proportions and millions of miles of barbed wire fences now cross and recross the former kingdom of the cowboy and block the forgotten pathways over which its dusty herds once surged.

With the coming of the homebuilder to the West, as we have

© *Brown Bros.*

A Homesteader's Rush. (Showing: 1. the land office; 2. an assembly of homesteaders; 3. the notary's office; and 4. the "tent hotel."

seen happen before in our history, the real conquest of a mighty empire began. Prairie farming revolutionized the world's markets. Between 1850–1860 our export of Indian corn or maize was not much over 50 million bushels; twenty years later it was almost 400 million; while our export of wheat in the same period increased from 51 million to 550 million. The

The prairie farmer's great contribution to the world's wealth

wire fences cut down the range but the crops of the once despised "nester" grown between these wire boundaries has added marvelously to our national wealth and to the whole world's.

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QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Distinguish between the uses of the word "range" as applied to townships (p. 175) and as applied to the western plains. Discuss the influence of the "Cowboy's Kingdom" on literature; on the "movies." Note the four great meat-packing centers on the map; explain their location. Why could the Texas herds not be driven directly to such centers? Show from our table of valuation how profitable it was to drive 1,000 cattle from Texas to Nebraska in 1866, allowing $2.00 expense per animal. If one reads through a volume of cowboy poems he is impressed with the oft-repeated advice to boys not to become cowboys: What was the lure of the business which neutralized all such advice? May a comparison be drawn between the roving French *coureur-de-bois* and cowboys on the one hand and the "solid-building" English and the "nesters" on the other? Did the coming of the "nester" injure the cattle industry or merely destroy some of its picturesque features? Have receipts of cattle at the stockyard centers decreased?

Section 49. The Age of Gold and Silver

Great as was the addition to our national wealth from western ranch and stockyard, the mountains of the trans-Mississippi country were now to yield up their secrets of gold and silver veins and affect vitally the world's markets with their astonishing wealth of bullion. A simple table illustrates at once the bounty of this sudden flow of gold:

Western gold

	1840	1850	1880
Value of product of gold in U. S.	$11,696,821[1]	$50,000,000	
Value of product of silver in U. S.		50,900	$34,717,000

Its social and political influence

Behind these stolid figures lies one of the strange and romantic periods of human history, involving the fierce passion of the prospector, the hunger, thirst, and death of thousands, the flooding of silent lands with hordes of inhabitants, the premature forcing into statehood of regions ill-prepared for the step, the origin of political parties with an eye single for the metal they represented, the founding of many an ephemeral hamlet and town and not a few proud cities (map following p. 394).

Early "diggings"

Curiously enough the Spaniard in his feverish search for gold in our country was often near the fields which have produced in later times a large part of the whole world's supply. Many of the Colorado, Nevada, and California "diggings" seem to have been superficially worked over by Spaniard, Mexican, or Indian in the long ago.

Discovery of gold in California

Gold was found near Los Angeles, Cal., in 1842, but the discovery which set half the world afire was made accidentally by a carpenter, James W. Marshall, while constructing a mill on John A. Sutter's ranch on the south fork of the American River near Coloma, Cal., January 24, 1848. This workman had turned aside the river's current to let the force of the stream bear a larger sluice-way for his mill, and in the dry river bed he picked up particles of gold. In half a century California gave the world a billion and a quarter in gold bullion. In the banner year of the California gold excitement (1852) eighty-one millions in gold were picked or "panned" from the beds of streams which were dry or rendered dry by diverting the water by means of flumes or sluices.

The news of the discovery of gold spread with incredible swiftness—to all America (North and South), to Australia, the South

[1]Average for previous ten-year period.

Sea Islands, and to China. Eighty or ninety thousand feverish immigrants reached the region in 1849; half of these came overland from the eastern part of our country, generally by the long "Overland" (South Pass) route to the Sacramento Valley. Three fourths of all these newcomers were Americans. Out of homes, stores, and offices poured the "Native Sons" of California to be the first in the field; soldiers deserted their posts; churches were

The "Forty-niners"

© *Underwood & Underwood*

A Western Mining Scene

emptied, sailors abandoned their ships, 500 lying crewless in San Francisco harbor in July, 1850; and the motley host—merchants, ranchers, clerks, lawyers, judges, juries, and criminals—joined in the race to the El Dorados in the foothills of the Sierras. From the tributary gulches or the rich bars of the American, Yuba, Feather, and sister streams, gold was picked up at the rate, sometimes, of from $1,000 to $5,000 a day, while nuggets ranging, it is said, from $1,000 to $20,000 in value were found.

The cream of this wealth was skimmed by 1854 and the business settled down into the hands of companies and corporations

which, by aid of experts and capital, could work the mines scientifically. The period was, as can be imagined, one of chaos, in which the people of the fledgling state "were morally and socially tried," says Professor Royce, "as no other American community ever has been tried." Yet amid the turmoil and unparalleled expression of greed, precedents (from Spanish origin) were set which served well other portions of the Nation in crises of like character to come, as, for instance, the mining law which allowed every member of a prospecting company 300 feet of "diggings," with an extra 300 for the discoverer of a particular vein or lode. Also, the "miner's inch"[1] of water became a standard of measure for irrigation purposes at this time.

Origin of mining laws

No sooner did interest in crude "placer" mining in California die out than a second period of intense excitement was awakened by discoveries of gold and silver in what is now Nevada and Colorado. The worn Platte River-South Pass ("Overland") Trail to California which had been travelled by thousands of "Forty-niners" and others (now made a mail route from Great Salt Lake to San Bernardino, Cal.) wound down the valley of Carson River, by Mount Davidson, to its Sierra Nevada mountain pass into California. Here along Carson River lingered much of the flotsam and jetsam of the huge California migration of the feverish years 1849–1854. Some stopped here because too discouraged to go farther, one of whom built a whole house out of the beds of broken-down wagons found along the trail! Some, perhaps 200 in number, prospected for gold in the region, incited to activity by small findings reported here and there.

Nevada gold mines

In this early Nevada prospecting the adventurers, intent on gold, were daily handling a black rock containing a value never suspected and throwing it away—the quartz which contained silver. Two Pennsylvania lads, pitifully enough never fated to profit by their wit, guessed the riddle of these rocks and found the veins of silver

Silver in Nevada

[1]The Spanish origin of the "miner's inch" is found in the *real fontanero*, the right to a hole of a certain size from a conduit.

which were to produce, in twenty years, a wealth greater than all the money then in circulation in the United States. These Grosch brothers, sons of a Reading, Pa., Universalist clergyman, found (1853–1857) rock containing carbonate of silver in "Gold Cañon," a ravine running down from Mount Davidson to the Carson River. They wrote their father also that they had found "other ore of silver" and "a black rock, very abundant, we think contains silver." They spoke of "our monster vein" and of "suits of veins crossing the cañon at two other points." The best authorities agree that they had found the famous "Comstock" and collateral lodes, which by January, 1881, had produced silver bullion to the value of 306 millions of dollars. One of the lads died from being poisoned from a wound inflicted on his foot by his pick-ax. The other was frozen in attempting to cross the Sierras in mid-winter on an expedition to California to secure capital for his proposed company and machinery to develop his mine. All papers, documents, and memoranda had been left by the latter in his cabin in charge of Henry P. T. Comstock, who had entered the country as a teamster and whom the boys had taken into a sort of partnership. Clever, if ignorant, Comstock hid or destroyed the Grosch documents. Biding his time, he kept a careful watch on the prospecting which was going on in Gold Cañon and the neighboring "Six-Mile Cañon," which, also, led toward Mount Davidson from the Carson Valley. By accident he luckily fixed a "claim" to a spring far up Gold Cañon. In 1857 certain prospectors dug a reservoir four feet deep just below Comstock's spring and in doing so uncovered a stratum of strange-looking earth. Doubtless from his study of the Grosch papers Comstock recognized the value of the "strike," for, coming upon the scene, he shouted to the wondering men: "You have struck it, boys." Since water from his spring was necessary to fill the reservoir, Comstock was admitted into the partnership. The lode somehow took his name, and the word "Comstock" became world-famous.

Henry P. T. Comstock

The original company, thinking that, as in California, an end

would soon be reached to their wealth, sold out their shares severally, the total amount paid to all of them being $70,000. A one sixth share in the mine is said to have been traded off for an old blind horse. In a short time twelve companies were operating on the great "Comstock lode." In as many years it had yielded $145,100,000 in silver. Later (1873) when the wedge-shaped ledge known as the "Big Bonanza" was found

THE COMSTOCK LODE

deeper in the earth there was taken from it about $35,254,507 in silver in a single twelve-month.

Colorado gold mines

The Overland Trail to California, with its offshoots southward from Cheyenne, Wyo., to the Denver-Pike's Peak region, and northward from Fort Hall into Oregon, saw hundreds of emigrants after 1854 willing to try their luck for shining gold elsewhere than in California. Of these Colorado received her share, but, with the exception of some slight success in 1859–1860 in the valley of Boulder Creek, north of Denver, no prospect of great success came until diggings in Clear Creek Valley in the mountains west of Denver were discovered. Here, at "Chicago Bar" and oppo-

site the present Idaho Springs, valuable deposits were found. The prospecting in "Russell Gulch," "Illinois Gulch," and "Nevada Gulch" in the same drainage area soon became famous; and from the many streams in Clear Creek and Gilpin counties placer mining brought forth about thirty millions in gold in the years 1859–1863, at which time the field was exhausted until capital and machinery came to place mining on a scientific basis; with such facilities the output crept up to five and six million a year in 1871–1872.

Clear Creek mines

The same deception practiced by Nature in Nevada of hiding her silver in black quartz misled, also, the early Colorado gold-hunters. What passed for mediocre gold mines were really silver mines of enormous value. In the summer of 1864 what was believed to be a silver mine was discovered high up on Clear Creek's tributaries in Gilpin County. Professor N. P. Hall of Brown University was sent to test the mine; his report led to the establishment of the Boston and Colorado Smelting Company with a capital of $275,000. A furnace was erected near the present Central City. The product of the mine rose from $300,000 in 1868 to $2,250,000 a decade later.

Famous developments followed in the San Juan country on the Continental Divide between the waters of the Rio Grande and the Rio Dolores, where over a thousand lodes were claimed to have been discovered by 1874. One hundred and fifty tons of selected ore from the Hotchkiss Mine in Hinsdale County sold in San Francisco at the rate of $40,000 per ton. In the Begole lode in Ouray County, just to the northward over the Divide, one hundred ounces of silver with 40 per cent. lead per ton were being mined.

The Leadville mines

For years in the upper Arkansas Valley, in the present Leadville region, miners had been accustomed to move out of their way heavy boulders of no seeming value. In 1876 W. H. Stevens discovered a lead mine on the south side of "California Gulch" a mile north of the present city of Leadville. When assayed the ore of this "Rock Mine" showed from twenty to forty ounces of silver to

the ton. Here quickly arose the "Rock," "Adelaide," "Iron," and other mines; in two years the latter mine paid a profit of a quarter of a million above expenses. The first house was erected in Leadville in June, 1877; two years later the city post office was issuing money orders at the rate of $355,911 a year. The average daily output of mineral from the mines in the Leadville region in the first six months of 1885 was ten thousand tons.

Gold and silver were discovered in Oregon in 1852 and for eight years placer mining was prosecuted successfully in the Blue Mountain and Rogue River districts; later quartz mining was engaged in. Montana, now famous as a great copper-producing region, found the "knight of pick and shovel" prospecting in Deerlodge County as early as 1852 with some success; national attention was, however, directed thither in 1863–4, with the unearthing of the "Alder Gulch" and "Last Chance Gulch" diggings; in the last year of the Civil War eighteen million dollars' worth of gold and silver was mined in Montana. Idaho, that veritable El Dorado of minerals, welcomed the placer miner in 1860 and in half a century gave the world well along toward three hundred million dollars' worth of gold; in baser metals the fame of the Coeur d'Alene mines is world-wide. In 1874 gold was discovered in the Black Hills in South Dakota and the towns of Deadwood and Lead became famous for their "diggings" and the rush of immigrants thither. The Homestake Mine at Lead, S. D., is now our richest American gold mine. Spaniard and Mexican found the gold and silver deposits of Arizona in earliest days. In the decade after 1858 placer mining in the valleys of the Gila and Colorado rivers attracted thousands while the silver lodes at Tombstone flourished from 1879 to 1886 and more recently have been largely developed. The "Copper Queen" at Bisbee from 1880 on, with other copper mines in the Globe, Morenci, and Jerome districts, has made Arizona the leading state in the Union in that branch of mining.

Mining in Oregon and Montana

Idaho mines

Mining in the Black Hills and in Arizona

The mineral wealth of our great West has influenced the

world in many respects; some of its political effects will be noted in connection with currency problems which have faced the nation in recent years. These mines drew populations into regions which would not have been developed so soon, and created a great cordon of states fit to take their place in the roll of the Union. In most cases the flow of population, as we have seen, was directly due to discoveries of precious metals. The admission of Nevada in 1864 and Colorado in 1876 as states, coincides with the periods in which mines and mining claimed its thousands of adventurous manhood in the age of gold and silver.

READING LIST

Hough, *The Passing of the Frontier,* Chap. 5; E. White, *The Forty-Niners,* Chaps. 4–16; C. H. Shinn, *Mining Camps;* Bogart, Chap. 22; Paxson, *Last American Frontier,* Chaps. 9 and 10; N. S. Shaler, *United States,* Chaps. 6 and 8; Shinn, *The Story of the Mine;* E. S. Meade, *The Story of Gold;* K. Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West,* II, 255–284.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Trace on the map the three great transcontinental trails, Santa Fé, Overland, and Oregon. Describe the periods in which each of these saw the most activity. What was the first trail to your section of the country? Describe the changing methods of transportation used on or along it. How would such a rush of an excited multitude as described by Professor Royce into an unsettled region test "moral and social endurance"? Explain the origin of such laws as the "miner's inch." How far do you think English Common Law entered into frontier law making? What might have been the history of "Louisiana" had Napoleon known its mineral wealth? What great mining regions lay within it? Without it?

Section 50. The Farmer at the Ballot Box

As the prairie farmers increased in number and spread across the upland toward the Rockies this giant empire of sunflower, cottonwood, and sage began to acquire a population unknown in the days of mine and cattle ranch. The words "farm," "ranch," and "mine" indicate that there were diversified interests in this region; but as time went on it was found that there was room enough for cattleman and "nester," and that the

miner and "dry farmer" had like interests in water rights and irrigation. Thus a type of political solidarity was established. Yet by far the strongest bond uniting these Westerners was the old bond which had united every "West"—the unity which common want and struggle with adversity bring. This West was, too, a debtor region; almost all its building was done with borrowed money. It demanded the cheapest money it could get and the most elastic. Many of its demands for redress from financial oppression, as had been true of every pioneer West, were impractical. The same human seed planted in similar soil always brought forth the same fruit—insurgency.

Physical solidarity of our great West

When the heyday of western railroad building had arrived (the average increase between 1870 and 1890 was 6,000 miles per year) the prairie farmer had pretty well occupied the Mississippi Basin up to and into the border of the arid plains. The North and Middle West were now largely engaged in manufacturing and commerce; but the South and the Far West formed a distinct agricultural empire vast in extent but rapidly filling with population. It was prosperous to a degree, but as soon as it, as a section, came into conscious existence, it found its prosperity was largely in the hands of the creditor East. Particularly was it dependent on railway financiers, speculators, and stockholders. These controlled the transportation of its agricultural products. The difference between this "West" and those which preceded it lay here: this was the last "West." Heretofore if pioneers in Kentucky or Ohio or Indiana became dissatisfied, they could pull up stakes and migrate to the newer lands toward the Pacific. There was no farther West now. These Westerners of 1870–1890 had, therefore, their backs to the wall. Theirs was the last ditch. They had to fight the thing out. It was a long battle and it is not yet over. They fought for many foolish things but they won many issues which our whole nation unanimously considers real assets. The record of these defeats and victories is, therefore, a never-to-be-forgotten story.

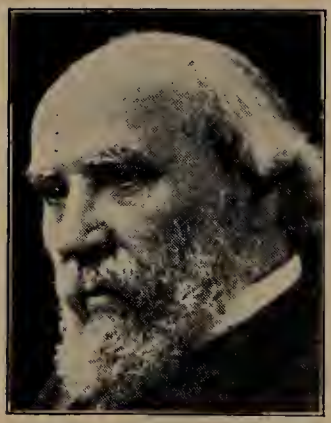
Development of sectional identity

The control of the creditor East

The year after the close of the Civil War (1866) a clerk in the Department of Agriculture was sent to the South to study agricultural conditions. This clerk was Oliver H. Kelley, a Boston Yankee. He looked deeper into rural conditions than his superiors expected him to. He saw that a great fraction of our people were laboring under mental and social, as well as material, handicaps. As a result he dreamed a dream. He fancied in his mind's eye the organization of rural populations into some kind of secret fraternity, through which the men and women of our farms should work for the betterment of their class.

As a result of conversations with friends, Kelley and six clerks in Washington organized in 1867 "The Patrons of Husbandry" or, as more commonly known, The Grange. This society had for its purpose the social and educational uplifting of the rural classes. Slowly the idea took root. Scattered granges were established in the East; but in Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Indiana, and Illinois, they multiplied rapidly, there being 37 in Minnesota alone in 1870.

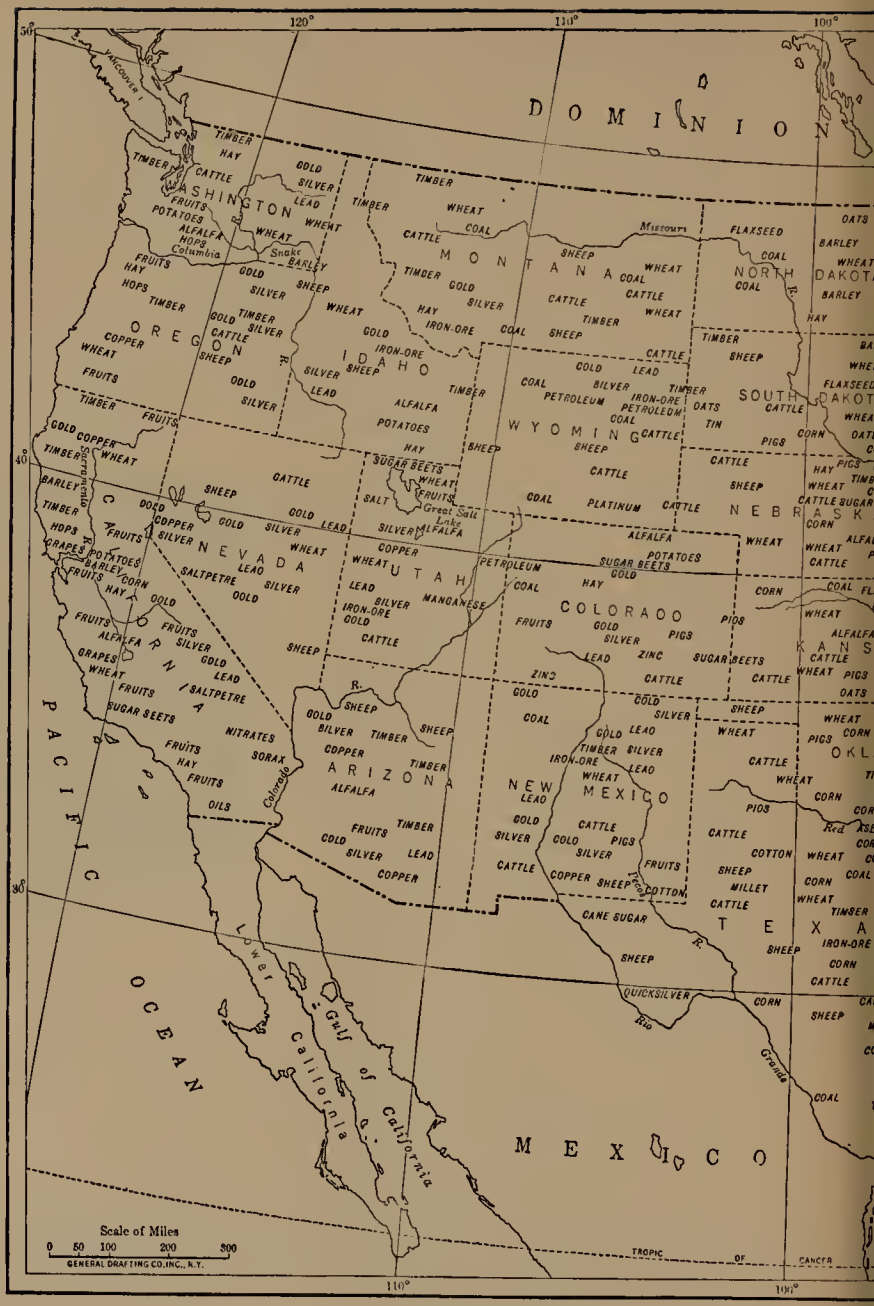
The Grange



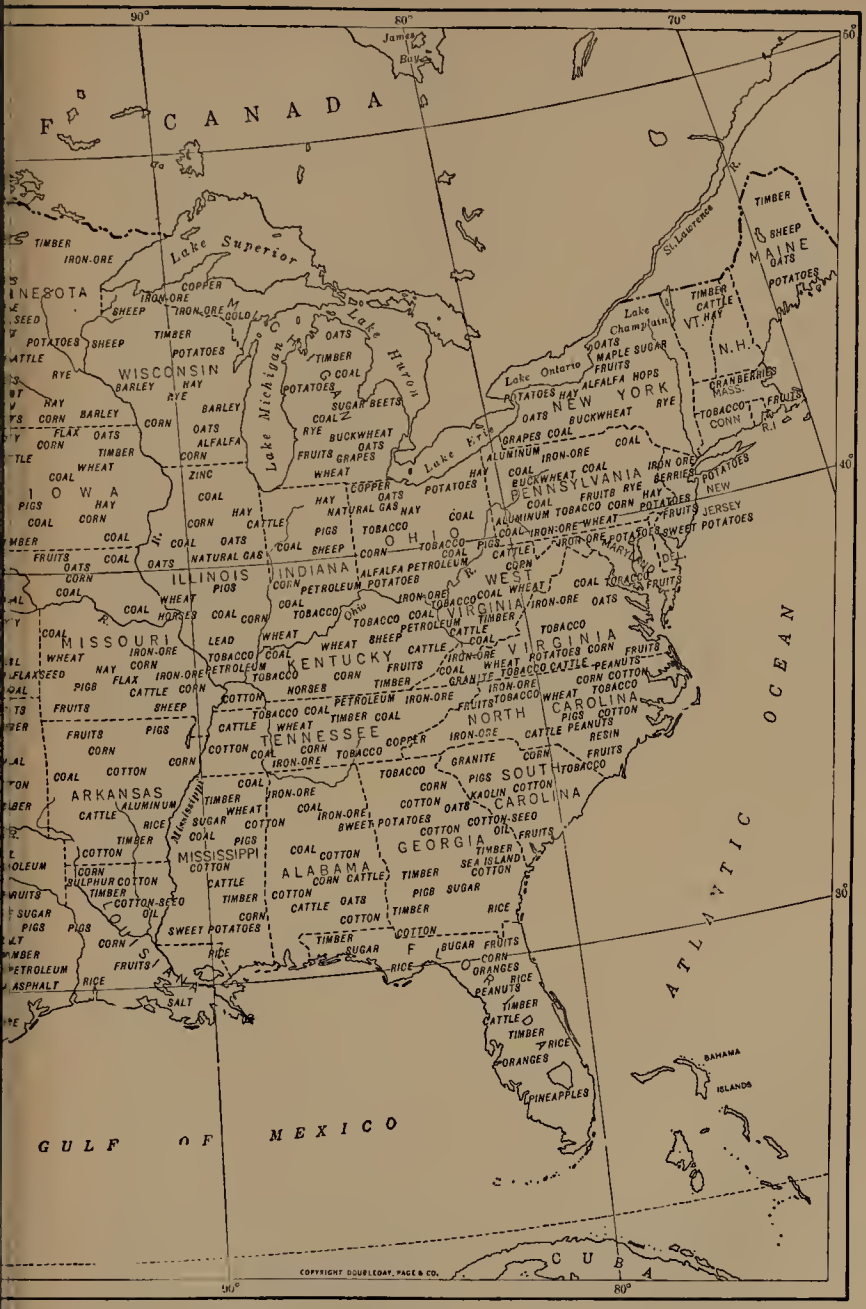
James J. Hill

Now, these years, as we have seen, were years of miraculous development but years of lowered moral fiber —years in which brainy men of small principles were profiteering scandalously, especially by means of state and national grants of public lands to individuals and to railways. It was a "boom" era, in which speculation and inflation led to the Panic of 1873, just as all roads at such times have always led to our economic "Sloughs of Despond." In the crash of 1873 the western farmer found himself at the bottom of the heap. Over here John Doe had mortgaged his farm to buy stock in the railroad which he looked upon as an unmixed blessing when it came. But this road had now been absorbed in a syndicate, and in the reorganization his stock was

A period of boom and panic



PRODUCTS OF THE UNITED STATES A



EIR GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

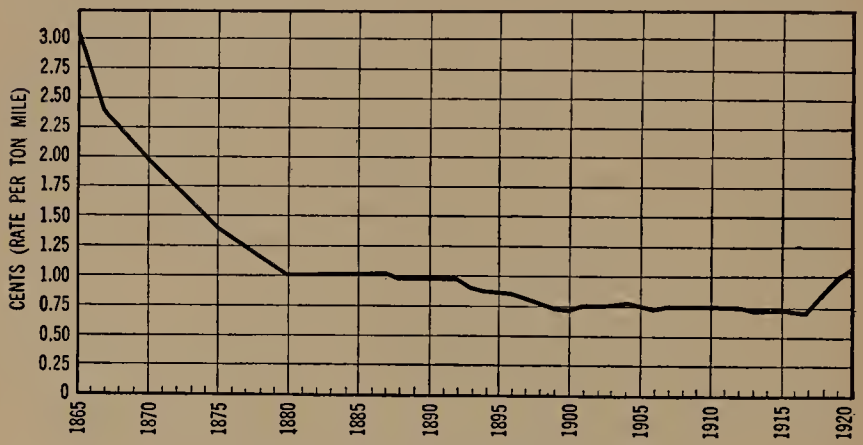
somehow lost. Over there Richard Roe had also bought stock but his railroad had gone into the hands of a receiver. But the county in which both Doe and Roe lived had also bought stock and had to raise the taxes to pay for it.[1] At the same time these railways raised the freight rates to pay the lawyers or receivers and, not infrequently, to pay dividends on watered stock. In many instances, too, the railroads were found to charge higher rates from non-competitive points (stations) than from stations where several railroads centered, or competitive points. It does not take long to secure political unity in any community when everything is going out and nothing coming in. Roe and Doe at last saw that their railroads were only pawns in the hands of scheming financiers. When they met at the Grange meetings they spoke their minds; and while the Grange was, officially, a non-political society, their meetings soon became seething centers of hot discussion and debate.

As a result Granges multiplied rapidly. Their members were, of course, originally Republicans or Democrats; but they were primarily farmers and they gave themselves up to righting evident wrongs against them as a class. Almost everywhere they were opposed to the party in power; where Democrats were in office (as in Missouri) they flocked to the Republican banner; where Republicans were in power (as was generally true in the West) they gathered under the Democratic standard.

The reformers and the Old Line parties

[1]The reader cannot have too plainly in mind the meaning of certain business terms used in these pages. In the old days in England, when one loaned money to the government, the amount loaned was indicated by a notch cut all the way around a stick of hazelwood. The stick was then split, the lender keeping one half, to show how much "stick" or "stock" was loaned, the government keeping the other half. Stock, therefore, means money loaned or invested. "Certificates" are issued nowadays as receipts of money so invested. If, to use the old figure, government officials had cut notches in hazel sticks when no money was loaned, such notches would have represented "watered stock," make-believe stock. A "syndicate" is a group of men organized to do business or to speculate. A "receiver" is a man appointed by a court to take charge of a business or corporation which is failing or losing money; he reports to the court in order that all stockholders may know that the business is being conducted as well as possible under the circumstances. A "dividend" is the return that is paid on stock.

Their great success in 1873 was in Illinois, where the "reform" element was successful in 53 counties out of 66. This notable ground swell of revolt was significant for three reasons, (a) it showed that political unity could be achieved (at least temporarily) in rural American populations; (b) it resulted in some very important legislation; (c) it ushered in a movement which has never died out and which to-day has singular possibilities.



Fluctuation of Railway Rates, 1865–1920

Supreme Court decisions on state regulation of rates

The attack made in the Seventies by the Grange on what it considered the people's chief foe, the railways, has vitally affected our history. Many blunders were committed, but for all the hysteria exhibited the campaign was proven a distinct success when eight decisions were handed down by the United States Supreme Court in 1877, on questions involving the right of states to regulate charges of common carriers and affiliated companies. In the case of Munn *vs.* Illinois, the plaintiff (a warehouse company) argued that if the State of Illinois limited its rates, the result was deprivation of property without due process of law and contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court applied here the old English common law which declared that the business of the ferryman, baker, etc., was of a public character and classed with

these the business of warehousing. Railways had thus been classed by the Supreme Court in 1872. Attorneys for railways urged that railway charters were contracts and that, as such, they came under the famous Dartmouth College case decision (p. 248). The Court ruled that revision of rates by a state did not impair a charter unless the charter stated that certain rates should be charged. Railway charters never specified definite rates. The "teeth" of these decisions were partly drawn by the "Wabash Case" decision (1886) which held that no state law could apply to interstate commerce (and most roads were then or soon became interstate in character) and by the decision (1890) that a state's power to regulate rates was limited. While the Court reserved to itself the right of review, and upheld a railway's "right to prove the reasonableness" of proposed rates, these Granger decisions have furnished the legal basis for state regulation of railroads down to the present day. In the words of Professor Buck of the University of Minnesota: "they are the most significant achievements of the anti-monopoly movement of the Seventies" (chart p. 428).

While the unifying of agricultural interests by the Grangers was but temporary, the unrest and dissatisfaction which gave it power remained. A local farmers' organization in Texas became a "Grand State Alliance" in 1878 and, with the "Farmers' Union" of Louisiana, became a "National Farmers' Alliance and Coöperative Union of America." An "Agricultural Wheel" of Prairie County, Arkansas, in 1882, became a "National Agricultural Wheel" in 1887. All these organizations united into the "Farmers' and Laborers' Union of America" in 1888. In the North a "Northwestern Alliance" or "National Farmers' Alliance" had become strong by 1887.

Allied Organizations with the Grange

Had all these associations been able to sink differences of opinion and sectional jealousy, a combination countrywide might have then been effected. Party ties, however, were too strong, and not until 1892 did the leaders of all these representatives of farmer's revolt bring forth a new political party. Third parties had proved

The fate of third parties

failures, particularly the Greenback Party, which we treat in another chapter. These organizations grew out of revolt at acute local troubles, as land pilfering or horse stealing in Texas (Grand State Alliance) or railway oppression in Iowa (Granges). While national questions as tariff and currency were not ignored, they had not been given the place in discussion of farmers' ills which would be demanded of a real third party by the people at large.

Thus in the North and in the South steps were taken which resulted, in 1890, in the formation of a powerful third party, the People's Party (representing both the agricultural and the labor elements) and its entrance on the arena in the national election of 1892. Over 1,200 delegates, representing the elements of all the organizations which cried out for relief from real or supposed injustice, now framed at Omaha the platform of the People's Party. This called for (a) a safe, flexible currency, (b) a subtreasury system or, better, free and unlimited coinage of silver, (c) a graduated income tax, (d) postal savings banks, (e) government control of railway, telegraph, and telephone systems. Resolutions (not put in the platform) endorsed shorter hours for labor, restriction of immigration, the Australian ballot, initiative and referendum, direct election of United States Senators by the people, and one term for the President of the United States. Revolutionary, indeed, did these theories sound in the ears of men of the Old Line parties; yet almost all of them have been enacted into law by our time.

The People's Party

As Illinois had been the chief battleground of the Grangers, so now Kansas became the battleground of Populism. The leaders were General Weaver, candidate for the presidency, and Jerry Simpson, already elected a member of Congress from Kansas. Women orators moved crowds to hysteria. The picturesque figure of "Sockless Jerry" became nationally well-known in this campaign. In the presidential election in November General Weaver received the most overwhelming endorsement ever given a third party candidate in our history, save

Weaver and "Sockless" Jerry Simpson

one, Fremont in 1856. Over a million votes were cast for the Populist cause, giving Weaver 22 electoral votes. Simpson took his seat in Congress; but he disappointed those who thought he might establish new fashions in Washington, for he dressed in very conventional garb. Yet this Populist success was achieved only by uniting the movement with the minority party in various states. Democrats came temporarily under the Populist banner in Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Nevada, and North Dakota, thereby defeating the Republicans in Republican states. Where the Democratic vote was small (South Dakota and Nebraska) the Republicans withstood defeat. As a result, therefore, the People's Party really elected Grover Cleveland President by fusion with Democrats but it did not win permanent adherents to its cause. Next to victory, however, they relished Republican defeat, for it was at the door of that party that the Populists laid most of the ills of the nation.

The Populist vote

The place occupied by the silver states (Idaho, Colorado, and Nevada) in this Populist revolution was significant. The People's Party, as such, fell to pieces just as had the Grangers; but it had voiced a genuine feeling of rural revolt against evident wrongs. Whenever one of the great parties could capitalize this feeling of revolt and rally to its banner all of the elements of insurgency represented by the Populists, a battle royal would be fought. That is what happened in Bryan's Silver Campaign of 1896, which we treat under the topic of currency elsewhere.

The silver states

That the farmer element is one constantly to be reckoned with politically has been made plain again in recent days by the rise of the Nonpartisan League. This movement enrolled in 1918 about a million votes in Wisconsin, South and North Dakota, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Idaho, Colorado, and Washington. Here, again, the farmers have spoken out against what they deem the economic oppression of monopoly and while they, like the Grangers and Populists preceding them, are advocating many radical measures, their voice may well be listened to with respect by the major parties.

One of the Nonpartisan League's spokesmen, United States Senator Ladd of North Dakota, advocates (a) better methods of marketing and distributing farm produce, by means of coöperation between farmers and consumers; (b) higher ethics in the labelling of farm produce; (c) government loans to farmers by the government at the rates granted to banks; (d) laws to discourage tenancy and favorable to ownership of farms and home building; (e) laws making profiteering a penal offense; (f) laws to prevent speculating in the essential commodities of life; (g) laws extending benefits of Federal Land Banks more fully to farmers.

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QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Compare the modern farmer with the farmer of the seventies as to his educational advantages, isolation, influence in public life. Is he better fitted to legislate for his interest? What is an "Agricultural Bloc"? What is "cheap money"? Why is it desired by a debtor class? Denounced by a creditor class? What good laws are now on our statute books which were advocated by Grangers or Populists and denounced at the time as radical? Are new political ideas judged so much on their absolute merits as by the character and reputation of those who advocate them? Has the same argument been raised in connection with the Eighteenth Amendment as was raised in connection with the Fourteenth (p. 428)? May a third party have a more powerful influence than merely to be used by a party out of power to defeat its rival in power?

CHAPTER XI

THE CLEVELAND ERA

The era lying between the Democratic victory under Cleveland in 1884 and the advent of Theodore Roosevelt in 1901 in many senses marks a distinct age in the development of our Republic. National attention was absorbed intensely in these days in problems relating to the economic development of the country, particularly to tariff, currency, and labor questions, while other distinctly home affairs, as the Indian problem and civil service reform, were, likewise, often under the spotlight of public scrutiny.

How distinctly this Cleveland Era was one in which things primarily American interested us as a nation is seen when we compare it with the Rooseveltian Age which followed, bringing numerous strange international questions before the people in addition to many curiously new national questions such as trusts and conservation.

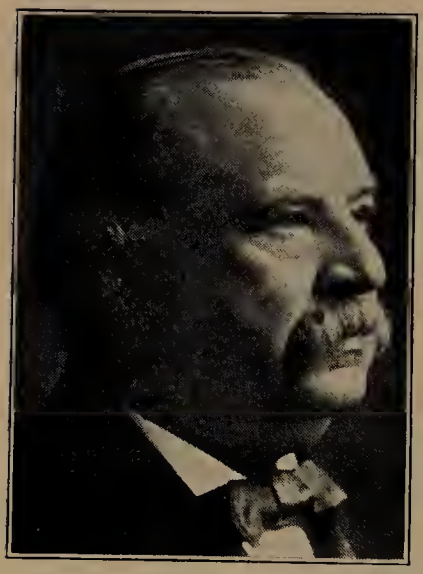
Our present chapter includes, then, the two terms of Grover Cleveland (1885–1889, 1893–1897), the intervening presidency of Benjamin Harrison (1889–1893), and that of William McKinley (1897–1901). We call it the Cleveland Era because of the dominating character of that leader whose personality, as time goes on, commands greater and greater admiration because of its sterling Americanism. Under this heading we review the story of civil service reform, the Indian problem, of labor reform, and the tariff and currency battles.

Section 51. Democratic Victory and Defeat

THE victory of Cleveland over Blaine in the presidential election of 1884 was something more than a mere choice between two political leaders. It was an illustration of that typical thing in American political life, the willingness of the public to

break with the past, to cast off shackles which had become time-worn, even if many called them "time-honored." The Republican régime in the "Age of Miracles" was strong in many points; otherwise commercial development could not have been the marvel that it was. It had rebuked the rascality of bad men who had gotten into offices of influence. It had stopped, for the most part, illegal profiteering in public lands. It had opposed illegal speculation in, and wrecking of, railroads. Yet the rise of the Mugwump element, heretofore mentioned, showed that many people were dissatisfied—enough people, in fact, to bring about Cleveland's election.

The meaning of Blaine's defeat



GROVER CLEVELAND

As Professor Muzzey of Columbia University well says, Cleveland "belonged to the class of Presidents who have interpreted 'leading' their party to mean educating their party." The control of the Senate by the Republicans prevented any party legislation; but, like an Andrew Jackson, Cleveland struck vigorous blows for reform in many lines, winning for himself a sturdy fear from Republicans and, finally, dislike from his own party. As time has passed men have realized that his opposition to high tariffs, to the Tenure-of-Office Act (now abolished), to pensions, to land grabbing, to strikes which tied up transportation systems, and his efforts for a stronger Pan-Americanism, were prompted by a high type of patriotism and a manly display of independence.

Cleveland as a leader

The main problem of Cleveland's day was similar to that which faced Andrew Jackson, the dangerously increasing sur-

plus in the national treasury. A table will present to the eye quickly the enormous growth of this surplus:

YEAR	SURPLUS
1870	$ 10,000,000
1882	145,000,000
1885	446,000,000

Cleveland believed that it was wrong to have a great amount of money withdrawn from circulation and "tied up," as the saying is, in the government's vaults. His plan to solve this problem was to cut off one source of supply, namely, high tariffs. It was poor policy to use this surplus to pay off our national debt. A public debt is of value to a prosperous nation especially if, as in the present instance, the bonds which secure it command a premium, because such bonds offer one of the safest forms of investment the people of a nation can have. The Republicans pointed to our protective tariffs as the cause of our prosperity, and rather than reduce the tariff, favored repealing all internal taxes on liquors, tobacco, etc. With typical independence Cleveland made bold to put the tariff question straight up to the people of the nation in the presidential election of 1888.

Rival theories on the surplus

The candidate nominated by the Republicans to oppose Cleveland was General Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, sturdy grandson of the Harrison who had beaten Van Buren in 1840. On the main question before the nation, tariff reduction, Cleveland carried the country with him, his popular vote being 98,000 greater than that given General Harrison. Local issues and political "trading," however, lost important states for Cleveland and made Harrison victor in the electoral college by 65 votes. The famous Democratic organization in New York City, Tammany Hall, led by David B. Hill, was disloyal to Cleveland. It was accused of "trading" Democratic votes for Harrison for Republican votes for the Democratic state ticket. This gave Harrison New York's electoral vote by a slight margin. A letter written by Lord Sackville-

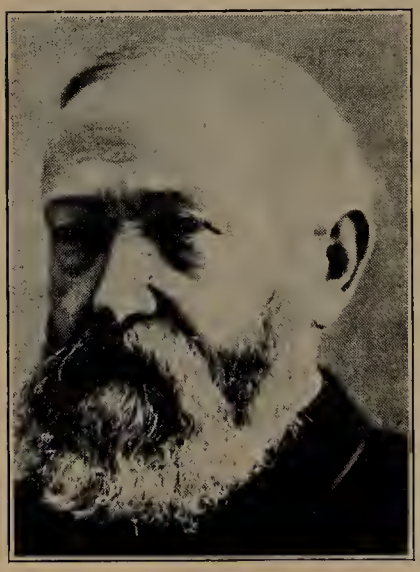
Tariff the issue in 1888

The Sackville-West incident

West, British ambassador to the United States, stated that Cleveland's election would be more satisfactory to Great Britain than would Harrison's. This made it seem that the Democratic free trade policy was most satisfactory to Great Britain and influenced, in a measure, the vote cast for General Harrison, Indiana's favorite son.

Harrison was inaugurated March 4, 1889. As a result of this election both Houses of Congress now had Republican majorities. A large surplus in the treasury made it possible to grant over a billion dollars in pensions to Civil War veterans under the title of a Dependent Pension Act. The first real act revising the tariff enacted since the Civil War was now passed which will be noted in our chapter on "Tariff." This reduced revenue by repealing the duty on raw sugar.

First revision of the tariff

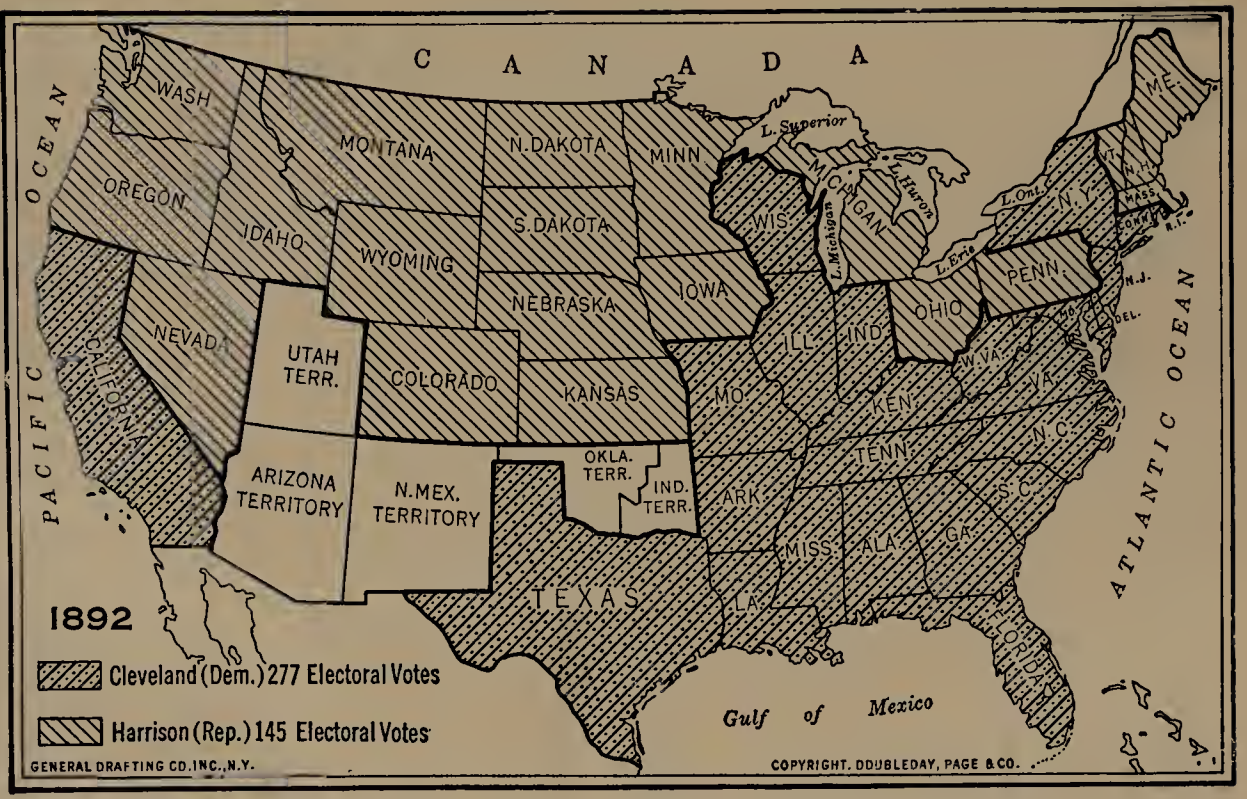


Benjamin Harrison

These expenditures of the surplus gave the Democrats a text for a party platform as the presidential election of 1892 came on. The surplus of over four hundred millions in 1885 was only one hundred millions in 1890; it was reduced in the two following years to practically nothing. This was "viewed with alarm" by the opposition party as the election of 1892 approached. Many feared that the nation was on the verge of a panic. The swerving of the western farmer from the Republican banner to that of Populism, elsewhere described, was also a factor in the election of 1892. Cleveland was nominated again to oppose Harrison; the Tam-

The issue in 1892

Cleveland's second election



Geographical Map of Electoral Vote, 1892

many influence in New York was now thrown strongly to Cleveland and he was elected by 132 electoral votes and a popular plurality of almost 400,000 (map p. 437).

Cleveland proved a good President in the trying years of 1893–1895, days of panic, of labor wars, of general unrest. No one doubts now the sterling honesty of his convictions. He resembled Andrew Jackson in his willingness to take issue with both friend and foe. The West, the East, and the organized ranks of labor were shocked by his independent acts of statesmanship. He was champion of sound money, of tariff for revenue, and of law and order—a champion never willing to sacrifice principle for catch-penny popularity. This sturdiness was not appreciated at the time by his party. In disowning this real leader the Democratic party swung over into the grasp of a radical faction. This element captured the party machinery and by rallying all factions of unrest, gave the nation in 1896 the best example of a party's becoming a "party of expedients." The story of the election of that year and the victory of the Republicans, led by William McKinley, who was duly inaugurated President March 4, 1897, falls in our chapter on Currency, to follow.

Days of unrest and panic

McKinley's election in 1896

The lesson of these years from 1884 to 1900 was that the American people cannot long be bound by catch-phrases and outworn maxims. The rise of men like Cleveland or Roosevelt give the people an opportunity which Americans love, an opportunity to challenge and thwart politicians who misuse power and privilege.

With the advent of McKinley in 1897 new questions of international prominence are forced upon the nation's attention, ushering in a new era made famous by the names of Roosevelt and Wilson.

READING LIST

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QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Is a large bank balance desirable for an individual? For a bank? For a nation? How might John Quincy Adams or Henry Clay have reduced such a surplus as existed in Cleveland's day? What ways to do so occurred to men of Cleveland's time? Name objections to them. Against what policies was Cleveland's election in 1892 a protest? Should a President act (a) as he thinks the public desires, or (b) as he thinks the public would desire if it knew all the facts, or (c) as he thinks the country ought to act? Mention some recent "catch phrases" of political contests. What may be said for and against such phrases? What objections arose to methods employed in Harrison's time for reducing the surplus? What arguments have been offered for and against soldier pensions?

Section 52. Civil Service Reform and the Indian Problem

Throughout the period since the Civil War the problem of civil service (the executive branch of our public service) has received increasing attention. There is no phase of our history, and no phase of our public life, on which our young people should be better informed than this. Efficiency in the conduct of our government is the one hope of its continuance, and on the character of our public servants rest the integrity and the longevity of our Republic. It should be a subject close to every young citizen's heart.

Importance of the civil service issue

We have seen (p. 258) that during the Andrew Jackson era the "Spoils System" was introduced. In early days, when our government was not the gigantic business machine it is to-day, there was less need of efficiency in public office. The business handled by it was simpler in character and special training was not so necessary as it became in later times. With the dawn of the economic revolution after the Civil War, and the gradual broadening of the governmental machine and the creation of scores of new departments, bureaus, and commissions, specialization and efficiency became necessary as never before.

Prior to our Civil War civil service reform was being agitated in Great Britain. In this country Charles Sumner attempted, as early as 1864, to banish some of Lincoln's difficulties by offering a bill in the Senate that reëchoed British statesmen's efforts

for reform across the Atlantic. The matter was sidetracked but it was advanced again in 1868. At this time a committee was appointed to report on the strange idea of making merit the criterion for office holding; the report outlined how much more had been done for civil service in other nations than in ours, including China! General Grant, when a candidate for President, favored the idea but he seems to have forgotten it upon his election.

Civil service reform begins

One of the good men in Grant's cabinet, however, Secretary J. D. Cox, of the Department of the Interior, proceeded to put into practice in his department the theory of civil service reform, especially in the Indian service which had seen much corruption by dishonest agents. In 1870 Grant remembered his approval of such a policy and he now favored a bill, which Congress passed against its will, authorizing the President to provide examinations for prospective office holders. Grant appointed a Civil Service Commission, with George William Curtis at its head, to work out a civil service examination plan. This work might have gone ahead but Congress withheld appropriations for it and it languished. Secretary Cox's innovations were not backed up by the President and he resigned his portfolio. However, these efforts started men thinking, and the abuse of high office on the part of bad men in these days hastened the time when glaring abuses by public servants would meet the rebuke they deserved.

The first Civil Service Commission

President Hayes believed that private business could not attain the plane it ought to occupy ethically if public business was conducted by those whose chief recommendation was their need of a job and whose activity at the polls was inspired by the hope of political reward. Opposed to Hayes, however, stood a Democratic House of Representatives which was delighted to harass him and ridicule his ideals. Also, thwarting him at every turn, stood the "Stalwarts" of his own party, led by such a man as Conkling of New York, whose dictionary did not contain the word "reform." The work begun by Secretary Cox in the Department of the In-

Hayes's civil service ideals

terior was continued, under President Hayes, by Secretary Carl Schurz, who announced that his subordinates in the department should be appointed only on merit. Professor Paxson well says of Schurz's reforms, "the progress of Indian education and civilization began to be a real thing during Hayes's presidency." To the problem of Indian affairs, so closely connected with civil service reform, we shall give attention in succeeding pages. Schurz was upheld by President Hayes when the storm broke over his head, and by the sentiment of all who knew that General Custer had gone to his death in the tragic battle of the Little Big Horn because of the poor administration of the Indian Bureau.

Schurz's reforms

President Hayes was firm in his purpose to put his civil service ideals in practice and he began by reforming the New York Custom House and Post Office. He at once discharged Chester A. Arthur from the Custom House, an act which cost the President much in popularity. The sneers of the New York Republican leader, Conkling, injured him and the action of the Democratic House, in derisively appointing Benjamin F. Butler chairman of its committee on civil service reform, added insult to injury.[1]

Hayes reforms the public service in New York

But men who were uninfluenced by partizanship and rancor knew that the President was heading in the right direction. Outside of Congress and politics the seeds sown by Sumner, Curtis, Cox, Schurz, and Hayes took root. Clubs and associations arose to champion the civil service idea and in 1881 the National Civil Service League was formed. President Garfield favored the cause and President Arthur so far changed from the attitude he had taken as head of the New York Custom House as to heed the rising tide and mildly, at least, to recommend what he had

National Civil Service League

[1]General Butler was the object of much cruel joking by Southerners for his alleged theft, while in command of New Orleans, of some silver spoons. His only connection with the spoons was an earnest effort to recover them and apprehend the real thief. The slur at reform thus made by the opposition, in appointing Butler chairman of the committee on reform, is obvious.

once opposed. Frauds were uncovered in the Post Office Department. Mails in the West had to be carried by horse or stage over vast distances to towns and hamlets which contained a shifting population. These mail routes were called "Star Routes." In some cases swindling contractors were found to be robbing the Post Office Department for "carrying" mail over routes which did not exist at all. In other cases contractors had managed to have the contract prices raised far above what was reasonable. Garfield's unfortunate death at the hands of a disappointed office-seeker greatly influenced public opinion. In 1883 Congress, recognizing the popular disgust with the old spoils system, created a Civil Service Commission. This body of three men classified the nation's civil servants, prepared rules and lists, and undertook the conduct of examinations. Beginning with the removal of 13,780 offices from politics in 1883, this list has grown steadily. President Cleveland, despite the opposition of close associates, proved a staunch friend of the movement, doubling the number of offices in the "classified service"; out of 178,000 federal employees he placed 86,000 beyond reach of the spoils system.

Star Route frauds

Civil Service Commission appointed by Congress

A great impetus was given to civil service reform when Theodore Roosevelt of New York was appointed to the Commission by President Harrison. Before this time the Commission had tried to effect reform without angering congressmen whose votes could cut off its appropriation and even kill it if they desired. In Roosevelt was found a champion who feared no congressman or Congress when it came to a contest between right and wrong. In two ways this resourceful fighter, Roosevelt, made the Commission respected and feared. In answer to the criticism that the Commission was only a tool of the Republican party, Roosevelt called together southern congressmen and urged them to induce more Southerners to take the examinations. The result was that numerous appointments of Southerners (mostly Democrats) followed in course of time. Again, when Congress-

Civil Service championed by Roosevelt

men (who had criticized the Commission's activities) voted to cut down its appropriations, Roosevelt omitted to hold civil service examinations in the districts which such congressmen represented. This appeal to the people, over the politician's head, was effective and direct. No congressman thereafter cared to deprive his constituents of the opportunity of taking such examinations.

Roosevelt as President sturdily befriended the civil service program, and President Taft pushed the issue so far that, in 1912, only 56,000 out of 334,000 public employees of the nation were outside the classified list. During President Wilson's administration war conditions led to great expansion, and in 1921 the number of classified positions had grown to 586,924. Many of the evils of partizanship still abide with us. But it is in such records as this history of civil service reform that we find assurance for the future. Idealism is sometimes impractical. The greatest real builders of our Republic have, however, been those who fought the good fight for practical idealism; among these stand high those who have attempted to make the efficiency of our departments of government a keynote of party policy.

The lesson of civil service reform

In this connection the establishment of a budget system by our government (June 10, 1922) is a noteworthy event. A budget is a balance-sheet of actual income and expenditure and an estimate of the income and expenditure for the coming year. Great waste had been the rule in years past, largely because of lack of proper coöperation between government departments.[1] Under the efficient direction of a Chicago banker, General Charles G. Dawes, the herculean task of drafting a thousand-page estimate of Uncle Sam's expenses for one year was accomplished. The

The Budget System

[1]One department might need an article or service that another department could furnish at small expense. But, rather than make such a department increase its cost of operation by a small margin (and thus make a poorer showing than usual) the department needing the article or service would go into the open market and pay heavily for it. Thus, while one department made a better showing, the cost to the government (the people) was enormously increased in certain instances.

budget for 1923 carried the sum of $3,505,754,727. If you strike off the four left-hand figures you will have left the cost of running our government in the first year of Washington's administration; thus have we grown! The Director of the Budget has wisely pointed out that true economy is sometimes to be secured by saving, and sometimes by spending, money; and that budgets alone will not make saving popular. Such a businesslike system is good or bad as the men who execute it are intelligent and brave. Now, for the first time in our history, forty-three departments and independent establishments of the government are placed under coördinate business control, acting under the President and the Director.

In connection with civil service reform we may discuss with propriety the correlated subject of our much-mooted "Indian question." When we review such a tale as was told by Helen Hunt Jackson, in her book *A Century of Dishonor* (referring to our government's treatment of the Indian), conflicting opinions arise. Doubtless we have laid ourselves open to the charge of being "guilty" of mistreating the Indian, but there are extenuating circumstances to be considered:

The Indian problem

1. Our initial relations with the red man in colonial history, it must be remembered, were in the main hostile, as was true in every continent where a superior civilization met an inferior. This hostility was felt more keenly in our case because the most powerful tribes usually sided with, or sought to keep under the wing of, European powers while the latter had foothold on our continent, as in the case of France, England, and Spain.

The original hostility

2. The impetuosity of the white man's advance could not be controlled. The outriders of this advance were men trained to Indian war and Indian hatred; they neither recognized the Indian's nor the government's right to limit the sweep of their settlements or the zone of their occupation. These headstrong pioneers disdained most treaties and most laws; their slogan was "Westward Ho" and their motto was "There is no good Indian but a dead Indian."

Irresponsible white men

3. And yet when the time came to treat the red men with the tools of civilization—by treaties, Acts of Congress, reservations, annuities, commissions, etc.—pioneers were the only men fitted physically and mentally to do our work for us. In many instances they, only, knew the languages of the tribes with whom we desired to treat and knew how to reach, and to do business with, them. How unfitted they were morally is explained largely by their past hostile relations with those with whom they were now called upon to deal.

Poor mediums for negotiations

4. In many cases lack of centralized authority on the part of tribes or nations, and inter-tribal rivalry over such authority as did exist, made it difficult to carry out even the best intentions. Frequently we found, that, after having made a treaty and salved with money and goods the consciences of chieftains for what they had sacrificed, those who had secured this bounty had not been properly authorized to make a treaty! Moreover, lack of centralized authority made it also impossible for the Indians to control their own irresponsibles. Time and again uncontrollable red warriors ignored and flaunted pacts and treaties as disdainfully as did white men. Too often, when we listen to the stories on both sides, it seems another case of "the pot calling the kettle black"; for both parties were at times greatly to blame. These are not all the difficulties in the case but they are types of difficulties.

Irresponsible red men

The Indian question in the South developed a serious aspect in Jackson's day. The thirteen thousand Cherokees in Georgia had been given rich lands in the northwestern part of that state by Congress. They had acquired many civilized traits and had established self-government. As Georgians needed new lands they wanted the Indians removed and cited in their behalf the Constitution which forbids the erection of a state "within the jurisdiction of any other state" without the approval of both the state and Congress. Appeals to the Supreme Court resulted in verdicts for the Indians. Jackson, however, agreed with the

Georgia's Indian problem

Georgians. In 1834 Congress created an Indian Territory in the Arkansas Valley for the Georgia Indians' occupation and thither they were carried, willingly or by force. Looking back through the years one wonders what better solution could have been reached; yet the plan, whether good or ill, was carried out with a cruelty at times that was revolting in the extreme. For this we must blame the type of men who, only, could be secured to do this kind of work for us.

Indian Territory created in 1834

For peculiar complications, the Seminole Indian's case in Florida, is as singular as that of the Cherokees in Georgia. This tribe (living in the region south of St. Augustine) had received and welcomed numerous runaway slaves from the southern plantations. Intermarriage between the blacks and the Seminoles was not uncommon. Following the policy of transferring the southern Indians to west of the Mississippi, government agents and the leaders of this tribe entered into a treaty (1833) concerning migration westward. When the Indians were gathered at Tampa, Fla., for the purpose of shipment to New Orleans, slave owners appeared upon the scene to claim certain runaways. The Indians rebelled and took to their swamps where, under their halfbreed (Indian-American) leader, Osceola, whose wife was a negress, a long, bitter struggle ensued costing the government nearly three times the purchase price of Louisiana Territory (forty millions) before the Seminoles were removed (1842).

The Seminoles in Florida

In the Northwest the steady pressure of white advance had resulted in a series of compromises after the Treaty of Greenville (p. 174), until, by 1830, only the prairies south and west of Lake Michigan remained in the hands of the aborigines. A band of white squatters, such as often was organized among the frontiersmen, now descended upon rich corn lands tilled by the Sacs at the mouth of Rock River, Ill., and occupied them. Black Hawk, a noted Sac chieftain, retaliated. Finally Black Hawk agreed to the removal of his people across the Mississippi. He left the country but soon after reappeared and the Black Hawk

Northwestern Indian troubles

War (1832) ensued, resulting in that chieftain's capture in the severe battle of Bad Axe, Wis.

The government at last got 125,000 Indians beyond the Mississippi and developed its "reservation" system under our "Indian Service." On these great preserves of virgin soil government agents distributed rations, blankets, and annuities to the Indians; and to a degree regulated the comings and goings of traders. The plan was, doubtless, good in theory; but, again, the kind of men who would engage in such work made its execution a medley of cruelty, peculation, and fraud. As eye-witnesses and victims of wrongdoing on the part of our agents, the Indians learned neither honesty nor probity. The government's bounty to them lessened thrift and encouraged idleness and pauperism. The system, as Secretary Cox found it in Grant's administration, partook of the general low moral tone of the public service generally and probably was the most corrupt of any department in it.[1]

The Reservation system

Its influence on the Indian

With a curious and ominous fatality, the most satisfactory locations for Indians in the West lay in the great river valleys up which western migration of the white man was about to flow. The Sioux in the Missouri Valley in Dakota, the Cheyennes and Arapahoes in the valleys of the Yellowstone and North Platte, the Crows to the westward, the Comanches, Kiowas, and Apaches in and beyond the Arkansas, directly blocked the important pathways to the Rockies (map p. 11). At first the white man's wanton destruction of the buffalo aroused the passions of the red warrior. The right-of-way for the Union Pacific and transcontinental travel through strategic South Pass had been granted

The Indian on the "Path of Empire"

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[1]President Roosevelt, who knew the Indian somewhat at first hand and who had a large acquaintance with men who knew him better, often spoke despairingly of the reservation system which kept the red man in "vicious idleness." Of Indians whom this system of charity had demoralized he said: "I don't go so far as to think that the only good Indians are the dead Indians, but I believe nine out of every ten are, and I shouldn't like to inquire too closely into the case of the tenth. The most vicious cowboy has more moral principle than the average Indian."

by a treaty signed at Fort Laramie, Wyo., as early as 1851; but the avalanche of hunters turned loose upon the plains with the railway's completion and their murderous attacks on the Indian's chief friend, the bison, incited rage and panic. Scarcely a single item in the buffalo's anatomy but was of use in some way to the Plains Indian. The destruction of the buffalo should have been opposed and prevented by our government, and yet nearly five million of these useful beasts were killed (largely for sport) in two years, 1872–3. Irrepressibles on both sides brought on numerous disturbances. Open war followed with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes (1863–4), the Sioux (1866–8), the Comanches and Apaches, and again with the Sioux (1876). In the latter struggle the famous Sitting Bull cornered and annihilated General Custer's command, killing every man including the brave leader, in the Battle of the Little Big Horn in southern Montana.

Indian wars in the West

At last the conscience of the nation asserted itself in behalf of its forlorn red-skinned wards, and various commissions (1867–8 and 1876) undertook the task of investigation and reformation. The old policy of treating with tribes as independent nations was discarded. By the Dawes Act (1887) Indians for the first time were allowed to hold lands (160 acres) individually, thus breaking up tribal organization and paving the way for the Indians to become citizens. Crude and unsatisfactory features of this law were corrected by the Burke Act (1906) permitting the Indians to become citizens only when they had full title to lands which, at first, they had received only in trust.

Dawes Act

Burke Act

There are now about 300,000 Indians under government supervision. About four millions a year are spent in educating 40,000 of them. Despite all the hardships under which they have labored the Indian population is steadily increasing, having advanced from 256,127 in 1880 to 330,000 in 1919. At this rate the Indian population will be as numerous in A. D. 2122 as it was four centuries ago when Columbus came. It has been a "century of dishonor" in the sense that many dishonorable incidents

The situation to-day

have occurred, but this should hardly be laid to the door of our government. The only men capable of performing the work to be done were often incapable of performing it justly, and sometimes the tribes with whom they dealt hardly merited leniency of any kind.

The Indian and the Reclamation Service

In recent days we have seen governmental activity reach out eager hands to its wards through the reclamation service. Many years ago the Indian Service built irrigation works on Indian reservations with some small success. In 1907 the Reclamation Service and the Indian Department began active coöperation to this end. In four important cases (and in others of less note) this work has gone steadily on. The Pima Project in Arizona has been completed by the Reclamation Service and turned over to the Indian Department. A flood-water canal was built on the Gila River and an electric transmission-line from the Roosevelt Dam of the Salt River Project has been run to the reservation for pumping irrigation water from wells. Five irrigation systems are planned in the Blackfeet Indian Reservation in Montana which ought to render a region the size of Rhode Island fitted to raise forage, grain, and general farm and garden produce. The Flathead Indian Project, also in Montana, contemplates the irrigation of 152,000 acres of land by means of 16 reservoirs and 900 miles of canals of varying capacity; over half the estimated area is now irrigated. Over 150,000 acres are, or will be, under irrigation in the Fort Peck Project in extreme northeastern Montana when the plans now being worked out are completed.

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2. The Indians: E. Hough, *The Passing of the Frontier*, Chap. 7; F. E. Leupp, *The Indian;* H. H. Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor;* G. A. Forsythe, *The Story of the Soldier;* G. B. Grinnell, *The Story of the Indian.*

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Give an outline of civil service reform. Why did such reform become more urgent with the growth of the nation? Could great American firms have developed without the adoption of similar methods "in principle"? Describe the Indian reservation system. What other system might have been adopted? Could reservations have been located so as not to interfere with the white man's advance? Have the Indians in Mexico fared better than those in the United States? Have our Indians suffered because of the system of politics in this country? Should the "government" be held liable for this?

Section 53. Tariff Reform

In every election since the Civil War the line of difference on tariff which existed in the old days between the Whig and Democratic parties has shown itself. The Democratic party has held to the theory expressed in the Walker Bill of 1846 and has usually favored revision of duties downward. That party declared openly for free trade in 1856 and, in 1857, lowered the average duty on imports to about 20 per cent. in the belief that "tariff for revenue only" was all that should be levied. The great volume of imports at that time justified that policy.

Persistence of Democratic sympathy for free trade

With the coming of the Civil War imports fell off and expenses grew by leaps and bounds. The Morrill Tariff Bill, raising duties, was passed in 1861 by the Republicans, who inherited the Whig policy of "protection." During the war extraordinary expenses demanded extraordinary revenue and tariffs were raised accordingly. But by the end of the war the industrial North had so profited by war tariffs that the Republican party was said to be wholly in the grasp of plutocrats; and strong Democratic districts in the Middle Atlantic States likewise favored the luxury of high tariffs. Two influences strengthened the Republicans in their decision to hold to the protection idea. Under the protective duties levied in war-times our national wealth grew from sixteen billions in 1860 to forty-three billions in 1880. Much of this increase was due to war-time pro-

The Morrill Bill and war tariffs for revenue

tection rates; foreign goods had to pay such a duty that home-made goods could be sold at a liberal profit. Secondly, immigration (which came almost wholly to the North, the industrial region) now reached a height never known before; in 1882 788,992 immigrants arrived and this foreign population began to be a real asset in the American industrial problem. This record of prosperity, due in part to war-time protection and partly to foreign labor, gave the Republicans the following party slogan for the ensuing forty years: *the Tariff must be enough to cover the difference between cost of production (including wages) at home and the cost of production abroad.* Only thus, Republicans claimed, could our scale of wages be maintained.

The Republican tariff theory

This platform had its good points. Many of our best trained economists, however, denied its logic. They maintained that if goods were admitted free they would be so cheap that high wages would be unnecessary. Among the people at large (in the industrial North at least) this argument has not gained much ground. In any case, experiments in tariff changing are costly.

The Republican doctrine involved a danger. It would naturally be popular with the employer class, the capitalists. Under the wing of the Republican party, mills, factories, and shops could grow and prosper if protected from foreign competition. The danger here is evident; whenever a new tariff schedule was to be framed each industry (as wool or steel, which desired protection) would court the favor, personally or through coöperative associations, of the tariff schedule-makers in Congress. And, more dangerous still, campaign funds would be contributed by those desiring protection and their influence over voters in their pay might be great. It is evident, then, that any party making protection its battle-cry might come to be called the "Party of Big Business," "owned by the capitalists," "tool of the trusts," etc.

Evils of an alliance with capitalism

Unfortunately the Republican party did not control the only weapon which could defend it from criticisms. This weapon, or tool, was in the hands of the capitalists themselves. They might,

or might not, pass on to their employees a full quota of the benefit received from protection; no Republican Congress could compel them to do this. It could protect them enough, let us say, so they could pay their workmen $5.00 a day. If in Europe men doing the same work received $1.00 and protected American manufacturers paid only $3.00, it is seen that these manufacturers could shout loudly about our "splendid American wage scale"—and pocket $2.00 a day which, theoretically, should have gone to each workman.

That is what happened. In legislating (theoretically) for the working class, the Republican party was compelled, also, to legislate for the capitalistic class. In many ways, no doubt, the country profited from the creation of this wealth. The profiteers of this system benefitted their towns, cities, institutions, hospitals, churches, etc., with a lavishness seldom known in the world before. With their excess profits under protection they could also promote expansion of business, improvements in machinery, pension systems, etc.; all this was of benefit to the country in general and their employees in particular. Yet many laboring men never believed that more than a small fraction of the increased profit was ever employed altruistically. In any case, every American who bought steel or woolen goods helped to pay this bill and in this fact we find the explanation of the unity finally developed by the Democratic party in its long-standing fight against protection.

The question was not wholly a party question, for numerous strong Democratic sections were manufacturing sections and believed in protection. As we have seen, it was Grover Cleveland who first dared to affront the Democratic protection-loving districts and make the tariff an out-and-out political issue between the two great parties. After his victory of 1892, the Democrats, having captured both Houses of Congress, framed the Wilson Tariff Bill. Originally it expressed Cleveland's sentiments. His honesty is exemplified perfectly in his fight against what he called Republican "profiteering"; it is also shown in his scorn of his weak-kneed Democratic Congress for so

The first Democratic anti-protection bill

tinkering with the original Wilson Bill that, when it came to him for signature, it bore no likeness to the party's election pledge. He let it become a law without his signature. By a clerical mistake "hydraulic hose" was classed in the bill among "articles of wearing apparel." A Republican humorist in the Senate publicly observed that the Democrats would doubtless soon be classing "hydraulic rams and spinning mules in the live-stock schedule." The witticism gave color to the Republican claim that Democrats lacked capacity to handle the tariff question. What they really lacked was Cleveland's honesty of conviction and clear vision.

Cleveland's four-square honesty

The tariff contest between the parties since Cleveland's day has seen many ups and downs, especially when influenced, as it often has been, by other matters like financial panics and currency questions. A table shows at a glance this see-saw story of tariff history, the great tariff bills and the average duties laid:

Five famous tariff bills

YEAR	MEASURE	AVERAGE DUTY	REMARKS
1890	McKinley Bill (Rep.)	48.2%	Over 7% higher than the "Tariff of Abominations" of 1828.
1894	Wilson Bill (Dem.)	37%	Wool put on the "free list." Provision for an income tax.
1897	Dingley Bill (Rep.)	57%	Wool taken from free list; reciprocity duties given wider range.
1910	Payne-Aldrich Bill (Rep.)	37%	Provided a tariff board to make a scientific study of tariff questions.
1913	Underwood Bill (Dem.)	27%	Free list enlarged to include wool, cotton, hemp, flax, etc.
1922	Fordney-McCumber Bill (Rep.)		Probably will raise the average duty of the Underwood Bill considerably.

With the coming of an era of trusts and combinations (to be treated later) it is evident that "Big Business" could exert an influence over tariff schedules that might be sadly harmful. Mr. Taft was now elected President (1908) on a Republican platform calling for revision of the tariff downward. Unfortunately the Payne-Aldrich Bill, above noted, repudiated in essentials this promise. Mr. Taft signed the bill in the same frame of mind (his friends hoped) that Cleveland had when he let the Wilson Bill become a law. But when Mr. Taft made a tour of the country speaking in defense of the bill, many of his former friends turned from him and Democratic success in the election of 1912 was practically assured.

Republicans repudiate party pledge

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UNLOADING FREIGHT ON A MISSISSIPPI WHARF

This bill, however, contained a provision which marks a milestone along the devious pathway of reform. It provided for the creation of a Tariff Board of three members which should aid in taking the tariff out of politics. During the four years of the existence of this Board some interesting investigation was made of comparative costs in production at home and abroad. The value of the findings of the Board was lessened by the fact that a greater difference was found to exist between our own efficiently conducted and inefficiently conducted plants than between the efficiently managed plants

The first Tariff Board

here and abroad. The Board, also, was fatally handicapped by not being empowered to compel men or corporations to lay before it their papers and books which would throw light on the actual workings of tariff schedules.

A bipartizan Tariff Commission

While overthrowing President Taft's Tariff Board, the Democratic party kept its pledge on tariff reform notably by creating on September 8, 1916, a Tariff Commission with real powers. This Commission, bipartizan in character (no more than three of its six members to be of the same party) was empowered to call for any documentary material needed to throw light on the problem of the tariff. It, therefore, represents the most advanced opinion held for tariff reform by the "progressive" reformers of the day.

Duties of a tariff commission

What will be accomplished remains to be seen, but a step has been taken to remove the tariff from the political arena. It must be held in mind, however, that the settling of tariff policies will never lie with any board or commission but, rather, with us, the common people, as represented in Congress. At the same time an efficient commission has a large field of work in the study of (a) the administration, fiscal, and industrial effects of our custom laws; (b) the actual effect of ad valorem[1] and specific duties; (c) of schedules and of the puzzles arising from the classification of articles; (d) of the relations between this country and foreign nations; and (e) of commercial treaties and their preferential tariff provisions. A "scientific" solution of the tariff problem, as the words are sometimes used, is held by many to be impossible, for no scientific laws are applicable to economic questions in the sense that the laws of physics are applicable to engineering.

This is well illustrated in the case of the Fordney-McCumber Bill, which became a law September 21, 1922. By it the Tariff

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[1]An ad valorem duty is one paid on goods that are taxed according to their value—not according to their number, weight, or measure. A specific duty is a tax levied according to the weight, bulk, or other unit of measurement of goods.

Commission is enlarged to seven members. The bill is said to be "scientifically" framed because it is "elastic." This means that persons desirous of having any given tariff rate altered may apply to the President or to the Tariff Commission and show ground for the justice of their contention. If convinced that a change should be made the President may, with the approval of the Commission, make changes within a range of 50 per cent. of the tax imposed under the law. This elastic tariff bill is admitted to be an experiment; some doubt the constitutionality of a change made in a law by a President; and many doubt if our Chief Executive has time to become a tariff umpire.

READING LIST

Such books as F. W. Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States;* E. Stanwood, *American Tariff Controversies;* Paxson, *The New Nation and Recent History;* Beard, *Contemporary American History;* Bogart, *Economic History,* and Dewey, *National Problems,* will give information concerning each successive tariff discussion in this period; see indexes in each case.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

How did the Republican party fall heir to the protective tariff policy and its rival to the tariff for revenue policy? Has your section of the country always favored one or the other of these policies? If not, why the change of sentiment? What is our most recent tariff bill? Compare it with its predecessor as to average duty. What industries now receive heaviest and lightest protection? Has our last tariff bill justified the creation of a Tariff Commission? Should congressmen legislate solely for their own section or for the welfare of the nation at large? If you answer "for the welfare of the nation," are such congressmen "representative"? What does a "statesman" do on such questions? A politician?

Section 54. The Labor Question

We have noted that, in Andrew Jackson's time, efforts to organize labor were put forward. It was not, however, until the era of the Civil War that the factory "system" ushered in conditions which led to the formation of labor and capitalistic organizations and the conflicts between them which have been so prominent in our later history. The disappearance of public lands,

Labor becomes dependent on capital

the concentration of industries in great plants (and laborers in masses), and the universal introduction of labor-saving machinery, suddenly made labor unusually dependent upon capital. This dependence demanded that labor should put forth efforts by organization to protect itself from greed and imposition. The later years of the war saw the rise of numerous trade-unions, and, in 1869, the organization of the Knights of Labor. This, at first, was a secret organization, but it soon (1879) abandoned that characteristic. The ideals of its founders were high. They desired to make "industrial and moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of national greatness." Many ideas proposed by them (scouted at the time as flighty ideals) are commonplaces in our time—the referendum, and the eight-hour day, weekly pay, bureaus of labor statistics, and prohibitions against employment of young children. Very early these organizations became interested in legislation for the betterment of the workingman's condition. Massachusetts in 1866 passed laws limiting the working hours of children and establishing a bureau to collect statistics of labor. Three years later an eight-hour day for Federal employees was adopted, setting a precedent of importance.

Knights of Labor

Victories for labor

THE ADVANCE OF THE CENTERS OF POPULATION AND MANUFACTURING

While favoring arbitration as a method of settling disputes between capital and labor, the Knights of Labor found that the "strike" was the only effective tool at hand for fighting alleged wrongs. This first became prominent in the railway strikes of

1877 which followed a reduction of wages due to business depression after the panic of 1873. These were the first strikes in which violence appeared. However, through the years 1860–1880 the condition of laborers (except on the farm and plantation) considerably improved. It is estimated that in 1880 the laborer could live as well as in 1860 and still put one third of his wages in the bank. But his chief friend, the Knights of Labor, was not fitted in some ways to advance his interests as fully as was desired. It was a crude but highly centralized machine, composed of distinct local assemblies with little authority, to which men of every trade were admitted. This kind of organization was not able to encourage such a system as is represented by "collective bargaining" to-day. It was also limited in its usefulness because of conflicts which arose between it and local trade unions.

The strike tool

Inefficiency of K. of L. organization

More American in type, because more democratic, was the American Federation of Labor which was formed in 1881. This organization is a confederation of trade and labor unions, each trade being organized separately, its unions being represented in the national body. From a small membership in 1890 of 200,000, the American Federation has now grown to number four millions. It includes, however, only about fifteen per cent. of our working population. About the same time capital, too, found it necessary to organize in order to secure for itself what it deemed justice. The first of these associations was the Stove Founders National Defense Association (1886). The most important to-day are the National Association of Manufacturers with a membership of about four thousand firms, the Employers' Associations, and the Citizens' Industrial Association of America.

The American Federation of Labor

Capital organizes

The conflicts between associations of employees and employers have been one of the important features of modern American history. Between 1881 and 1905 we had about 35,000 strikes involving some eight million workmen at a cost to all concerned of about five hundred million dollars. In the

"best" years seventy-three per cent. of the strikes were successful, from labor's standpoint, and, in the "worst," about thirty-five per cent. But the important matter is the proof of changing ideals and aims on the part of these opposing organizations. For a long time the public tried to deceive itself by believing the so-called platitude that the interests of labor and capital are identical. As to production, many contend, this is true; but in distribution many affirm that their interests are diametrically opposed under present conditions. Labor's effort has been to get employers to share with it the gains which come with improved methods and inventions. We have entered what Professor Commons of the University of Wisconsin has called the "industrial hygiene period" in which general legislation has given place to special legislation directed toward classified industries with reference to questions of health. This principle was fixed by the Supreme Court when, in 1898, it approved an eight-hour day law for men working in mines, smelters, etc.

Changing ideals

"Industrial hygiene period"

Again, strikes involving violence have decreased in number. The ideals of labor are centered on (a) the "closed shop," (b) collective bargaining, and (c) arbitration. The closed shop represents an effort to unionize all labor by not allowing an article to be handled, either in manufacture or distribution, by other than union workmen. By collective bargaining the individual workman takes no part in discussions with employer as to hours or wages, this being done by his representatives of the union. Profit-sharing has lately been advocated by labor in the effort to secure "identity of interest" with the capitalist in the distribution of wealth. Certain well-known firms have adopted profit-sharing as a principle, much to the alarm of others who see in the system danger because principles of justice seem difficult to establish when capital runs all the risk and labor none.

The closed shop

A more recent movement, and one regarded hopefully by both capital and labor, looks toward what is known as "industrial democracy." Just as the people of a state elect representatives,

so, in an industrial democracy, the workers for a firm or plant elect representatives. These representatives meet with their employers to decide upon wages and working conditions. This system, which sounds so "American," is finding favor in many parts of the country. Employers highly regard it because, in numerous instances, they say, a contentment not common before has been secured. On the other hand, organized labor sometimes opposes it because it tends to interfere with the much-cherished principle of collective bargaining in which the "representing" is done by a labor union official.

Industrial democracy

The Pullman strike in Cleveland's administration introduced the injunction into labor-and-capital history. This factor has grown increasingly important since 1894. The strike tied up twenty-three railways operating in and out of Chicago and stopped the United States mails and interstate business. A "blanket injunction" was issued by a Federal District Court ordering members of the American Railway Union to stop interfering with the interstate traffic of the roads mentioned. Eugene V. Debs, head of the Union, continued his work and was arrested for contempt of court. Again, the case of the Pullman strike was unusual, because the President, against the will of Illinois' radical governor, Altgeld, sent United States troops into the state in order to facilitate the running of trains; his theory was that a strike which interfered with the mails and interstate business was "conspiracy." He was loudly applauded by capitalistic interests, but, politically, his boldness was costly. Ordinarily a state's national guard is capable of handling local disturbances caused by strikes but Cleveland's initiative in the use of national troops was a precedent.

The injunction

Strikes and "conspiracy"

The use of injunctions has been more or less common since that time. Against this iniquity, as labor views it, its batteries have been trained with an intensity only equalled by capital's earnestness in opposing collective bargaining, profit-sharing, and the closed shop. At times striking has seemed wholly

justifiable to "the man in the street", and at times the injunction has seemed equally just. An effort to get Congress to pass an anti-injunction law in 1912 succeeded in the House but the Senate killed it.

Another sweeping use of the injunction was made by Federal District Judge Wilkerson in September, 1922. It forbade any participation in acts which tended to interfere with railway operation by officers or members of the shop crafts belonging to the Railway Employee's Department of the American Federation of Labor. The injunction was based on a belief that illegal and criminal acts had been committed in a strike then under way by railway shopmen. The shopmen claimed that participation by them in such acts had not been shown.[1] The shopmen's strike, in this case, terminated without prosecution being made under the injunction. The legality of the injunction thus used has not been passed upon by our Supreme Court.

Injunction issued in Railway Shopmen's Strike

The present importance of the American Federation of Labor is indicated by the following figures for the year 1920. A total of five million dollars was paid out in all forms of benefit to its members. Fifty-one national and international organizations paid out over three million dollars in death benefits; twenty-one such organizations paid out over one million in sick benefits. During the year there were 1,635 strikes. Of these 867 were settled favorably from the Federation's standpoint and 135 unfavorably; the remainder were pending. In the conduct of these strikes over eight million dollars were expended by the organization.

Present status of the A. F. of L.

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[1]The weak point [a keen editor observes with reference to this use of injunction] in this kind of dealing with labor matters is that, when the question is as to the actual decision whether a given individual has in fact committed an illegal act or has combined with others to commit acts amounting to a conspiracy, the truth or falseness of the allegation must be decided by a judge without a jury. The person who is arrested is dealt with for contempt of court in disobeying the court's orders and not for having committed acts against the statute criminal law. (See *The Outlook*, CXXXII. No. 5).

National unions

The latest and most interesting development in the labor world is the tendency of national unions to develop to the point of guaranteeing production. The keynote for such a policy was sounded by Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, when he said in convention:

> If power to organize labor means the power to abuse the industry, I say to you no organization can last. I appeal to you for the sake of the organization as a whole—to say to the employers and to say to the public that we want standards for our people, standards of health, standards of living, standards of working conditions, and we are ready to establish standards of production.

"The new day in industry"

The prevention of irregular employment is the master-stroke toward preventing the great peril of unemployment. The Association mentioned has taken the lead in acknowledging its responsibility to serve the public as well as to better the condition of its members. "They are the spokesmen," in the words of William L. Chenery, "of the new day in industry."

READING LIST

S. P. Orth, *The Armies of Labor* (Chronicles of America, XL); C. R. Lingley, *Since the Civil War*, Chap. 14; Paxson, *Recent History*, Chap. 8; R. T. Ely, *The Labor Movement in America;* J. R. Commons, *The History of Labor in the United States;* F. T. Carlton, *The History and Problem of Organized Labor;* J. G. Brissenden, *The Launching of the Industrial Workers of the World;* T. V. Powderly, *Thirty Years of Labor;* Howland, Chap. 8; J. Mitchell, *Organized Labor.*

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Define collective bargaining. Why were the Knights of Labor unable effectively to put that principle into effect? Why could the A. F. of L. do it so effectively? What objection do men of the latter organization raise to "Industrial Democracy"? Show how the ideals of organized labor have changed through the years. What cherished rights may be infringed upon by the injunction? When were those rights first recognized in English history? What is the most recent use of the injunction? What do you consider the chief factors in the improvement of labor conditions in this country? Show the reasons for Cleveland's unpopularity from the standpoint

of labor. Under what other circumstances have United States troops been used to prevent trouble?

Section 55. The Currency Problem

A growing industrial nation is usually in need of more money for the same reason that a growing firm needs more money. The value of money changes as the abundance of material out of which it is made increases or decreases. The steady output of gold has made that metal the most reliable one for money and a standard of value.

The value of money

WILLIAM MCKINLEY

For thirty-five years following the Civil War, one of the matters of primal importance to our people was the need of more money and the effort of the government to satisfy that need. The war brought into existence (p. 371) Secretary Chase's legal tender paper money ("Greenbacks"). These greenbacks, in convenient denominations of $1, $5, and $10, gave us, within two years, an adequate supply of currency. The trouble with paper money is the likelihood of its depreciation, or shrinking in value.[1] Depreciation works two hardships: one on a government and one on all people with fixed incomes. Because of depreciation of greenbacks, which the government of course had to redeem (buy back), the war cost us half a billion dollars more than it should, for when

The evils of paper money

[1]The terms "depreciated" or "cheap" money should be understood. If a man who has no property or bank account gives a note it might be called a "cheap" note. If a government issues a slip of paper which states that it is worth one dollar in gold, and has not the dollar in gold laid away in its

the greenbacks were bought up they were not worth their face value. As they depreciated in value, labor, unless wages were advanced, got less for its service. Organized labor obtained an advance of wages; other labor suffered from the depreciation of the currency. The government steadily pursued the policy of redeeming these paper issues even at a loss; whenever a pinch occurred, however, and money was "tight," pressure was brought to bear to have this paper money put back into circulation—as was done in the panic of 1873.[1] After that a fixed circulation of paper (about 400 millions) was agreed upon and maintained. Thus we went around in a circle; prosperity brought over-expansion and over-investment; these extremes brought "hard times" and panics; then "cheap" money was put into circulation to tide over a crisis; the cheap money turned out to be expensive because of depreciation; it was retired and prosperity again showed her face and people remained sane for a while in investment and speculation until prosperity waxed too great.

Illustration from the history of "Greenbacks"

The cycle of prosperity

The West, usually a debtor region, always favored having plenty of money, for only thus could its untold riches be developed. Here, in 1876, arose the National Greenback Party which favored an unlimited issue of legal tender greenbacks. The government in the year before had struck a blow at green-

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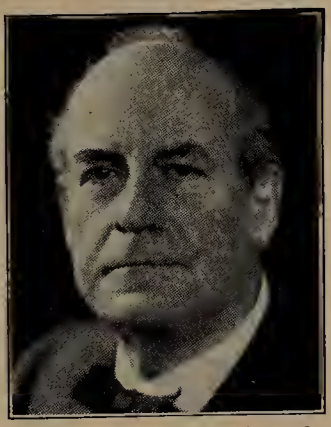
vaults with which to redeem the promise, that slip of paper is "cheap" money. If the slip promises to pay you a silver "dollar," the amount of money you get depends on the value of silver at the time you ask the government to redeem its promise. If the silver in the dollar is then worth $1.05 the paper does not represent "cheap" money; if the silver dollar has only ninety cents worth of silver in it (measured in terms of gold) you lose ten cents; it is then "cheap" money.

[1]The expression "money was 'tight'" perhaps needs explanation. In prosperous days men with money are glad to lend it at interest; banks then have plenty of money to lend. But some days are not prosperous; crops may be poor; poorly conducted, or wrongly conducted, banks or institutions may fail; men become frightened and fear the worst. At such times neither they, nor the banks, will lend money except at very high rates of interest. Then money is "tight." This may happen because of actual failures of crops or firms; it may happen because men fear such failures. The result is the same in either case—a "tight" money market and panic conditions.

backs by passing a law suspending specie payment, that is, payment in hard (gold or silver) money; but it promised to redeem greenbacks in 1879. The Greenback Party developed marked strength in these years, polling over a million votes in the congressional elections of 1878. By clever management, however, the Treasury Department gathered such a surplus of gold with which to redeem its paper that, when 1879 arrived, few cared (since it could be done for the asking) to exchange their paper for gold, and greenbacks have ever since circulated on a par with silver and gold, although the campaign to have them issued in "unlimited" quantities failed.

National Greenback Party



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WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

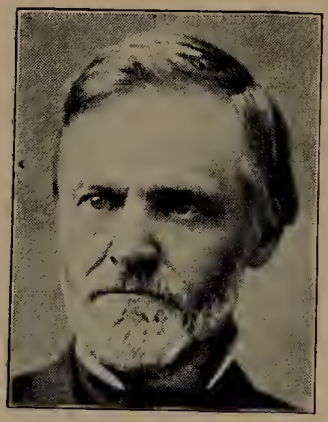
The buoyant and confident West, however, wanted some kind of "unlimited" coinage of money and, failing to get greenbacks, turned its attention to silver. So little silver was mined, or secured from abroad, before the panic of 1873 that jewelers and silversmiths absorbed all the supply at a price the government could not afford to match, for it took more than a dollar's worth of silver to make a silver dollar. No government could afford to make silver dollars at that rate. Naturally, the government passed a law not to coin any silver dollars (1873). Then, suddenly, great quantities of silver were discovered in Nevada and Colorado and the supply from abroad (India) largely increased. This, of course, made silver cheap. A silver dollar, worth $1.02 in 1873, was worth only ninety cents in 1876. We have seen that many western states were, by this time, much interested in the silver-mining industry. The action of Congress in stopping the coinage of silver dollars in 1873 was now called by the West the "Crime of 1873," though at the time it was a matter of simple commonsense.

The West turns to silver

The "Crime of '73"

The political influence of our "silver" states therefore now becomes apparent. We have noted the rush of population to them which led to their being admitted to the Union by the Republican party. Once in the Union it was necessary to keep them happy, and this could be done only by straining a point and buying and coining a part of their gigantic output of silver. By the Bland-Allison Act of 1878 it was agreed that the government should purchase at least two million dollars' worth of silver every month and coin it into dollars weighing $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains. These "dollars" were supposed to be worth one hundred cents but they contained only ninety cents' worth of silver. There were dangers in such a "make-believe" currency; but there were also dangers (economic and psychological) in not helping the West to dispose of its principal "crop," silver. In twelve years over 361,000,000 silver dollars were coined.

The Bland-Allison Act



JOHN SHERMAN. (Author of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law.)

The Republican party was helping the "crops" of other portions of the country by the high tariffs which stifled competition from abroad. Public opinion was, however, pretty evenly divided as to whether this policy was right or wrong—so evenly divided, in fact, that the weight of the votes of the "silver" states could turn the scales either way. These silver states now used this balance of power in Congress very cleverly. Their representatives said, in effect, "We will vote to 'protect' wool, iron, etc., if you will vote to 'protect' (buy and coin) our silver." This was good business; any other section of the country would have said the same thing under similar circumstances. The answer of the Republican party to this demand was the McKinley Tariff and the Sherman Silver Act of 1890 which ordered the Treasury Department to pur-

By tariff and silver acts the Republicans befriend the West

chase four and a half million ounces of silver a month. This bullion was to be held as collateral against the issuance of an equal value of "silver certificates," or treasury notes of legal character redeemable either in gold or silver.

This sleight-of-hand finance (for each $1 certificate was worth only ninety cents in silver) might have thrived at another time but the experiment fell on evil days. The country, as we have seen, through over-speculation on credit and over-investment, was approaching one of its periodic eras of depression, and one of the serious complications was the loss of that subtle thing, confidence in the stability of the Treasury. Given the choice by law, men would always choose to have their "certificates" redeemed in gold, for they knew the silver was not "as good as gold." The result was a kind of a "run" on the Treasury. Nothing but Cleveland's skill in getting Wall Street bankers to buy government bonds (which he had to sell in order to maintain a gold balance in the Treasury) with gold, saved confusion from becoming something worse in the Panic of 1893. At this time the Sherman Silver Act of 1890 was repealed by the Democratic Congress. The panic was caused largely by over-investment on credit; fifteen thousand business firms and over five hundred banks went to the wall as a result of it. Out from the ruin of this experience the country emerged in a sickly and hysterical condition. The conservative East and South were now rigidly opposed to what they considered harum-scarum methods of finance. The radical wing of the Democratic party repudiated Cleveland as the "tool" of the "Money Kings" and Wall Street. The West, vastly disturbed by the repeal of the Sherman Act, was up in arms. Organized labor had been defied by the administration in the Pullman strike to the delight of capitalism. It was a time in which anything might happen. If the radical wing of Democracy could be united with the silver and populistic element of the West; if discontented labor could be rallied to this union; if a plausible issue could be

Sleight-of-hand finance

Repeal of the Sherman Silver Act

The Panic of 1893

Cleveland repudiated by radicals

discovered as the basis for the presidential campaign of 1896, headed by a magnetic leader, what could not such an alliance accomplish?

Curiously enough all these conditions were now satisfied. The battle-cry of "Free Silver" furnished the issue; its challenge to the "Gold Bugs" and Wall Street was also adroitly directed at capitalism in general, at "trusts," "monopolies," and "combinations"—at everything which dissatisfied labor desired to denounce. And in the Nebraska orator, William Jennings Bryan, an extraordinary leader was discovered. By "free silver" the travesty of stamping ninety cents' worth of silver as worth one hundred cents was to be turned into the burlesque of stamping forty-nine cents' worth as "one dollar," $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of silver now (1896) being worth only 49 cents in the market.

The Chicago platform

All this the new "Democratic party" embodied in its platform at the Chicago convention, June, 1896. It demanded the "free and unlimited" coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1 on the ground that the United States was rich and powerful enough to declare that sixteen ounces of silver should be worth one ounce of gold always and everywhere, the opinion of the rest of the world to the contrary notwithstanding. The people of the land, this party said, were being enslaved by the banks and bankers of the country who had hoarded gold to increase its value, making everyone pay increasingly greater taxes in the form of interest on loans and mortgages, all reckoned in "gold" values. The theory was sensationally advanced by the new crusader, Bryan, who had to his credit a short but successful career in Congress, a stainless private character, a charming personality, and an effective style of oratory. With the masterly power of a great actor the Nebraskan now made himself world-famous at Chicago in a stirring speech which ended: "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold." The convention was hypnotized and stampeded to Bryan who thereupon became the Democratic candidate for President.

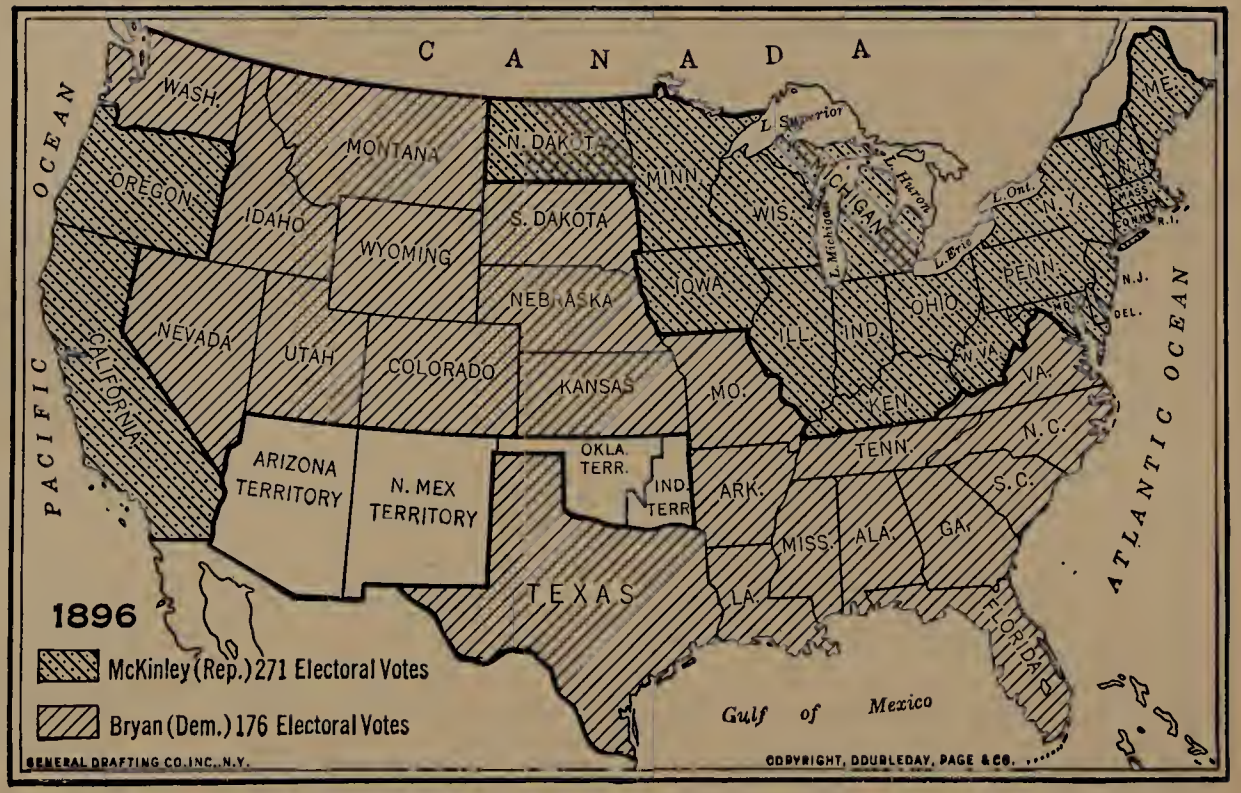
Bryan, the crusader

The Republicans chose as their candidate to oppose Bryan Governor William McKinley of Ohio, a man with a long and excellent public record, of winning personality, of model private life, and an excellent debater. Greater men than he were available—as, for instance, Thomas B. Reed of Maine—but political geography marked McKinley as the "man of the hour" because he came from Ohio, a great and semi-doubtful state. Needless to say the friends of sound money (energetically rallied under the guidance of Mark Hanna, an Ohio millionaire) hastened to the aid of the Republic's good name and their business interests. Had the election taken place in the early summer, while the infection of Bryan's oratory was in men's blood and the thrill of his Cross of Gold speech was in their ears, McKinley might have gone down to defeat. Realizing the danger in the nick of time, a campaign of education, unheard-of in extent and earnestness in American politics, was undertaken. By September the country had been deluged with documents, pamphlets, and tracts to prove the falsity of the gospel of free silver. Sincerely as many wished to do so, it was impossible to vote for McKinley and against capitalism as represented by Mark Hanna. The bitter had to be taken with the sweet, or it would be necessary to repudiate the basic principle of sound finance. Some saw dangers lying thick in the pathway of a Hanna victory. Would it increase the throttling hold trusts and monopolies had upon American industrial life? Would it nurture greedy industries which, as the Democrats said, "fattened upon high tariffs" which "taxed the poor man's food and clothing?" Would it mean a winking at the scandalous control which railways, express companies, and other organizations had exerted upon state and national legislatures during both Republican and Democratic administrations in recent years? Yet, to more than half a million of our citizens these seemed lesser evils than to assent to Bryan heresy. That was about the margin of McKinley's victory when the votes were counted after one of the most exciting elections

"Big Business" in politics

A campaign of education

McKinley elected



Geographical Map of Electoral Vote, 1896

in our history. Free silver was repudiated, never seriously to appear again as a national political issue (map p. 479).

In recent days the main feature of our currency history relates to the establishment of the Federal Reserve Bank system. The National Bank Act of 1863 had, for half a century, performed its functions in a useful way. It had enabled the government to sell its bonds during the Civil War. It had provided a safe and uniform currency. The years proved, however, that it had two serious defects: 1. National bank note currency did not meet the needs of business because the volume of currency did not expand and contract along with the country's business needs. 2. In times of financial stringency, or panics, the national banks had no resource to which they could turn for assistance.

Benefits and defects of the National Bank System

To remedy these defects Congress passed in 1913 the Federal Reserve Bank Act. This Act divided the country into twelve districts, in each one of which was established a Federal Reserve Bank. Any local bank which became a member of the system could now secure aid from the Reserve Bank in its district (map p. 540) in times of panic by turning over to the Bank promissory notes and like assets on which it had already made loans. For these it would receive a credit from the Reserve Bank which would enlarge its supply of ready money. These banks are supervised by a Federal Reserve Board appointed by the President.

Federal Reserve Bank Act

READING LIST

Ford, Chaps. 7–9; Sparks, 137–147; Dewey, *Financial History*, Chaps. 17 and 19; *National Problems*, Chaps. 14 and 20; C. A. Beard, *Contemporary American History*, Chap. 6; Bogart, Chap. 26; J. A. Garfield, *Currency Speeches in the House*.

1. The Election of 1896: Ford, Chaps. 9 and 10; Dewey, 314–329; Beard, Chap. 7; F. L. Paxson, *The New Nation*, Chap. 14; *Recent History*, Chap. 22; W. J. Bryan, *The First Battle*.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

How many of the seven kinds of paper money now in existence can you name? What makes them all "as good as gold"? Explain that term. Ex-

plain the periodic recurrence of panics. What system now exists which will tend to prevent them? List the discontented elements which rallied under the Democratic banner in 1896. Explain the discontent of each. Is it generally admitted that a Free Silver victory in that year would have been nationally detrimental? Bryan might have been elected but for the educational campaign conducted between the adoption of the Democratic platform and election day: should the length of time elapsing between platform-making and election day be increased to forestall "snap judgment" on the part of our voters?

CHAPTER XII

THE CHALLENGE OF INTERNATIONALISM

In the period of our history lying between the Spanish-American War (1898) and the World War (1914) America received the imperious challenge of internationalism. These years were dominated in good part by the strenuous activity of that splendid American, whose rugged honesty, whose vision of internal development within the United States, and whose high ideal of the plane America should occupy in international affairs, made Theodore Roosevelt's influence as vital upon his country's and the world's history as that of any American since Revolutionary days.

This era embraces the administrations of Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson. During this span of years our interests alternate between affairs of domestic development and those of international importance of first rank. The knotty problems of trusts and monopolies, becoming ominous, as we have hinted, with President McKinley's election in 1896, were met in this era by Roosevelt and Taft in earnest fashion. Many of the loopholes which promoters of such combinations (and their astute lawyers) had found, by which to escape from prosecution for law infringement, were stopped up; others, it is true, were left open, but a more wholesome respect for law and a better morale in "Big Business" was undoubtedly secured.

On the other hand, numerous lines of influence which had been laid in other years, tending to bring America out upon the stage as a World Power, now made themselves felt. In 1890 our "last frontier" had been occupied. Thereafter it was certain that, for the future expansion of American commerce and trade, we must look beyond our own confines—to the markets of the world. The unexpected results of the Spanish-American War (1898) and the Boxer Rebellion in China (1900) opened the way for our entry into

the Pacific. The building of the Panama Canal offered a new route thither. Numerous minor events in past years had been paving the way for this epoch-making incident, just as our entry at this time as a World Power was fitting us for the unprecedented part we should play in the drama opened by the World War in 1914. Internal strengthening through Roosevelt's "policies," and our curiously prophetic expansion into the Pacific, foreshadow the days when the United States should become an international factor of signal importance.

Section 56. Republican Unity and Division

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY'S first administration was remarkable for the international topics which were forced upon our people in rapid order, beginning with the Spanish-American War and the subsequent purchase of the Philippine Islands.

As the presidential election of 1900 approached, the Democratic party, still controlled by its radical wing, again nominated Mr. Bryan as its candidate on a free silver and anti-imperialist platform to oppose President McKinley, who was renominated by the Republican party with Theodore Roosevelt as candidate for the Vice-Presidency. The discovery of gold in the Yukon region of Alaska gave Mr. Bryan an excuse for stressing less his old free silver argument, on the ground that the evil that he had opposed had been automatically neutralized by the larger supply of gold furnished unexpectedly by that Northland.

The election of 1900

The main issue of the campaign revolved, therefore, about the question of commending or repudiating the administration's "imperialistic" policy as represented by the conquest and purchase of the Philippine Islands, a topic treated in our next section. Again the Democratic party assumed the rôle of a party of "expedients" by making a platform out of the errors and mistakes of its rival and not building one up from principles heartily believed in. The great hold that illegal combinations of capital had been gaining on the nation during

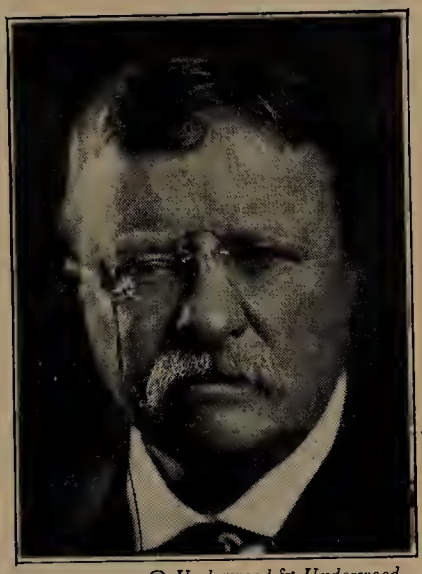
"Imperialism"

McKinley reëlected

McKinley's administration was not ignored by the Democrats, but they chose to fight the main battle on the question of territorial expansion. President McKinley's victory was practically assured at the outset, and his electoral vote (292) was the largest that had ever been given a presidential candidate.

Roosevelt succeeds to the Presidency

Short lived, however, was this kindly President's triumph, for, on September 5, 1901, while delivering an address at Buffalo, he was mortally wounded by a bullet fired by an anarchist. Upon his death, September 14, Vice-President Roosevelt succeeded to the Presidency. Curious indeed was the turn of Fate which, unexpectedly, made this energetic and independent man Chief Executive of our Republic. Only occasionally in our history have really exceptional men risen to that office; politicians and political strategy have usually favored mediocre men who could be trusted to "stand without hitching." It was, indeed, just this sort of policy which placed Roosevelt in the Vice-Presidency.



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THEODORE ROOSEVELT

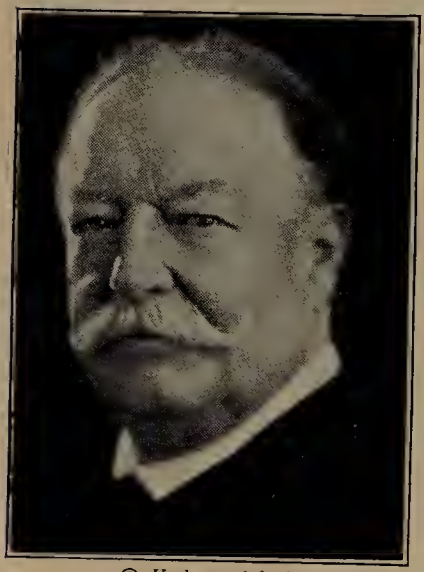
A new type of statesman

His services as champion of civil service have been mentioned. From that post to the office of Police Commissioner of New York City (1895) and to that of Assistant Secretary of the Navy (1898) Roosevelt brought that breezy indifference to red tape and that inspiring atmosphere of initiative which is the despair of the cut-and-dried politician. As Lieutenant-Colonel of the "Rough Riders" in the Spanish-American War he gained a reputation which made him Republican candidate for the Governorship of New York. To that office he was enthusiastically elected (1898), to the dismay of

the machine politicians as represented by Senator Platt of New York, the heir and assign of the Conkling of other days.

Roosevelt's career as Governor impressed politicians anew with the desirability of shelving him, and, eagerly, they took the opportunity of doing this by having him nominated for the Vice-Presidency in 1900. The scheming of these politicians was strangely set at naught by the whim of a madman's brain, and Theodore Roosevelt began his notable career as President in 1901. So impressive was his success in rounding out McKinley's second term that he was reëlected in 1904, his Democratic opponent, Alton B. Parker, receiving the smallest electoral vote (140) cast for a Democratic candidate since the days of Grant. The power of Roosevelt's influence in the nation's life during these years is indicated in our studies of civil service reform, trusts, tariff, etc. His famous "policies" will be treated later.

Reëlected in 1904



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WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

In 1908 Roosevelt named his successor, William H. Taft, just as Jackson had named Van Buren as his successor in 1836. Nothing proves more clearly Roosevelt's influence on American political thinking than the fact that the platforms of both the Democratic and Republican party in 1908 were, in the main, only an affirmation of the principles made prominent by him relative to (a) foreign affairs, (b) control of monopolies, and (c) conservation of national resources. The question before the people was: Which party would best carry out Roosevelt's

Party platforms in 1908 reflect Roosevelt principles

Taft elected President

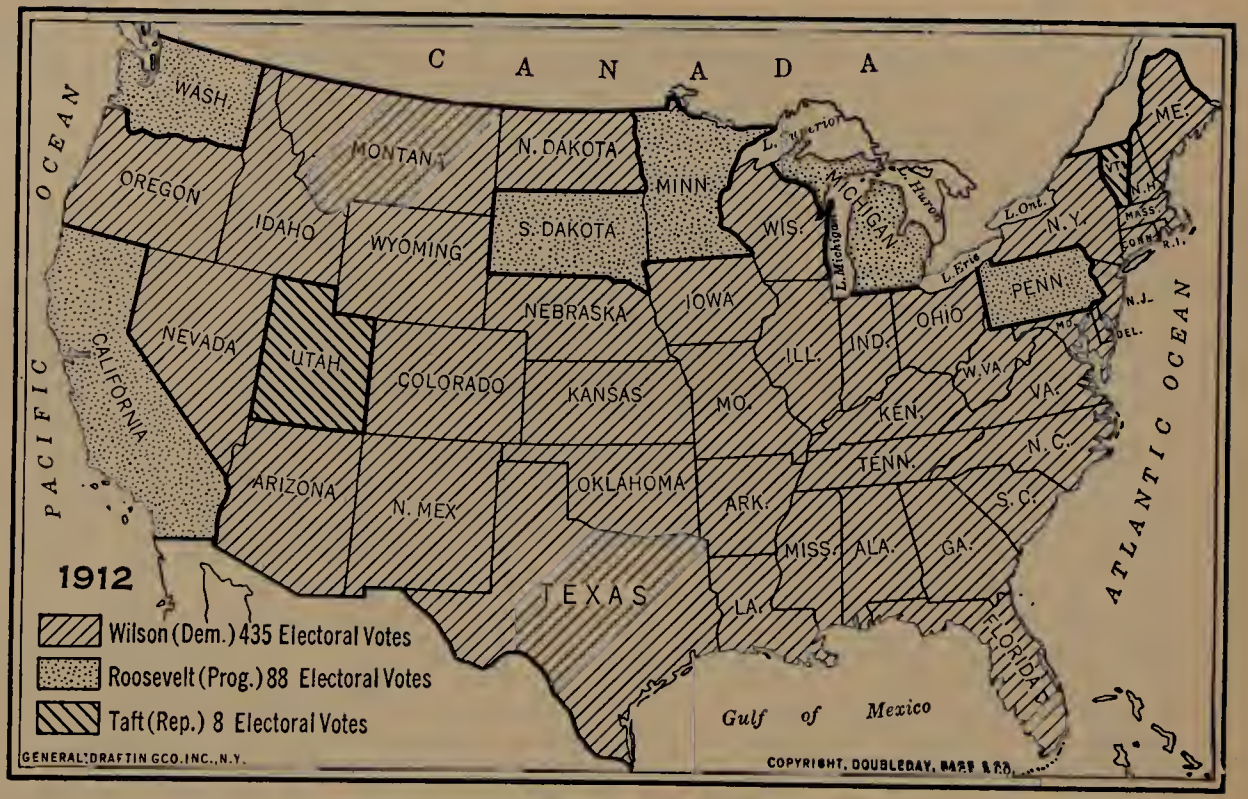
policies? So many of these very theories had been advocated by Bryan that he was nominated for a third time to carry the Democratic banner. While Taft was elected by a larger vote than had been given Roosevelt in 1904, Bryan received seven more electoral votes (162) than in the contest of 1896, showing the great respect in which he was still held by over six and one half millions of his countrymen.

President Taft was, theoretically, perhaps the best trained man for the office of Chief Magistrate that ever held it. As a lawyer and a judge, as Governor of the Philippines and as Secretary of War, his equipment and experience were unique and extensive. But his administration suffered, however, from partizan evils. "Standpat" Republican Senators forced higher rates into the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill than the President and the country deemed wise. In signing this bill Taft, as we have seen (p. 454), lost standing, especially in the West. An attack on the Department of the Interior led by Gifford Pinchot, head of the forestry bureau, on the ground that Secretary Ballinger reopened for sale certain lands which had been withdrawn from sale by Roosevelt, created wide-spread party dissension. It was charged that the Secretary had acted favorably toward a great mining syndicate. A partizan investigating committee exonerated Ballinger, but the claims of the syndicate concerned were annulled. The episode made many believe that the President was not a good judge of men. Much excellent legislation was encouraged by Taft, some of which did, and some of which did not, become law. In the former class should be noted, (a) an act creating a commerce court which had the power to pass on cases investigated by the Interstate Commerce Commission; (b) an act establishing postal savings banks, (c) an act enlarging the powers of the above-mentioned Commission, (d) an act compelling congressional candidates to file statement of campaign expenses, etc.

The Pinchot-Ballinger episode

Taft encourages excellent legislation

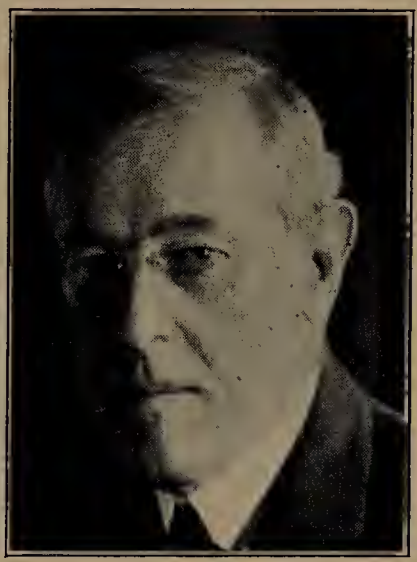
"Insurgency," or the revolt of "regular" party men from a blind following of party bosses, became common in these days



Geographical Map of Electoral Vote, 1912

in both parties, particularly in the Republican. It flared out in the West against Taft when he signed the Payne-Aldrich bill and when he showed an unwillingness to remove Secretary Ballinger. It broke out in Congress against Speaker "Joe" Cannon's rigid control over legislation in the House of Representatives. Insurgency here forced through a new rule which eliminated the Speaker from the rules committee which, thereafter, was to be chosen by the House and not appointed by its presiding officer. In both parties "insurgents" and progressive men (called "Progressives") were closely linked together; their common object of attack was machine control in both parties.

"Insurgency"



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WOODROW WILSON

As the presidential election of 1912 approached the insurgent element in the Republican ranks had become united by the formation of the Progressive Republican League (1911). It was led by the brilliant and adroit Wisconsin Senator, "Battling Bob" La Follette, and had the sympathy of Roosevelt. It opposed the Platt machine in New York, the Quay machine in Pennsylvania, and the Lorimer machine in Illinois, and all other boss-controlled party organizations. The actual break of these radicals might possibly have been avoided had not one of those "overt" acts, which often lead to war, been committed by the Republican National Committee before the nominating convention in Chicago in June, 1912. The machine "steam-roller" ruled out Roosevelt contesting delegations and renominated President Taft. As a result the Progressive party

Progressive Republican League

The Republican National Convention of 1912

was organized during the summer, and it nominated Roosevelt to lead its ticket. The Democratic party was in a position to profit greatly from this break in Republican ranks. Despite its own reactionary factions, the Democratic convention at Baltimore chose Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey as its candidate. Governor Wilson's record in directing anti-trust legislation was cheering to all progressive sympathizers. His election was a foregone conclusion. Just as the Populists and Mugwumps had elected Cleveland in 1892 by cutting into the Republican vote, so now Wilson, the second Democrat to occupy the White House since the Civil War, was wafted into office by the Republican Progressives who cast over four million votes for Roosevelt. However, Wilson did not poll as many Democratic votes as did Bryan in either 1896, 1900, or 1908 (map p. 478).

Progressives elect Wilson by dividing the Republican vote

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QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Name our Presidents from Lincoln to to-day. What sort of a President do machine politicians like? Compare the purposes of the Progressives of 1912 and the Mugwumps or Liberal Republicans of 1872. Has the adoption of "expedients" been the usual cause of failure of third parties? Should Vice-Presidents be chosen (a) for executive and administrative ability or (b) for being a good "running mate" or (c) political reasons? Consider from these standpoints the success in office of Tyler (p. 277), Johnson (p. 377), Arthur (p. 404), and Roosevelt (p. 475).

Section 57. Foreign Relations and the Spanish-American War

From Civil War days to the Spanish-American War, in McKinley's administration, the United States was involved in no

serious international difficulty. The years saw, however, numerous incidents of importance occur, the results of which, while not changing our general policy of friendliness, at the same time led many to wonder whether or not "the Fathers" had given to our United States Senate too great powers in the regulation of our foreign affairs. That branch of our government has grown to be more and more unrepresentative of our people. Many have asked—and are asking—if our less representative House of Congress should possess the great powers awarded to it, especially the sole power to ratify treaties. While in the main a fair spirit has dominated the Senate's foreign policy, and while justice has generally been the aim sought after, there have been times when many have thought the reverse was true.

The power of the Senate

In clearing up questions which hung over from the Civil War the United States acted at times with assurance and vigor, showing an insistence for right which denotes clear conscience. Immediately at the termination of the war our Secretary of State informed France that her invasion in Mexico was in defiance of the Monroe Policy and that she must withdraw. The words were emphasized in a no doubtful manner by our government's dispatching Sheridan with an army to the Mexican border. In two years (1867) France withdrew her forces and her Maximilian "empire" (p. 353) came to an end. With equally commendable vigor Great Britain was asked to pay for the damages inflicted on our commerce by the Confederate cruisers which had escaped from British ports because of England's lax enforcement of neutrality laws. Our representatives set the price of these "*Alabama* claims" too high, but this led only to the adoption of the arbitration principle. The "Geneva Tribunal," consisting of commissioners from the two nations and others from three neutral powers, awarded us (1872) damages in the sum of $15,500,000 which Great Britain paid. While these matters were being adjusted with nations which had not been friendly to us in the war, a curious outcome of the marked friendliness of Russia for us in

France ousted from Mexico

The "*Alabama* claims" paid

that conflict is to be noted. It paved the way for that nation's offering to sell us (1867) its New World "white elephant," Alaska. We agreed to the price asked, $7,200,000, because of the value of the Alaskan seal fisheries, little dreaming of the splendid deposits of gold to be discovered in that region (map, following p. 490).

Purchase of Alaska

International friendship was furthered when our government invited the world to celebrate with us the one hundredth birthday of our Independence in the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876. This joint exhibition of the world's arts, letters, science, and manufactures was valuable to all concerned. It was particularly so to us in an unexpected way for it impressed Americans with the fact that, while we had developed remarkably from a material standpoint, we were very far behind the advanced European nations in the appreciation and encouragement of artistic values, in the love of the beautiful and the sublime in pictures, painting, and statuary.

The Philadelphia Centennial

If James G. Blaine is well remembered because he was a "Stalwart" Republican in his opposition to civil service reforms, he should be remembered as stalwart in originating and championing through many years the policy of reciprocity in trade with foreign nations. By this he meant that our commercial treaties with certain countries, which produced articles of food that we stood in need of, but did not raise, should contain "favored nation" clauses which would allow such products to come into our ports duty free—these nations to permit us the same privilege. These efforts were at first (1881) directed toward the South American republics but, though while successfully negotiated, they came to naught because of the Senate's refusal to ratify them. Again, when at the head of Harrison's cabinet in 1889, Blaine renewed his efforts for reciprocity. These efforts paved the way for the establishment of happier relations with these natural friends of ours. This was always an item of interest with us and it was now becoming one of enormous importance. In 1889 a Pan-American

Reciprocity established

The first Pan-American Congress

Congress was held at Washington to further these mutual interests in commerce, and a Bureau of American Republics was founded to promote them (map following p. 490).

Numerous Pan-American congresses have been held, in Mexico, 1901, Rio Janeiro, 1906, and Buenos Aires, 1910, which have produced favorable results. Two influences, however, have prevented a greater success than has been achieved. As they have grown, the larger of these republics have turned out to be natural competitors of the United States. The best market for both North and South America is Europe. As we have had no subsidized merchant marine which could afford to carry on trade where profits were slight, European shipping which enjoys the advantage of a subsidy has filled the great ports of South America. Since the Great War, however, a policy of government encouragement to American shipping has been adopted whereby American vessels are enabled to compete in South American waters with our European rivals. Another influence harmful to success has been political, due to certain policies of our diplomacy (to be noted later) and to an underlying fear in Latin America that our Monroe Policy, carried out to its logical conclusion, would lead, eventually, to a protectorate over the weaker South American republics.

South American competition

To President Cleveland belongs the honor of holding up American traditions in the Pacific, when, against the type of criticism which often spurred him to manful displays of independence, he repudiated (1893) a "protectorate" set up in the Hawaiian Islands by an over-zealous United States minister to the Kingdom of Queen Liliuokalani. In this instance the American flag, which ought not to have been raised in the first place, was hauled down. That flag was kept on the Pacific in these years, however, on an island where it belonged. The Samoan Islands had been occupied under a triple arrangement between the United States, Great Britain, and Germany. The latter nation, in a campaign to build up a colonial empire, ordered (1889)

An Hawaiian "protectorate" repudiated

German rivalry in Samoa

its representative in Samoa to take over complete control and oust Americans and Englishmen. Secretary Blaine's strong notes to Berlin were listened to and we were granted our proper rights in the islands as formerly enjoyed.

On the other hand we went too far in claiming the entire right to the Bering Sea seal fisheries. We claimed that this sea was an enclosed sea wherein the "three-mile limit" did not hold. In an arbitration convention in Paris (1893) every one of our contentions was defeated and Bering Sea was declared an open sea. England's stubbornness over a question of a boundary line between British Guiana and Venezuela brought out a discussion involving the Monroe Policy in 1895. In defiance of that policy, Lord Salisbury proceeded to ignore the United States, even after Venezuela had asked us to mediate in her behalf to save over twenty thousand acres of mineral lands in dispute. However, as others had found out before, the occupant of the White House in these days, President Cleveland, was not a man easily ignored. At his suggestion, Congress passed a resolution to appoint a commission which should take up and settle the question independent of England. The boldness of this act seemed to court war, a fact Cleveland plainly pointed out in his message to Congress. When affairs reached a crisis the British Parliament compelled Salisbury to submit the arguments in the case to another Paris tribunal (1897) which, however, gave a verdict largely favorable to England. These disputes were all, however, of minor importance compared with the proof they offered of the growing popularity of arbitration as a method of settling disputes. They paved the way for further progress in the future Hague Conferences which soon followed.

The Bering Sea question

The Venezuela problem

Spain's long-continued difficulties in managing the "Pearl of the Antilles," Cuba—the last of her New World possessions—involved us in a discussion, however, which led to war. Insurrection and rebellion against Spain's arbitrary rule had been the history in Cuba for untold years and its influence on us was two-fold:

Unrest in Cuba

(a) commercially, this continued unrest affected our commerce to the amount of tens of millions annually; (b) ethically, our people felt sincerely for the natives of that island in their struggle, and believed that the yoke of centuries on their necks should be removed. The old feeling, represented by the "Ostend Manifesto" of Pierce's day (p. 218), that the ownership of so great an island just off our Gulf shores by a foreign power was harmful to our safety still persisted. This became more acute as the strategic nature of the Isthmus of Panama became clearer, after the California "rush" in 1849, and as Panama canals were more seriously proposed. The continued efforts of Cubans to free themselves from tyranny could not help but arouse American sympathy. Those who sympathized tried to help them by means of filibustering expeditions. It was, of course, wholly illegal for Americans to extend help in this way and, to the honor of the United States be it remembered that we excelled all nations in trying to prevent filibustering. Out of seventy-one known expeditions of the kind the United States broke up thirty-three; while all other nations, including Spain herself, broke up only eleven.

Aroused by a desperate revolt of the Cubans in 1895, American feeling was clearly reëchoed in the platforms of our two great parties in 1896 which declared sympathy for them. During 1897 President McKinley endeavored to get Spain to grant the Cubans a degree of independence. It is plain, now, that Spain made genuine efforts in this line. It is equally plain that the Spanish population in the island rendered these efforts largely null and void. Left alone, Spain might have worked the problem out successfully; but she had been left alone for many generations with sad results and without creating confidence that she could induce the Spaniards in Cuba to play the game fairly.

American sympathy aroused

When public feeling had reached the "hair-trigger" stage the publication of a mean reference to President McKinley in a letter written by the Spanish Minister to this country, and the mysterious destruction of our man-of-war, *Maine*, by a mine in Havana harbor (February 15, 1898), unified sentiment in our

country for war. However, in reply to a message from President McKinley, Spain fairly met American demands. Our Minister to Spain, General Woodford, begged President McKinley to ignore the political advantage which might be secured by yielding to the popular desire for war, citing portions of a touching letter which the Queen of Spain had written in the hope of allaying the war-like attitude of our people. Regretful it was that President McKinley could not trust Spain's ability to accomplish the peaceful solution of the problem. Many criticized him. However, Spain had never given evidence of ability of so controlling the Spanish population of Cuba as to effect good results. The President's message to Congress put aside General Woodford's advice, and Congress, holding that the time for realization, not expectation, was at hand, with unanimity declared on April 19, 1896, that (a) the independence of Cuba must be recognized, (b) Spain must withdraw from the island, (c) the military forces of our nation should be used to secure these results, (d) in the end, Cuba must be left free to govern herself.

The destruction of the *Maine*

The Queen's letter

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ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

Congress declares war

Few wars so insignificant from a military standpoint have achieved results of greater importance. Without the loss of a single man Admiral George Dewey, who had served under Farragut at New Orleans, entered Manila Bay in the Island of Luzon, largest of the Philippines, destroyed ten Spanish ships and dominated the city of Manila, the metropolis of the archipelago, May 1, 1898. Our "White Squadron," the Atlantic fleet, reinforced by the *Oregon* after a spectacular dash from California around the Horn to join it, attempted to blockade Cuba and meet a Spanish fleet

Dewey captures Manila

on its way from Spain. The latter fleet eluded the cordon set to catch it and reached Santiago harbor on the south shore of Cuba. Here it was "bottled-up" by our squadron under the general orders of Admiral Sampson and the immediate command of Commodore Schley of the *Brooklyn*.

Meanwhile an army of invasion, numbering 16,000 men under Major-General Shafter, had landed in Cuba and faced the well-fortified city of Santiago. Significant in their picturesque costumes and dare-devil eagerness to be in the thick of the fight, a regiment called the "Rough Riders" under the spirited leadership of Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, formed a unique part of Shafter's army. Drawn from all ranks of life, from western cowboy to college graduate, this regiment of irrepressibles demanded "to be shown" where the enemy lay. The heights of El Caney and San Juan were carried July 1 and 2 but not without a brave stand by the defenders. The Spanish "Regiment of the Constitution," only 419 strong, and without any arms but Mausers, stood off an attack on the El Caney blockhouses of 5,379 of Shafter's men for ten hours; only eighty of the defenders were left at the last, although they escaped. But neither Spanish Mausers nor the government's "embalmed beef" nor the heavy-weight shirts (which a kind-hearted War Department supplied for use in the tropics in July) could daunt these forerunners of the "doughboys" of 1917. The heights were occupied and Santiago was doomed (map following p. 490).

The "Rough Riders"

On July 3, the Spanish fleet made a bold attempt to escape from the trap into which it had sailed and, in a spectacular running flight from Santiago harbor, was set afire or run ashore by the *Brooklyn*, the *Oregon*, and their sister ships. Oddly enough, one of these, the *Cristóbal Colón*, bore the name of the bold Admiral (Columbus) who had presented these very islands to Spain four centuries and six years before. They now passed from her hands at the Treaty of Paris (December 10, 1898); Spain agreed to withdraw from Cuba and to surrender to us Porto Rico (occupied by an American force under General Miles) and the

Spanish fleet destroyed

Island of Guam. The Philippine Islands were likewise given up to us but for them we paid Spain twenty millions of dollars. A pitiful struggle had to be waged with insurgent bands under Emilio Aguinaldo for supremacy in this archipelago lasting until April, 1902, when President Roosevelt was directed by Congress to take over the full government of the Islands. In 1898 the Hawaiian Islands expressed the desire to be annexed. By act of Congress this was done and our beautiful Territory of Hawaii became a part of the Union.

Treaty of Paris

Our purchase of the Philippines and annexation of Hawaii made us a Pacific and a World Power in a new sense. Many objected to the theory and the policy of such expansion into the Pacific and, under the name "anti-imperialists", played a part in the presidential election of 1900, as we have seen. Even after a quarter of a century we are not able to forecast the results of this advance into the Pacific. As we shall see in our section on "International Affairs," it placed us in a new and close position to China, whose fate, politically and economically, is so great a part of the "Far East Question." The determination of the United States to have the independence of Cuba established firmly in spite of "friend" or foe was made plain by the "Platt Amendment" to the Army Bill in 1901. It framed a scheme of supervision by which we could see to it that chaos should not reign in that island, and made these provisions: (a) no foreign power should gain foothold or power there; (b) the United States should see to it that Cuban independence would be preserved and that she should meet all honorable obligations; (c) that Cuba should approve the course of our military government there and continue the work of sanitary reforms which the United States had begun; and (d) that we should retain the Isle of Pines and naval stations subject to future negotiations.

Results of the war

The "Platt Amendment"

This act had a far-reaching suggestion. It meant, as we shall see, that the United States should compel the fitful and unbusinesslike governments of the small nations in that part of

the world to live up to the standards of civilized nations in meeting obligations; that they should not assume obligations they were unable to meet or fall into the pit of unbusinesslike conduct of internal affairs. If one of them did this all of them were endangered. The policy of the act foreshadowed an enlargement or readaptation of the Monroe Principle or Doctrine.

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QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Compare the objections made to our purchase of the Philippines to those raised to the purchase of Louisiana. How has the policy of giving independence to Filipinos been affected by international events? Why have the Philippines been called our "white elephant"? It has been said (*Am. Hist. Rev.* XXVIII, 45), "Absolutely no new principles have been added to American Far Eastern policy since 1869": What principles established before that date have been reasserted in recent years? (pp. 195, 298.) What steps toward arbitration were made in the period discussed in this section? Was the Spanish-American War avoidable? Why was it unbelievable that Spain could carry out good intentions in Cuba? How long should a nation wait for a friendly power to put an end to abuses which are seriously detrimental? How do you explain our government's greater success than Spain's in preventing filibustering in Cuba? Will future centennial celebrations, such as Philadelphia's in 1876, show that America still lags behind Europe in the appreciation of artistic and esthetic values?

Section 58. The Tools of the Trusts

The haunting fear which many felt lest the election of McKinley should bring in an age of unbridled control of business by the owners of wealth—of "trusts" and "monopolies"—was realized. His administration saw a perfect flowering of this pernicious plant from the seeds so thickly sown. But here again, as we have so often pointed out in this history, the roots of this matter go far back into the past. To understand the dawning of this age of "Big Business" it is necessary to see how the tools which made it possible slowly came into existence. Otherwise the "Age of Trusts" will seem to have done that impossible thing—to have sprung "right out of the blue", whereas it was long in developing and was a perfectly natural plant.

The era of trusts

During all our earlier history one great difficulty of business men was to secure capital with which to develop the nation's hidden resources. Those who would hazard wealth by hiring labor and purchasing tools or machinery were considered public benefactors. In this fact we find the explanation for the popularity of internal improvements by government or state aid; they offered an easy way of raising money for works of promotion at a time when capital was scarce. Here, too, we find the origin of monopolies. So tightly did men cling to their small surpluses of money that few cared to run any risk unless they were promised that competition would be outlawed in their behalf. Thus this hated thing of to-day—monopoly—was once a privilege which legislatures and Congress offered men to encourage them to undertake investments which, otherwise, they would never have considered. Jackson's Maysville Road Bill veto (p. 259) put an end for the most part to government aid until the task of building trans-continental railways presented itself. Yet even in far earlier days the principle was established that such private monopolies as toll roads should not charge unjust rates. In the case of

Early difficulty in securing capital

The legal outlawing of competition

Early state regulation of corporations

EXPANSION OF THE U

CD STATES, 1898 TO 1901

the Lancaster Turnpike (p. 73) the State of Pennsylvania laid down the rule that, if the tolls charged netted the company more than 6 per cent., all extra profit above that should go toward purchasing the road for the state. At this time state regulation went so far as to compel companies to produce their books for inspection and to compel them to give compensation to injured workmen. These "tools" of regulation were, however, little used for many years.

Among the tools created in early days most useful to the modern trust were the transportation lines. The oldtime mill and factory could serve its immediate locality by means of the local highway, canal, and railway. With the vast expansion of railways a very much wider field for business was opened. This was a challenge to every manufacturer to secure more capital, more raw material, and better executive efficiency. Only thus could he make use of the railways as tools in business expansion. The railways brought the raw material, and every triumph in the competition which the railways also brought (by putting other rivals "on the map") incited men to a still greater investment of capital.

The transportation tool

Standardization in machinery was another tool. In the old days each firm or company made its own machinery and appliances and supplied the "parts." If a machine broke down a long delay might ensue because "standard" sizes of nuts, bolts, etc., had not been fixed. Great waste was the result. In course of time, however, definite standards—as of railway gauges—came to be demanded. In the old, happy-go-lucky days it mattered little whether a link in what we know as the "New York Central" railway through the tip of Pennsylvania (where Erie, Pennsylvania, stands) was "broad" or "narrow" gauge. All through freight at this point had to be handled twice, once at each end of the narrow-gauge link. This was considered good business! It gave men work for which wages were paid. The economic loss to society at large was not recognized, and when efficiency demanded that the nuisance be abolished, people

Standardization as a tool

locally were offended and an "Erie War" resulted. When you go to buy an electric bulb to-day you give no thought to the size of the socket thread; a dozen firms may make the bulbs but they are all of standard size. Thus systems of standardization, with systems of transportation, made it possible for the factory in Massachusetts or Michigan to know that its product could reach, and be used satisfactorily in, California. This gave added confidence to men who had money to invest as capital.

Swift communication by electricity, the telegraph and telephone, fast mail trains, and express companies, were vital factors in creating an age of industrialism. Improved systems of accounting and the growth of uniform methods of doing business were real factors. Of very great importance was the newspaper, which gave publicity to people's needs everywhere, and supplied information as to what was being done and how men were attempting to do it. Even their accounts of failures, fires, and destructive accidents, gave food for thought to thousands of inventors, engineers, and manufacturers.

Electricity a factor

The newspaper a factor

Other tools came at last to be adopted in business which had long been common in other realms of American life. The "corporation" was one of these. We have seen that actual American history began with the corporation, the granting of charters (p. 34) by the English Government to the Plymouth and London companies to do business in the New World. In all the early agricultural period of our history business was conducted by individuals. But outside of business the corporation was everywhere very common. States or the government granted hundreds of charters for the incorporation of churches, educational institutions, social organizations, lyceums, libraries, towns, and cities. The dawn of industrialism is marked by the seizing of this tool by business men. However, in its ancient use, many of the latent powers of the corporation were not recognized. The question as to whether churches and lyceums rightly used the

The corporation tool

The development of the corporation

powers confirmed by a charter was seldom, if ever, given a thought. But it was not long after business companies were given charters when it occurred to people that the state's right to do this carried with it the right of regulation, inspection, and legislation, in order to correct evils committed by firms so incorporated.

One early phase of American industrialism must be noted which, if not exactly furnishing a tool of future value, at least pointed out pitfalls which ought to be avoided. We refer to the era of experimenting and philosophizing about human rights and the brotherhood of man. In the "Roaring Forties" (rhetorically speaking) orators, debaters, and "spell-binders" discussed social harmony; enthusiasts grouped themselves into industrial societies or "phalanxes" to live and to work according to the principles of socialism or communism. For example, leaders like Horace Greeley and Wendell Phillips united in founding Brook Farm; a coöperative agricultural association near Boston. Scores of less famous experiments of like character were made in various portions of the country. The failure of these attempts was a factor of importance in our industrial history, for it showed labor organizations the futility of the tenets of communism and gave them an impetus toward healthy organization.

Communistic experiments

Lack of executive ability was one prime factor in the failure of these communistic enterprises; but this was not due to the absence of that quality in American character. In fact, it is to the capacity of the American for executive success that we may directly attribute the growth of industrial combinations after the Civil War, when the change took place from an agricultural basis to an industrial. On every hand lay the tools for industrial success, but these would have been useless except for a marked talent for abolishing old methods, systems, formulæ, and for building new. In the founding of the Standard Oil Company, the extension and unification of our railways, and in the monopolies of the nation's natural resources, as public lands, forest areas, etc., this talent found a mighty field of exploitation for better and for worse.

In forming the modern trust the Standard Oil Company showed the way both in method of organization and in the technique of avoiding laws. Brainy men of executive ability saw competing (incorporated) companies scattered over the land engaged in the oil, coal, and packing industries, to name three only. Those interested in oil, for instance, were secretly united by John D. Rockefeller into one unincorporated organization, guided by a board of trustees. Competition was abolished by various underhand methods: the raw product was purchased at this organization's own price, and, at the same time, it set its own selling price. In many cases such trusts, as they came to be called, reduced the price of the commodity handled below what the public had been paying. But, just as firms which had benefited by high tariffs passed along only a fraction of that benefit to labor (p. 452), so now, trusts, rendered efficient by superior executive ability, did not make a proper proportional reduction in price of commodities to the public. As their profits and dividends mounted sky-high, "easy money" became available for defending and shielding guilt; this was used for blatant advertising, for engaging yet cleverer lawyers, for bribing officials, for buying legislatures, for knifing competition, and for mesmerizing the owners of railways.

Effective organization as a tool

These organizations grew slowly in number at the beginning. Two were formed 1866–69; four in the next decade; eighteen were formed 1880–89; while 157 flowered in 1890–99. They had quite fully developed the art of avoiding scandal, detection, and successful prosecution before earnest efforts to control them were put forward. The government's efforts to control such "Big Business" were at first futile and have always been inefficient. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law, passed in 1890, forbade any combination in restraint of interstate trade. Clever, highly paid counsel taught the trust magnates how law could be outwitted and illegal results be secured in "legal" ways: (a) a trust could redissolve itself into its component parts (original corporations) while

Growth of trusts

Sherman Anti-trust Law

the stock of each of these could be owned by the same trustees and used, by means of "interlocking directorates," for the same ends as before—the stifling of competition; or (b) a "trust" could simply become a huge legal corporation and in that guise continue its old course. Such an organization is the United States Steel Corporation, established in 1901, with a capital of over a billion dollars and controlling over 80 per cent. of our output of steel and iron. The Standard Oil Company is the best illustration of the interlocking directorate scheme.

It should be recognized that some of the evils of these modern octopuses have been overlooked or excused because of numerous and direct benefits which they have conferred. They have set a standard of business efficiency that is a model and one which might never otherwise have been reached. Mediocre men and machinery are quickly sent to the scrapheap. Economy and efficiency in marketing products, unheard-of cleanliness in the management of the meat-packing industry, for instance, have been secured. The boast that prices have been lowered has been mentioned; it is continually dinned into the public's hopeful ears. Yet the enormous dividends declared show that reductions 50 per cent. greater than have ever been made would only make an enormous profit somewhat less.

Some good "by-products" of trusts

But the chief danger—and one which some Andrew Jackson may yet blast out of honest competition's way—is this control of prices. These huge concerns absolutely control prices at both ends of the line. They say what the cattleman shall get for his beef and what the oil well owner shall get for his oil. On the other hand, they dictate exactly what we shall pay for both meat and gasoline. A lesser danger, great though its proportions are, is the favoritism shown by railways in freight rates in behalf of these concerns. As early as 1887 an Interstate Commerce Act forbade this, but, while lessened, the evil still exists and threatens the heart of free competition. An important railway official once said that if competition were free stove coal would be begging for buyers at two dollars a ton.

Control of prices

Stifling of free competition

While railways and coal mines have been divorced by law, so far as joint ownership is concerned, the ability to evade results which good laws are expected to bring, without defiance of the letter of the law, has been evident in this instance also. The attempt of states to tax these concerns was a shot fired with good intentions but it proved a boomerang; if not evaded, the tax was accepted pleasantly and immediately passed on to the public in the shape of an increased cost of finished product on account of "hard times"!

Taxing trusts

During the administrations of Roosevelt and Taft something was done, as we have said, to bring these "malefactors of great wealth" to an appreciation of their responsibility to the government and to the public. The continuation of these efforts will be described in the section following.

READING LIST

B. J. Hendrick, *The Age of Big Business*, Chaps. 2–7; Paxson, Chaps. 30, 32, and 33; Dewey, Chap. 12; R. T. Ely, *Labor Movement*, Chap. 1; F. Moody, *The Truth About the Trusts;* E. L. Bogart, *Economic History*, Chap. 27; K. Coman, *Industrial History;* J. W. Jenks, *The Trust Problem;* W. Z. Ripley, *Trusts, Pools, and Corporations;* H. Howland, *Theodore Roosevelt*, Chap. 7; I. M. Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Co.;* G. H. Montague, *The Rise and Progress of the Standard Oil Co.;* H. D. O. Lloyd, *Wealth against Commonwealth.*

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Name the tools of the trusts. How did improved methods of communication make possible such combinations of capital? How do large-scale production concerns lower the costs of production? What becomes of the surplus when prices are not lowered correspondingly? Name the advantages and the disadvantages to the public of such institutions. Why does a trust prosecution plank make a political platform more popular? What was gained by making corporations open their books for inspection? Would control of prices have killed off the first trust in its infancy? Would the advantages of large-scale production have given rise to them in any case? Will control of prices abolish trusts to-day? Is that desirable? Can it be secured without government intervention?

Section 59. Roosevelt and His Policies

Trusts, as well as the chief "bosses" of the Republican party, looked nervously at the coming of the Lieutenant Colonel of the Rough Riders to the White House in 1901. They found small comfort in the fact that Roosevelt was descended from old, conservative, aristocratic Dutch stock of New York, for his record since graduation from Harvard in 1880 (at twenty-two years of age) had been that of a reformer in a virile, independent sense. His record in public office had been an open book but it was a book evil-doers did not enjoy reading. Roosevelt was now particularly strenuous in (a) pushing suits (nearly half a hundred) against large corporations which were charging too high rates and were lobbying in state legislatures with evil intent; in (b) opposing the injunction without notice, and in (c) championing the conservation of national resources.

Roosevelt's anti-trust laws

Few of the above-mentioned suits were won outright by the government, but they created a more wholesome respect for government regulation and control.[1] The Elkins Law (1903) forbade railways giving rebates. An Expedition Law, of the same year, made it easier for the government to hasten its suits against those guilty of breaking the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and Interstate Commerce Acts. By the Hepburn Rate Bill (1906) the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission were considerably enlarged and this extension of power was carried still further by the Mann-Elkins Act (1910) which was passed during the Taft régime. The Interstate Commerce Commission had control only of common carriers (railway, express, telegraph, telephone, and oil pipe line companies).

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[1]One of the more famous of these cases was that against the Northern Securities Company (1903). Under that title two great financiers, J. J. Hill and J. P. Morgan, had united the competing railways of the Northwest, the Great Northern and Northern Pacific. The holding company was dissolved by the Court's decision. The result did not restore healthy competition, it is true, but the decision paved the way for a clearer recognition by the public that some official regulation of rates was more likely to bring healthy competition than if roads were left to themselves.

In 1914 the government entered another field of control by passing an act creating the Federal Trade Commission. This body, consisting of five members appointed by the President, has power to regulate manufacturing and trading companies. One of the chief purposes of this Commission is to prevent unfair methods of competition. In the same year Congress passed the Clayton Anti-Trust Bill. This bill extended the government's power but simplified its method of procedure against offending men or corporations by making it possible for the government to bring suits and proceedings in any district where the accused was found or had an office. It forbade interlocking directorates in business, as heretofore they had been forbidden in banking. It forbade corporations which had the same trustees from doing business together. It made individuals responsible for the actions of companies with which they were connected. It made it impossible to enjoin strikes which were conducted by peaceable means. It reinforced the vague provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law regarding monopolies and restraint of trade, and it set forth in plainer terms what was meant by "monopoly" and "restraint of trade."

Federal Trade Commission

Clayton's Anti-Trust Bill's provisions

The study of this steady advance of legislation to curb the trust menace is interesting, and while laws are wholly limited in their value by the energy and intelligence with which they are executed, and while the danger exists that much regulation for wrong-doers may tend to hamper honest development, the agitation during this period was beneficial. It showed itself in many lines. Publicists (like Washington Gladden) and keen students (like Winston Churchill and Upton Sinclair) contributed their bit toward making the methods of oil, railway, and packing house trusts a stench that arose to Heaven. They made "frenzied finance" and the corruption of city governments things which all good people came to look upon with utter contempt. In exposing certain New York life insurance company abuses (1905) Charles E. Hughes made a

Law execution a factor in reform

The Equitable Case

national reputation by proving how a great insurance company could become practically a money trust and how it could influence elections and exert other baneful powers.

In the labor world Roosevelt made his impress. At the very outset of his administration he urged the creation of a Federal

Western Irrigation Projects

Department of Commerce and Labor, its director to be a Cabinet officer. He showed true diplomacy in his handling of the coal strike in 1902. He gathered at the White House both the coal operators and the representatives of organized labor and impressed both parties, as they had never before been impressed, with a sense of their moral obligation to the public which was dependent upon them. This principle has become more and more dominant, especially as applied to common carriers (railroads, etc.) in later days.

Federal Department of Commerce and Labor

Doubtless the future will show that no influence exerted by President Roosevelt had a more far-reaching effect than his advocacy of conservation of national resources. As early as 1887 that great father of western irrigation, John Wesley Powell (founder of the United States Geological Survey, our Bureau of Ethnology, and the Reclamation Service) had made a mental blue-print of the arid regions beyond the Mississippi River. In imagination this dreamer created a new United States out of an imperial western domain commonly known as "The Country God Forgot." In his mind's eye drifting sand-dunes and barren wastes of cactus and sagebrush gave way to smiling, well-watered valleys. It was man, not God, who "forgot" this great empire. The soil of this region was once a sea-floor and a main constituent of its soil was limestone which needed only the touch of water to make it "blossom as the rose." There were rivers enough to water this vast region if only their waters were properly diverted and compelled to carry their blessing sufficiently wide (map p. 449).

Conservation

John Wesley Powell

Major Powell the father of irrigation

Men began slowly to recognize the sanity of Major Powell's

vision. Local conventions grew into state conventions and these, in turn, into National Irrigation Congresses. In 1897 another far-seeing American, Captain Hiram M. Chittenden, expounded in his book *Reservoirs in the Arid Region* the theory of reservoirs to be built at the head of western rivers. He advocated that the government secure full title and jurisdiction to any needed site for reservoirs (which it might improve) and full right to the water necessary to fill such reservoirs; also that it should build its own

Captain Chittenden

Furrow Irrigation in Arizona. (The Salt River Project.)

works and hold the stored water absolutely free for public use under local regulations.

By 1900 both great political parties were compelled to recognize the importance of favoring in their platforms the irrigation idea. Roosevelt was, therefore, rather the spokesman of an age than the creator of it (as we have seen was true of Andrew Jackson), when, in 1902, he strongly urged Congress to pass our first Reclamation Act. The system adopted was the old one, used to father the Cumberland Road nearly a century before (p. 203), to spend the

Reclamation Act of 1902

money coming in from the sale of public lands in sixteen western states to build works of irrigation; the lands so irrigated were to be sold on easy payments to actual settlers. Great difficulties faced the promoters of this movement. Some Congressmen were suspicious of the political effect of such propaganda, and it was found troublesome to standardize irrigation systems in those regions where private and quasi-public works of that kind had already been installed.

National Conservation Commission

With the creation of a National Conservation Commission, appointed by Roosevelt in 1908, a new era began in our history so far as public attention to our "Holy Soil", the forests on it, and the minerals beneath it, is concerned. The good work of making forest "reserves" had been begun in 1891; the growth of acreage of such tracts in successive administrations is brought quickly to the eye in this table:

ADMINISTRATION	ACRES IN RESERVE
Harrison	17,564,800
Cleveland	18,993,280
McKinley	46,828,449
Roosevelt	172,230,233
Harding	180,299,776

Profiteers in public lands

The proper accumulation of water that lay at the heads of the great river systems, which were to be called upon to irrigate the arid West, depended upon this preservation of the forests. If these were ruthlessly cut down by lumbermen, no proper amount of water would accumulate; the sunlight would dry it up. But the investigations of the Conservation Commission exposed the fact that wily profiteers had been occupying "agricultural" lands under the Homestead Act (p. 414) in order to control the great seams of coal lying beneath them. In 1909 a Bureau of Mines was established by Congress to study systematically and regulate the problem of mines and mining. Land laws were now so modified that agricultural, timber, and mineral lands were classified separately and so handled.

The story of irrigation progress since the Reclamation Service was established in 1902 reads like an Arabian Nights tale. Single great works like the Roosevelt Dam in Arizona and the Arrowrock Dam in Idaho (354 feet high, a world's record in dam building) are notable. But greater still are such dreams as the Marshall Plan in California, which contemplates the storage of all the water of

Great irrigation projects

Orchard Irrigation in Oregon

streams rising in the Sierra Nevada, Coast Range, and Shasta mountain system. · This water is to be carried by mammoth canals through foothills and mountain ranges a total distance of a thousand miles and at such an elevation that every farm in a region totalling twelve million acres will be watered by gravity.

Already, since 1902, two million barren acres in the West have been made fertile; here nearly half a million people now live happily on farms which once produced only cactus, sagebrush, and lizards. The value of these acres has increased $356,000,000 in these years and the annual value of their crops now totals upward of $100,000,000 (map p. 499).

Every success achieved only compels dreamers to scheme something still vaster in scope. It is possible to suppose that, with the triumph of the Marshall Plan for California, still greater projects will be proposed in the West, and that the time may come when our "deserts" will rule the world (map following p. 426). So far as this becomes true the debt of our nation to the pioneers in this project, Powell and Chittenden, and to its great advocate, Roosevelt, will be more fully appreciated.

READING LIST

Howland, 1, 2, 4–8, 9–11; C. R. Lingley, *Since the Civil War*, Chap. 20; Bogart, Chap. 30; G. Pinchot, *The Fight for Conservation;* J. Mitchell, *Organized Labor*, Chaps. 17 and 18; Paxson, *The New Nation;* Chaps. 17–19; W. R. Thayer, *Life and Letters of John Hay*, II, Chaps. 25–30; T. Roosevelt, *New Nationalism, Autobiography.*

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Compare the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890 with the Clayton Anti-Trust Bill. What change of policy do the provisions of the latter show? How was profiteering checked by classifying and handling separately agricultural, timber, and mineral lands? Have the two great parties become more or less distinct in their policies since 1884? Great evils have been attacked by political parties, agents of reform clubs, cartoonists, novelists, the pulpit and the stage. Rank these influences in the order of their importance in your opinion. Will the "movie" prove of equal or greater power in the future?

Section 60. International Affairs

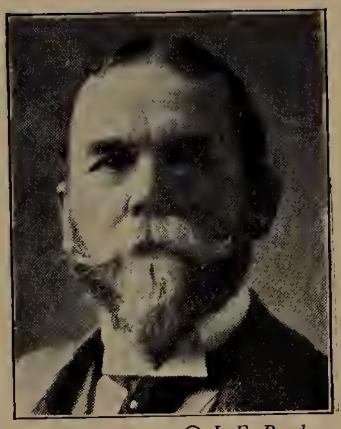
The selection of John Hay as Secretary of State by President McKinley placed our international affairs in the hands of a man of premier rank and ability at a critical time. The ownership of Pacific Ocean territory, including the Hawaiian Islands, made a canal across the Isthmus of Panama a strategic and military necessity. Secretary Hay diplomatically induced Great Britain to agree to the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty in favor of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty (1901). This allowed

Hawaiian Islands annexed

us to build and control a canal in that zone. A committee of experts examined the two possible routes for such a canal, one through Nicaragua and the other through Panama, politically a province of the United States of Colombia. It decided in favor of the latter. In 1902 Congress voted in favor of a canal through Panama, if the President could obtain the right to build it there "in a reasonable time."

Panama Canal and Hay-Pauncefote Treaty

A French Panama Company under Ferdinand de Lesseps, builder of the Suez Canal, had begun a Panama Canal in 1881, but the attempt had been a fiasco due to mismanagement. Our Department of State bought up the French claim and equipment for the sum of forty million dollars. Colombia refused to give her consent to our project, although we offered her ten million dollars for it with the promise of an annual rental of a quarter of a million more for a strip of land six miles wide and extending from Panama on the Pacific to Colon on the Atlantic (map following p. 490).



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JOHN HAY

A group of persons in Colombia's province of Panama now revolted and formed a Republic of Panama. The motive behind this revolt was simple—the recognition that Colombia could never construct the great link in world commerce which is now the Panama Canal. The United States immediately recognized the Republic (1903) and proceeded to offer it terms somewhat similar to those which Colombia had refused, although an outright purchase was offered for the strip of land desired.[1] The offer was ac-

The Republic of Panama

[1]On April 6, 1914, Colombia signed a treaty with the United States agreeing to recognize the independence of Panama. She received in turn $25,000,000 and certain rights in the Panama Canal Zone. This treaty was ratified by the United States April 20, 1921, and by the Colombian Congress December 24, 1921.

cepted and the way was thus cleared "in a reasonable time," as Congress demanded, for the building of the greatest engineering work in the world's history by Colonel Goethals.

The Canal dug

It is true that no minor nation could have financed the Panama Canal, on which, after ten years of struggle, we expended a total of $459,443,105.99. Hardly less spectacular than the engineering feat was the hygienic conquest of the tropical malaria-breeding mosquito which, of itself, cost a sum Colombia could never have raised for the purpose.

THE WEST INDIES. (Showing types of American occupation or supervision.)

However, all the energy we displayed in carrying through this great work, which would have daunted a less determined and wealthy nation, sufficed to complete the work only eleven days after the outbreak of the Great War (August 15, 1914). Had

Its meaning in the days of World War

events moved more slowly than they did the Canal would never have proven the asset it was in the winning of that momentous struggle. Within two years of the completion of the Canal a gross tonnage of sixteen millions passed through it from the Atlantic to the Pacific and eighteen millions from the Pacific to the At-

lantic. It lessened the voyage from New York to San Francisco by nearly 8,000 miles.[1]

Secretary Hay was equally successful in the broader field of international affairs, particularly in advancing the cause of arbitration as a method of settling disputes. In 1898 the Czar of Russia aroused the curiosity of the world by proposing an international meeting to discuss disarmament. It was held in 1899 at The Hague, Holland, and, while disarmament received scant attention, some good work was done in advancing the principles of arbitration. The United States set the first example by submitting the first case before this tribunal. This was a controversy with Mexico and involved the Pious Fund Case relating to the disposition of certain church funds in California. It was settled in our favor. Again, when Venezuela's creditors in Europe resolved to compel her to pay her debts we suggested that the case be submitted to The Hague, which was done. The incident was of more than ordinary interest for it involved indirectly our Monroe Policy and the theory we have seen the United States had advanced in the "Platt Amendment" with reference to Cuba in 1901. If South American countries, whose integrity we were determined to protect, mortgaged public property to European nations and then could not pay their bills, what was to prevent the latter from foreclosing on the property which had been put up for the loan and thus secure a foothold on this continent? We could not protect their integrity except by compelling them to make no loans which they could not pay. By getting such matters referred to The Hague we honored the principle of arbitration in spirit, and our national respect for the theory was expressed in a very tangible way by the gift of a beautiful building to The Hague by our philanthropist, Andrew Carnegie, in which

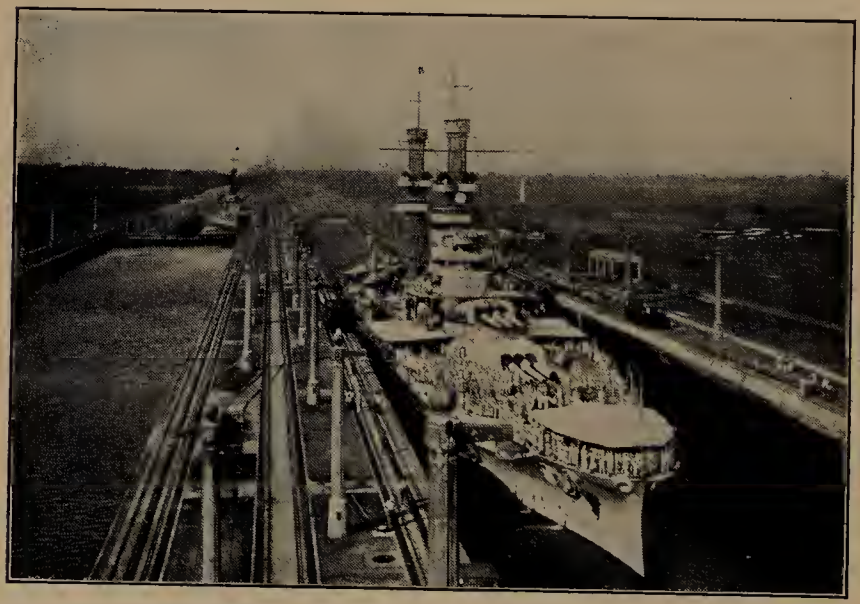
First Hague Tribunal

[1]The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901 declared that the Panama Canal should be open to all nations on equal terms, or equal tolls. In 1912 a bill had passed the United States Congress exempting American vessels from paying any tolls. The argument was that the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty meant all *foreign* nations should use the canal on equal terms. In 1914, at President Wilson's earnest request, this bill was repealed and all nations now stand on a similar footing in respect to Panama Canal tolls.

the Hague Tribunals should meet and hold as a permanent home.

In the light of more recent events the efforts of our commissioner, Andrew D. White, for arbitration at The Hague and Germany's stolid blocking of the proceedings, both in 1899 and 1907, should be remembered. Even special messengers sent by Mr. White at the time to the Kaiser (while the Tribunal suspended action) brought no result. Emperor William would consent to agree to nothing beyond making resort to the Hague Tribunal optional. He said that to agree absolutely

Germany opposes compulsory arbitration



THE U. S. S. "PENNSYLVANIA" IN THE MIDDLE LEVEL OF THE GATUN LOCKS, PANAMA CANAL

to compulsory arbitration would be "derogatory to his sovereignty." In 1907 his attitude was the same and, swinging Austria-Hungary, Italy, and other powers with him, the Kaiser was able to defeat any arbitration program.

Our Pacific possessions immediately brought responsibilities and opportunities little foreseen at the outset. Because of the

murder of two missionaries, Germany, in 1897, demanded that China cede to her the valuable port of Kiaochow, the main seaport of one of her richest provinces, Shantung. What with the large British and French "spheres of influence" acquired from China by force and otherwise in the long ago, and the more recent aggressions of Russia in Manchuria, patriotic Chinese foresaw a threatened dismemberment of their empire in the near future. An association called the "Boxers" began serious agitation in favor of restoring national integrity and, in 1900, fomented an outbreak. The German ambassador to China was murdered in broad daylight, several missionaries were killed, and the foreigners in Pekin were besieged in the grounds of the British legation for two months. An allied force, strongly aided by 5,000 American troops, quickly available because of the nearness of the Philippines, raised the siege and restored order in Pekin. A bill for the expenses of foreign powers in the Boxer Rebellion, amounting to $333,000,000, was presented to China and paid by her. The United States share was $24,000,000. This was found to be $13,000,000 more than was right and that sum was handed back to China with the suggestion that the income from the money be spent on sending Chinese students to this country for additional education. More than a thousand such students have profited by this splendid exhibition of genuine international friendship.

"Spheres of Influence" in China

Boxer Rebellion

Our prominence in the Boxer episode paved the way for Secretary Hay's famous declaration that our "Open Door" policy of 1844 (p. 298) was one to which all nations should adhere in China. This meant that any Chinese port taken by a foreign nation should be open to the trade of all nations on equal terms. While one inducement in advocating this policy was to prevent American trade from being kept out of China, it at the same time was in line with the best ideas of modern civilization. The theory was generally agreed to, although Germany, unable to meet Japanese competition, got around it by

America mediates in the Russo-Japanese War

allowing Kiaochow to go back under the Chinese Imperial Customs rule on the promise that Germany secretly should receive a 20 per cent. rebate on all tariffs paid!

President Roosevelt played an unusual international rôle for an American President when, near the close of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5), he offered mediation; he was directly responsible for the signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth (N. H.) between the belligerents.

In handling the many perplexing Cuban and Philippine questions which arose in rapid order the United States rightly won the respect of the world.[1] After "cleaning up" Cuba by putting the island in a sanitary condition by abolishing the yellow fever scourge, we encouraged the establishment of an independent government by the Cubans on the understanding that independence would be maintained and that no debt would be incurred without proper provision for its payment.

Cuba given autonomy

In the Philippines our government took up the task of ordering the affairs of an alien people with typical American energy and with the avowed purpose of fitting them for independence and self-government (map following p. 490). Two commissions (1899 and 1900) rendered reports to the President of the United States on the conditions existing in the islands. The second of these commissions, under the presidency of Mr. Taft, began to exercise legislative jurisdiction late in 1900. A million dollars was appropriated for good roads and a sum thrice as large for the improvement of Manila harbor. Civil service, based on merit, was introduced, and a thousand American school teachers were distributed throughout five hundred towns in order to fit the more intelligent Filipinos to teach their fellow-countrymen. A supreme court,

Philippine Commissions

[1] "Did the Constitution Follow the Flag?" was a question raised concerning our new possessions; in other words, did the laws of our Nation automatically apply wherever the flag was raised? By the "Insular Cases" (1901) our Supreme Court decided this question in the negative. The law that all duties shall be uniform throughout the United States does not, therefore, apply necessarily to these possessions and Congress can impose tariffs on goods imported therefrom at its pleasure.

a judiciary, and a code of civil law followed, together with a bureau of forestry, a health department, an agricultural department, and a police system of natives officered by Americans. In 1901 the military governorship was abolished and governor-generals were appointed as local administrators. The next year an enabling act authorized a civil government and a native legislature was established. The first public election for a Philippine assembly was held in 1907 when one hundred thousand votes were cast by Filipinos of legal voting age. The progress of this experimenting was marked as early as 1912; by that year Filipinos had been given control in municipalities. They were now electing two thirds of their provincial governing boards, all the lower house of the insular legislature, their own chief justice, two justices of the supreme court, one half the holders of the higher judicial positions, and all of the justices of the peace. While in 1904 there were only 51 per cent. of natives in the classified civil service, by 1911 this had increased to 67 per cent.; in 1912 all municipal employees as well as over 90 per cent. of provincial employees and 60 per cent. of the officials and employees of the central government were natives. On August 29, 1916, the Jones Bill passed by our Congress materially advanced Philippine home rule and on October 1 of that year the first Philippine Congress, consisting of a House of Representatives and a Senate, convened; members of non-Christian tribes were now for the first time represented in a national legislature. In the steady pursuit of the policy of encouraging self-government numerous Americans were retired from important offices in the islands, a native was made

American Troops on the Tartar City Wall, Peking

The Jones Bill

Director of Agriculture, and another a member of the Board of Utility Commissioners.

Practising "self-determination"

Despite the artificiality of many phases of Philippine government and the inferior quality of the service rendered by native officers, the United States, without experience in this line of administration, had given the world a splendid lesson in keeping faith with an inferior race and in an honest attempt to further the cause of "self-determination" in a foreign land.

International complications in the southern Pacific

The Jones Bill of 1916 promised the Filipinos complete independence as soon as a "stable government" should be established. The Great War brought complications which made the fulfillment of the promise somewhat difficult. By a secret treaty made in 1917 between Great Britain and her allies, Japan was promised a controlling interest in the Marshall and Caroline Islands upon the successful termination of the war. These islands lie close to our shortest line of communication between Hawaii and Manila. While Japan has disowned a desire to possess the Philippines, laws preventing the further purchase of lands by Japanese (particularly rich hemp fields) were considered "absolutely vital" to Philippine integrity by the president of the Philippine Senate in 1919. Thus our "Philippine question" has suddenly become entangled with a greater question, that of our maintaining a necessary prestige in the Pacific. A "stable government" in the Philippines formerly meant a local question and was fast being settled. More recently it became a serious international question, involving our relations with all of the nations of the Far East—one of the greatest fields for future American commerce and trade. With the signing of the Four-Power Pacific Treaty in 1922, to be mentioned later, conditions seem, however, more favorable for the speedy consummation of Filipino dreams of complete independence.

Another field is South America. We have seen that Venezuela had borrowed money abroad and that a debt so created and protected by mortgaging property made possible an in-

fringment of our Monroe Policy if the property was seized. For, if Venezuela became bankrupt, her European creditors could legally become possessed of any collateral Venezuela had put up—lands, property, or any asset.

Recent years have witnessed, therefore, the extension of the new Monroe Doctrine on our part. This new policy, foreshadowed by the theory of the Platt Amendment of 1901, means that the United States must see to it that poorly managed South American states shall not incur debts which they can not pay. We have seen that one of the stipulations of a free Cuba was that it should not ask credit beyond a safe limit. Likewise we have been compelled to take action in Santo Domingo, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Honduras in ways which have made many South Americans feel that we were exerting the offensive powers of a dictator in the Western World. American financial receiverships were established in Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, and Honduras in 1905. The Government of Haiti was established as an American protectorate in 1915. In each of these four (map p. 506) countries our naval forces have frequently been called upon to suppress disorder and strengthen the hands of those who were in charge of financial reconstruction. These efforts to create stability in lands which have never known that blessing have been looked on with jealous suspicion, and the cry of "hands off" has sounded ominously at times. Failure of our representatives to maintain highest standards of judgment and efficiency has tended, at times, to sharpen criticism.

The "New" Monroe Doctrine

Financial receiverships in South America

A series of Mexican revolutions began in 1911 and the chief power in that distraught land was wielded successively by Generals Madero, Huerta, and Carranza during the following six years. The authority of these leaders was at no time admitted or obeyed in all parts of the Republic. President Wilson adopted his steady policy of "watchful waiting"; he hoped, by the pressure of good advice and timely suggestion, to help authority and peace to

Mexican revolutions

right themselves. In 1914 Mexico's failure to apologize for the arrest of an American naval officer and marines led to our temporary occupation of the port of Vera Cruz by fleet and an expeditionary force. In 1916 the Mexican bandit Villa "invaded" our border and the National Guard was called out to protect the frontier and catch the bandit leader. Although an American column entered Mexico the capture was not made. Meanwhile, property rights of Americans and Europeans were in great danger or were actually destroyed.

"Watchful waiting"

But with the World War now racking Europe to its foundations, and with the growing likelihood of America's being involved, our administration's lukewarm policy in Mexico was forgotten.

World War

READING LIST

1. The Panama Canal: Howland, Chap. 11; Fish, Chaps. 15–17; T. Roosevelt, "The Panama Blackmail Treaty," *Metropolitan Magazine*, XLI, 8; Chamberlain, "A Chapter of National Dishonor," *North American Review*, CXCV, 145; Latané, *The United States and Latin America*, Chap. 4; J. B. Bishop, *The Panama Gateway;* C. H. A. Forbes, *Panama Canal Conflict;* C. R. Fish, *American Diplomacy*, Chap. 31.

2. The Open Door Policy: C. R. Fish, *The Path of Empire*, Chap. 14; *American Diplomacy*, Chaps. 28 and 32; F. F. Millard, *The New Far East;* J. W. Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, Chaps. 6, 8, 10, and 13; Latané, Chap. 6; Coolidge, Chaps. 17–19.

3. Progress in the Philippines: D. C. Worcester, *The Philippines, Past and Present;* Fish, *The Path of Empire*, Chap. 13; *American Diplomacy*, Chap. 29; Latané, Chaps. 5 and 9; J. A. Le Roy, *The Americans in the Philippines;* W. F. Willoughby, *Territories and Dependencies of the United States;* F. Funston, *Memories of Two Wars;* F. A. Ogg, *National Progress*, Chap. 13.

4. Mexican Affairs: W. R. Shepherd, *The Hispanic Nations*, Chap. 10; Fish, Chap. 34; Paxson, Chap. 20; *Recent History*, Chap. 43; Ogg, Chap. 16.

No student or teacher wishing a brief, dispassionate, and patriotic discussion of our diplomatic experiences as a nation should miss reading Fish, *American Diplomacy*, Chap. 36, entitled: "Success and Its Causes."

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

In what ways did the administrations of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Grant, and McKinley usher in new eras of national life? Has the colonial

administration of the United States been consistent with our ideals of liberty? Compare it with the British colonial policy 1763–1776. Sum up the successful diplomatic ventures of Secretary Hay. To what group of poets did he belong? Does the "new" Monroe policy mean the establishment of a new principle or a new way of applying the old principle? Did other nations turn back a Boxer Indemnity surplus (over actual expense involved) to China? How will the expenditure for the education of Chinese in our land influence future international friendship? Japan forbids Koreans from coming to our country for education. Compare the influence of these different ideals.

CHAPTER XIII

WORLD WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

The time has not come, and will not soon come, when we can view the Great War and its aftermath with the clearness necessary to judge the lessons that it brought and the influence it will have on the history of a world which it rocked to its foundations. We can now only be sure that, of all wars in which the United States has taken part, this war will prove most unusual because of its unexpected results.

Our chapter treats of the well-known story of the conflict in its early stages, of America's standing sturdily for the ancient neutrality rights voiced by our very first President, Washington, just before his death. Only until that principle had been defied to the limit of human patience was it clear to the Wilson administration that the world could not be made safe for democracy unless America did her "bit" to repulse German armies flushed with victory on the soil of France. In this chapter, however, we have been particular to point out the fact that during the four years previous to our entering the war in 1917 many of the "tools" which helped to bring success had already been created; such as the Federal Reserve Bank system, the Council of National Defense, the Shipping Board, the Federal Trade Commission, and the reorganization of the American army under a General Staff. If the brooking of Germany's insults was difficult for red-blooded men to bear before 1917, it was, nevertheless, trebly fortunate that tools of such advantage had been forged meanwhile. That we handled them clumsily at first, because of inexperience, is good proof that had we not fashioned them as early as we did the outcome, the victory, could not have been won except by the expenditure of many more lives than the war cost.

The tremendous success of our "doughboys" in France awoke anew in our heart of hearts that cherished belief that, man for man,

the American soldier is invincible. Although untaught in the art of slaughter as it was then being practiced in Europe, he learned his lesson quickly; an intense wave of patriotism swept our homeland as these heroes in brown went to their work abroad; old sores were healed; millions of backs loyally bent to tasks that proved a whole nation was rallied marvelously for liberty and democracy. The center of interest, when the Treaty of Versailles was drawn, was President Wilson's scheme of a League of Nations—its formal acceptance by our European allies and its defeat by the United States Senate. This question was uppermost in the presidential election of 1920, when Warren G. Harding, the Republican candidate, was successful, although Democratic defeat was adjudged more as a rebuke for alleged mismanagement of war-time affairs, and a personal criticism of President Wilson, than a proof of distaste for the League of-Nations idea. That some new concert of Powers is needed was reflected in the popularity of President Harding's Washington Conference on Disarmament at which some constructive legislation was approved.

Section 61. The Outbreak of the Great War

INFLAMED by Russia's mobilization of troops following Austria-Hungary's declaration of war on Serbia, Germany declared war upon Russia August 1, 1914. Upon not receiving a satisfactory promise from France to keep out of this Russo-German war, Germany declared war upon France on August 3. On the day following Great Britain declared war against Germany upon the latter's refusal to respect Belgium's neutrality; and on August 6 Austria-Hungary declared war on Russia. Thus, in less than a week, the long looked-for general European war overcast a wondering and frightened world.

The status of international law

In a dazed condition the neutral nations now looked quickly at the flimsy insurance policies which might be called into practical use to avert international chaos—the pacts, treaties, and conventions which might lead to uniformity of action in this crisis of world history. The Hague conventions had approved the main

principles of the Declaration of Paris (1856), and to these rules the belligerents of 1914 had generally subscribed. They may be summed up as follows: (a) privateering was outlawed; (b) a neutral flag covered enemy goods, except contraband; (c) neutral goods, not contraband, under an enemy's flag were not subject to capture; and (d) blockades to be binding must be effectively maintained. The Hague Convention of 1907 had created an international prize court, and a conference of the powers in London

Principles of the "Declaration of Paris"

THE CLIFF DWELLERS ON THE MEUSE. (Huts and dug-outs behind the lines in France.)

1908–9 had published the "Declaration of London" with the object of fixing the principles of prize law for the government of the court.

This Declaration had not been signed by a sufficient number of nations in 1914 to be considered a "law of nations" at that time. The chief difficulty lay in deciding what should be called "contraband goods" and what should not. For many years international authorities had divided contraband goods

into two classes: (a) absolute contraband and (b) conditional contraband. Under the first class were included all goods or raw materials which went directly into making things of pronounced war-like use, such, for instance, as the chemical ingredients which are used to make powder. Under the second class were included articles which were of double use, that is, articles like foodstuffs which might be used by the people of a belligerent nation who were not serving in the armies, the "civil population." By these rules of war of long standing contraband goods could legally be captured by the foe on the high seas and could be confiscated by the capturer, together with the ship carrying them. Conditional contraband goods could be confiscated when captured only when they were destined for an enemy government or its armies; this class of goods could not be so confiscated when destined for the "civil population" of a belligerent nation.

Declaration of London

The gigantic character of the war now waging, wherein every available resource of the nations fighting was to be taxed to the utmost, made so-called "non-combatants" almost as important to success as the troops at the front. The line between "enemy forces" and "civil population" now seemed to disappear. Thus foodstuffs, never before considered contraband, were now so considered. If eaten by the civil population, these would be compelled to raise just so much less and could devote more time to the manufacture of munitions, etc. Again, what was not chemically an article of "predominantly warlike use" one year might become so the next. Cotton was declared non-contraband by the Declaration of London in 1909. In 1914 it was the most important ingredient in making high explosives like T.N.T. We are thus afforded the practical lesson that influences quite beyond the control of man may render "agreements" and "declarations" useless, however great their inherent merit.

Problem of defining "civil population" and articles of "warlike use"

The United States had always been a defender of this doctrine of "Free Ships, Free Goods." Judge Baldwin of Connecticut states that "the first treaty ever made in recorded history"

to abolish privateering, and one which went as far as any had ever gone in extending to ship's lading the freedom of the flag, was made, strangely enough, between the United States and Prussia (Germany) in 1786. It was rewritten in 1799 and 1888 and was in full force in 1914.

Neutrality

No nation could have been more prompt in declaring neutrality than was our country when the war broke out, President Wilson issuing a neutrality proclamation affecting the five belligerents on August 4. On November 13 he declared the neutrality of the Panama Canal Zone. Our views of neutrality were, moreover, very strict. Our statute to this effect was nearly one hundred years old, having been passed in 1818. It made it illegal for an American citizen to (a) accept a commission against a friendly power, or enlist against one, or (b) fit out or arm a vessel, or (c) "begin or set on foot" a military enterprise against such a power. Going beyond the letter of the law, our Secretary of State in 1914 declared that loans to a nation at war with a power friendly to us were "inconsistent with the spirit of neutrality." And, on March 4, 1915, our Congress authorized the President to prevent the clearance of any vessel from our ports suspected of carrying arms, fuel, or ammunition to any belligerent warship or tender.

Our strict view of neutrality

When Great Britain established an effective blockade on Germany and declared foodstuffs contraband[1] we were compelled to respect both the blockade and the injunction, just as we had demanded Great Britain should respect the Federal blockade of the South in 1861–5. American citizens were free to ship non-contraband to Great Britain, for Germany could not establish a blockade. We were free to sell contraband to any belligerent nation which could ship the same from our ports—on peril of confiscation in case of capture on the high seas. The demand for war material in 1914, on the part of belligerents able to transport it

Germany blockaded

[1]On December 26, 1914, Germany placed all of the food supply of the Empire under public control, thus giving Great Britain fair excuse for declaring foodstuffs to be contraband.

with considerable safety, offered American manufacturers an enormous market and profit. That they took advantage of this demand was no reflection on American neutrality. German manufacturers had so profited in other wars. If Germany could not stop this trade it was the "fate of war."[1]

Germany's alternative in this situation was the use of a new tool of war, the submarine. As it happened, this tool was wholly unfitted for war according to the rules of the game then in existence. Powerful as were the submarine's torpedoes, the craft itself was fragile and very vulnerable; it could not expose itself safely to view to stop suspected ships without courting instant disaster; it was not large enough to carry sea prize crews which could man captured ships; it was not large enough to take on board crews or passengers of disabled or destroyed ships; and it was impossible for a submarine to take captured vessels in tow to a home port as prizes of war. Any thoroughgoing use of such a weapon meant the utter overthrowing of international marine law. This course Germany chose. On February 4, 1915, she announced that the waters about the British Isles were a war zone in which enemy vessels would be sunk on sight, come what might of crews and passengers; and neutral vessels were warned not to come into this zone.[2]

The submarine and international law

A war zone

We cannot understand the shock with which this ultimatum was received in all neutral countries which believed in "Free Ships, Free Goods" without noting the character of the war which Germany had been waging on land for the past six months.

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[1] An international law forbidding the sale of contraband to a belligerent would be an unwise law; it would enable any nation so to devote its resources to laying up materials for war (for use against an unsuspecting neighbor that devoted its revenue to more noble causes) as to make a declaration of war a matter of impunity.

[2] "War zones" were a new thing in international relations; Japan in the Russo-Japanese War declared a certain area to be a "defense sea area" from which merchant ships were debarred at night; Great Britain declared that the whole North Sea (which she mined) must be considered "a military area" which neutrals would enter only at their own peril. Germany had mined, without notice, the "lanes" of ships across the Atlantic.

At its outbreak the world had reason to expect that so enlightened a nation as Germany would have high regard not only for the treaties existing between her and her neutral neighbors, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, and Switzerland, but also for the code of war practices which she had adopted and perfected through many years. In this the world found itself mistaken. Fearing (and alleging) the violation of Belgium's neutrality on the part of France, Germany was eager to obtain the vital first advantages of position. She issued on August 2 an ultimatum to Belgium asking the right to send German armies across her territory. Not only was this refused but Belgium's little army sprang to arms with a heroism never to be forgotten to block the way. Delayed momentarily by this unexpected opposition—and embittered by it beyond description—the German armies swept forward in defiance of every rule or practice of civilized warfare, conquering Liége, August 9; Brussels, August 20; and Namur, August 24.

Germany's war ethics

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HERBERT HOOVER

Her armies enter Belgium

If the world was startled at Germany's violation of her treaty with Belgium it was stupefied by the cruelty accompanying that violation. The German war code was, in numerous respects, similar to that of Great Britain and the United States. It made the usual provisions to confine the evils of warfare to combatants. Family honors and rights, the lives of persons and private property, as well as religious convictions and practices, were to be respected. Private property could not be confiscated; no general penalty, pecuniary or otherwise, could be inflicted upon an enemy population on account of the acts of individuals. Requisitions in kind and services could not be demanded from municipalities or inhabitants except for the needs of the army of occupation; these must be in

War codes

proportion to resources of the country and of such nature as not to involve the inhabitants in the obligation of taking part in military operations against their own country.

In the face of this code the German invasion of Belgium was a disgrace to civilization; many unoffending civilians were murdered, women were outraged, private and public buildings were broken into and looted. Villages, towns, and cities were pillaged, hostages were taken, numbers of people were practically enslaved and transported to Germany. Ancient shrines, which all the world loved, were destroyed, as well as works of art never to be replaced in human history.

Germany's record in Belgium

With this conquest of Belgium fresh in the mind of neutral nations, with the memory of Germany's repudiation of both sacred treaties and national codes of war before their eyes, in what frame of mind could neutrals face Germany's new threat to ride with equal impunity over international law which had hitherto obtained upon the seas? Truly did our American Minister to Belgium, Brand Whitlock, write our State Department: "The Germans have lighted a fire of hatred that will never go out . . . deeds that make one despair of the future of the human race . . . so cruel that German soldiers are said to have wept in its execution. . . ." General Stenger's order of August 26, 1914, read, "All prisoners are to be killed. . . . Let not a single living enemy remain behind us."

Neutrals deeply prejudiced

This frightfulness seared the conscience of the world as with a branding iron. It made it practically impossible for any neutral to handle in an unbiassed way a question in which Germany was concerned. Despite these facts we must always, however, cherish the memory of the evenness of temper with which the United States, its President, and Congress, met this German threat to wreck what was left of international law by a campaign of frightfulness on the seas, a topic to which we now return.

Lack of bias impossible

READING LIST

C. Seymour, *Woodrow Wilson and World War* (Chronicles of America, XLCIII), Chap. 2; J. S. Bassett, *Our War with Germany*, Chap. 1; C. R. Fish, *American Diplomacy*, Chap. 35; F. L. Paxson, *Recent History*, Chaps. 44–46; C. R. Lingley, *Since the Civil War*, Chaps. 24 and 25.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Did Germany's attitude at The Hague (p. 508) foreshadow the Great War? Is it possible for one belligerent to abide by international law if this is ignored by a rival? Why was the work of non-combatants so important in the Great War? How did that work affect the question of contraband goods? Had Germany grounds for considering our trading with her enemies a violation of neutrality? Was Germany neutral in the Boer War? Is lending money to belligerents a violation of neutrality? How would the outcome of the Revolution have been affected if we could not have borrowed money?

Section 62. The Diplomacy of Neutrality—and Verdun

American hostility to Germany's newly declared submarine policy overshadowed, but did not wipe out, our dislike of England's domineering attitude toward the question of contraband and trade with Germany and European neutrals. She increased or altered the list of contraband articles at will and without notice; peremptorily declared foodstuffs to be contraband; illegally and autocratically seized and condemned American cargoes on the way to Germany, Holland, and Denmark and sowed mines in the open North Sea. Some British skippers disguised their ships by flying neutral flags; and England systematically intercepted and inspected mail to neutral countries. Numerous signs of the old-time prejudice against English brusque settlement of questions which vitally affected others besides herself, often mentioned in these pages, were now evident. Only in a dim way did we then see—what was plain to our future allies—that the British view of the depth of German intrigue and duplicity, and the unreliability of German oaths and promises, was

England's high-handed policies

Her lack of faith in German promises

better based than our own. As we saw it, between England's Orders in Council and Germany's illegal edicts and decrees, little or nothing was left of international law as hitherto known.

However, President Wilson shut his eyes to the proof which Belgium offered of German treachery to national and international law, as well as to British autocracy. He replied to the German submarine threat of February 4, 1915, by a note of February 10, stating that we were reluctant to believe that Germany would actually put in practice an act "so unprecedented in naval warfare." This we followed up with an honest attempt to find a working basis of agreement (February 20) between the chief warring powers by which both would gain and surrender something in order to clear the international situation. Four propositions were offered: (a) that mines should not be sown except as a protection to harbors; (b) that submarines should be used only for purposes of visit and search; (c) that flags of neutral nations should not be used to disguise belligerent vessels; and (d) that England should permit the shipping of foodstuffs to American agents in Germany who should be protected by the German Government in passing them out only to non-combatants.

America opposes Germany's plan

America's effort to secure a compromise agreement

The reply of each antagonist was unsatisfactory; that from Germany showed a surprising lack of diplomacy. In one breath she agreed not to use submarines as she proposed; in another, she held that "as a matter of course such mercantile [merchant vessels] will also abstain from arming themselves and from all resistance by force, since such procedure contrary to international law would render impossible any action of the submarine in accordance with the international law." England, on her part, replied that a perfect cordon meant a complete blockade, and that, if starvation followed (which few believed) she had a precedent in Germany's forbidding food to be taken into starving Paris in 1870. As to Germany's promise to allow American agents to pass out food shipped from America to

Germany's answer

England's answer

non-combatants only, England replied that she could not put her faith or confidence in any pledge made by official Germany. We had not then learned to share this want of faith in German promises, and England's answer tended to nettle many Americans as well as to confuse our administration in its attempt to reduce international chaos to a semblance of order.[1]

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THE S. S. "LUSITANIA"

The submarine's record

From the last of January onward neutral merchantmen and liners were attacked or sunk by German airplane, cruiser, and submarine; the *William P. Frye* (January 28); the *Harpalyce*, in the service of American relief work in Belgium (April 8); the *Cushing* (April 28); and the *Gulflight* (May 1). The unarmed Cunard liner *Lusitania* was scheduled to sail from New York at 12:30 P. M. on May

[1]Walter H. Page, our Ambassador to England, was not deceived by German "diplomacy." In one of his letters of these days we read: "I cannot express my admiration of the President's management, so far at least, of his colossal task of leading us right. . . . But I hope he doesn't fool himself about the future; I'm sure he doesn't. I see no possible way for us to keep out, because I know the ignorance and falseness of the German leaders. They'll drown or kill more Americans—on the sea and in America. Then, of course, the tune will be called . . . You had as well prepare as fast as the condition of public opinion will permit."

11. Advertisements published by the German Embassy in Washington urged passengers not to sail on the ship. The ship's cargo contained 5,400 cases of ammunition, but neither guns nor explosives. It carried no troops. It did not have any guns of any description, mounted or unmounted, masked or unmasked. It was sunk by a submarine, without warning, off the Irish coast May 7, with the loss of 1,154 lives, 114 of these being American.

The *Lusitania*

This outrage on humanity at large, not to mention the bold insult of publicly advertising to the American people the fact that they could not travel the seas in an unarmed passenger vessel, would, ordinarily, have proved the "overt act" which meant war. While there are two sides to this question it may appear as the years go by, and the Great War is studied more and more in perspective, that the United States did well in not rushing into it hastily as the result of one, or even a few, technical transgressions of international law by the submarine. It was a new and "unregulated" craft.

With what, to many, was tiresome steadiness the United States Government continued its former tedious rôle of cross-questioning Germany. A German reservist who testified that the *Lusitania* was armed was afterward convicted of perjury. The Collector of the Port of New York swore that the ship was not armed. The United States issued three "*Lusitania* Notes," May 13, June 9, and July 21. The character of all of these and the replies received to them proved that Germany was, on the one hand, neither willing to meet the real difference of opinion which existed, nor, on the other, to indicate a way by which the accepted principles of law and humanity might be applied to the present crisis. In fact, they in reality proposed a partial suspension of those principles—which meant nullification. After the sinking of the *Arabic* (August 19), however, Germany did announce that she had already decided not to sink liners without warning nor without providing safety for the lives of non-combatants, thus allaying the rising storm of indignation.

The *Lusitania* not armed

German evasions and the *Arabic* incident

Many felt, and some clearly saw, that behind Germany's bungling but successful diplomacy there lay the studied policy of awaiting, either an hour of greater submarine preparedness, or for some great decision on the European battle-ground. With the passing of time this was understood by all. After the German rush through Belgium and into France had been stopped in the momentous Battle of the Marne (September 6–10, 1914), German armies assumed a front along the Aisne River two hundred miles in length. At the close of 1915, after seventeen months of war, German arms and diplomacy could boast the greatest achievement in forceful empire-building seen in Europe since the days of Napoleon Bonaparte. The territory of the Central Powers remained practically untouched by hostile foot. Belgium and the richest part of France had been overrun and occupied. The Russian hosts, which had advanced boldly in 1914, had been driven back and hopelessly crippled. Poland had been occupied, together with parts of Lithuania and the Baltic Provinces, Serbia, Montenegro, and a portion of Albania. Bulgaria had been won to Germany's side and had helped to crush Serbia. Turkey, the Kaiser's Ottoman ally, controlled the far southeast. Thus from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf, from the Baltic Sea to the Red Sea, from Lithuania to the Aisne in mid-France, the word of Germany's Kaiser was practically law on Christmas Day, 1915.

The key to Germany's policy

With such a record behind her, and with the well-grounded hope that France would not long be able to hold German armies at the Aisne, no object was to be gained by stirring up neutral nations by an unrestricted submarine campaign—particularly a neutral possessing the latent power of the United States. To master Great Britain on the Continent was the next best thing to mastering her upon the seas, in fact, a stepping-stone to that greater triumph. Germany, therefore, gave herself up in 1916 to the task of completing the conquest of the French and British armies in France—meanwhile, relaxing the taut nerves of our State Department officials with the hopeful *Sussex* pledge (May

The *Sussex* pledge

4) not to sink merchant vessels without warning and without saving human lives, if such ships did not offer resistance or attempt to escape. While this promise was made conditionally, Germany intended to observe it so long as convenient—or until Verdun was irretrievably lost or won.

This business of conquering France at once was placed in the hands of the future Kaiser of the Greater Germany-to-be, the Crown Prince, whose armies faced France's border network of fortresses commanding the strategic heights of the Meuse—Verdun. Success here by the Crown Prince would accomplish three things: it would (a) vitally wound France; (b) revive the future Kaiser's reputation, which had suffered in the Battle of the Marne; and (c) quiet the sharp criticism of the Von Tirpitz (naval) party at Berlin which writhed over Germany's slowness in taking advantage of an unrestricted submarine campaign to blast England's control of the seas.

The meaning of victory at Verdun

This Verdun campaign, of such unexpected interest to the United States, was waged from February 21, 1916, to midsummer. An attack on the east bank of the Meuse brought real but unsatisfactory results and the Crown Prince shifted it to the west bank. Progress here, also, was unexpectedly slow, and the final failure to carry Pepper Ridge and Dead Man's Hill (April 9–18) in this zone ended the second phase of the momentous struggle. Toward the end of May a grand assault on both sides of the Meuse was undertaken, the climax coming May 29 when sixty German batteries of heavy artillery poured a torrent of high explosives for twelve hours on the whole front, and a furious charge, in which five fresh divisions participated, was made. A portion of Dead Man's Hill was captured and Fort Vaux in the outer ring of the Verdun defenses was taken. Through July and August these and other outposts changed hands many times. But the whole of Dead Man's Hill was never in German possession at any time nor was Fort Souville captured. One hundred and thirty square miles about Verdun were gained by the Crown Prince at the cost of over a quarter of a million soldiers,

The progress of the struggle

but Verdun was never seriously in danger of being taken and much that was captured by the enemy was retaken by the French in the ensuing autumn. The Verdun campaign was a failure; the French had kept their patriotic cry: "They shall not pass." Pétain at Verdun had equalled Joffre and Foch at the Marne—battles as decisive as any in the world's history. Credit for winning this great campaign should, also, go to the British, Italian, and Russian attacks on Germany which drew off many German divisions which might have served at Verdun.

"They shall not pass"

With the realization of the failure at Verdun, and finding that an advance from the Aisne was impossible, Germany, which through 1916 had acted toward us in a more conciliatory manner, decided, first, to attempt to secure a peace on the existing basis, thus retaining the greater part of her enormous conquests. This offer, made on December 12, was spurned by the Allies as "empty and insincere." It was followed by a fruitless effort on the part of President Wilson (December 20) to put an end to the war. The answers of the belligerents to his note showed that there was no common ground on which the antagonists could even meet to discuss terms.

A *status quo* peace repudiated by the Allies

Little was the surprise, therefore, when Germany turned to the other string on her bow and, on January 31, 1917, announced once more her policy of unrestricted submarine warfare in certain specified zones. This was a direct challenge to everything for which the United States had patiently contended since the outbreak of the war. The declaration would, doubtless, have led to our entering the war on the side of the Allies, had no other complication existed. Readiness to do so, however, was greatly increased by the questionable character of German propaganda which had been carried on in our country during these intervening years. This was now clearly exposed. To its character and influence we should give attention.

Germany's "last resort"

READING LIST

Seymour, Chaps. 3 and 4; Bassett, Chap. 2; West, *The Foreign Policy of President Wilson*, 1913–1917; Fish, Chap. 35; F. A. Ogg, *National Progress*, Chaps. 18 and 19; L. Rogers, *America's Case Against Germany*, Chaps. 1–4, 6, 8 and 9; Paxson, Chap. 47.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Is America's steady policy of aloofness to be attributed to an original bent given the nation by Washington's and Jefferson's warnings against entangling alliances? Trace on the map Germany's field of conquest by the end of 1915. Show why the battles of the Marne and Verdun belong among the "decisive battles of the world." What was the effect of the sinking of the *Lusitania* on American sentiment? Was Germany's published warning a kindly act or a piece of intolerable arrogance? Should the United States have declared war on the sinking of the *Lusitania?* Was the psychic effect of Germany's policy of "frightfulness" worth the moral cost?

Section 63. German Intrigue in Our Country

America's anxiety to keep both the letter and spirit of the law of neutrality during the early years of the war has been described. The plots and conspiracies of the Central Powers within our borders, during these years, stand out vividly against this background of American effort to hold true to the principles of international law. While we had, at times, strayed considerably from the simple faith of Washington since the formation of the Republic his ideal had ever been cherished sincerely by our people: "The foundations of our national policy," he said, "will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality. There exists in the course of Nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between honest policy and public felicity."

Public policy *vs.* private morality

The resentment of our people as the story of German intrigue, espionage, and arson in our land during 1915 and 1916 became known to them is best explained by the fact that Washington's principles were still theirs at heart, and were utterly at variance with the system of international ethics which was bred in the bone of the Teuton. That system

"Prussianism"

was Prussianism. While all Germans and Austro-Hungarians did not, perhaps, accept this doctrine, in the pinch of world war their actions in stricken Belgium and northern France, their defiance of international law on the high seas and their treatment of would-be friends like the United States, proved that the rulers of Germany did.

Prussian influence on European diplomacy

The outspoken apostles of Prussianism held that (a) war was a biological necessity, (b) that right was to be respected only as far as it was compatible with advantage, (c) that arbitration was a foolish policy for an aspiring people, (d) that the maintenance of peace should never be the goal of a public policy, (e) that there are no ethical friendships among States, and (f) that the acts of States must not be judged by the standard of private morality. In time of war, therefore, Prussianism taught its disciples that nothing was dishonorable which advanced one's country's interests. Also that any tool which would bring victory—deceit, brutality, hypocrisy, intrigue, espionage, sabotage, scorn of pledges and pacts—was a God-given instrument for the use of "patriots." Even the destruction of the intellectual as well as material resources of an enemy was an art to be cultivated. In large part the spirit of these tenets had been the spirit of Old World diplomacy for generations. So great a man as Bismarck had boasted that he had brought on a desirable war (Franco-Prussian) by altering a telegram!

The reaction in America

It is, then, by looking through the eyes of this Prussian code of ethics that we can understand, on the one hand, the bold course of German intrigue and conspiracy in the United States (as well as in Japan, Russia, Cuba, Haiti, San Domingo, etc.) and, on the other, the downright resentment of the American people upon discovering it. This feeling tended to make our nation readier to enter the war in the full belief that the triumph of German arms foreshadowed world-conditions horrible to contemplate.

Both principals in the great contest, the Allies and the Central Powers, very early set on foot a reasonable propaganda in this

country to convince our people of the righteousness of their contentions. For such a purpose platform, press, and mails offered natural channels for circulating information. The question has never been answered whether a neutral nation can truly remain such without a censorship of its channels of publicity. The first German agent of this publicity campaign was Dr. Bernhard Dernburg. He at once found in England's domineering attitude on the question of contraband and illegal inspection of neutral mails a fertile field for agitation. He was unable in the slightest, however, to alter American public opinion on the ethics of the Belgium campaign. Later, finding as little comfort in the horror awakened over the sinking of the *Lusitania*, Dernburg returned home. How far illegal practices had gone forward in this country while he was here has not been made plain.

Neutrality and censorship

As early as August, 1915, such practices were well under way. In the Austro-Hungarian ambassador, Dr. Constantin Dumba, Prussianism had a bold and clever agent. He appears to have been especially active in organizing labor unrest in factories which were making munitions of war; also in successfully encouraging sabotage—the injuring or wrecking of machinery in such plants. In the month mentioned Dumba wrote his chief in Vienna that only "a relatively small sacrifice of money" was needed seriously to disorganize, if not to ruin, munition plants at both Bethlehem and Pittsburgh. In ability to write pleasant "notes" with one hand and organize conspiracy with the other, the German Ambassador to the United States, Count Bernstorff, largely excelled Dumba in cleverness. Count Bernstorff was equally guilty, in these activities with Dumba (who was recalled in September, 1915) but was not so easily identified with them by our secret service men. Aided by clever military and naval attachés, Franz von Papen and Karl Boy-Ed, Bernstorff set on foot a series of infractions of American neutrality. "In the United States," read one message from Berlin to these conspirators, "sabotage can be carried out in every kind of factory for supplying munitions of war." Another urged "energetic action in regard to pro-

Bernstorff

posed destruction of Canadian Pacific Railway at several points." Plots are known to have been carried out or planned against the above-mentioned railway, against the international railway bridge across the St. Croix River, against factories and armories in Canada and against the Welland Canal. The placing of time bombs on ships leaving both Atlantic and Pacific ports was one of the plans of these super-desperadoes.

Fraudulent passports

The issuing of fake passports to German reservists desiring to return home to join the colors, and the fraudulent clearance papers to boats carrying fuel and provisions to German war craft at sea were carried on regularly by an office maintained for this specific purpose in defiance of our neutrality laws. Equally questionable was the attempted financing of a rebellion against Great Britain in India by the German Embassy in Washington. This was managed by an "Indian Independence Committee" which succeeded in loading a schooner at San Francisco with arms and ammunition for that purpose. Another eccentric phase of the German program was the formation of the Bridgeport Projectile Company with a capital, as originally planned, of ten million dollars, under the management of supposed Americans. This company was to buy up all the available supply of powder, antimony, hydraulic presses, etc., essential to the manufacture of munitions and make contracts with the Allied governments apparently in good faith but with no intention of fulfillment. In this scheme the German Ambassador was concerned, together with most of the men above mentioned and including the American representative of the Krupp gun manufacturers.

The Bridgeport Projectile Company

The gradual uncovering of this mass of conspiracy, although at the time most of the discoveries had to be kept secret, formed an interesting running obligato to the long series of evasive, sugar-coated "notes" and expressions of seeming goodwill issued by the German Government and its embassy. A climax, however, was reached by the discovery of the famous Zimmermann Note to Mexico,

The "Zimmermann Note"

addressed January 19, 1917, by Zimmermann, the German Foreign Minister, to the German representative in Mexico. It declared that an unrestricted submarine campaign would be started on February 1 which would "compel England to make peace in a few months." The minister was authorized to propose a German-Mexican alliance on the understanding that the latter nation should "reconquer its lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona." The President of Mexico was advised "as soon as it is certain that there will be an outbreak of war with the United States" to open negotiations with Japan, offering to mediate between that nation and Germany and "suggesting adherence at once to this plan." While pro-German papers in our country denounced the note to be a forgery, Zimmermann on March 3, acknowledged it to be genuine.

This astonishing communication, a greater crime against weak Mexico, even, than against us, came into the hands of our State Department the latter part of February. Already, according to schedule, as we have seen, Germany had declared her unrestricted submarine campaign. On February 2 Ambassador Bernstorff had been handed his passports and left the country. On February 26 President Wilson advocated "armed neutrality" by asking Congress to authorize the arming of our merchant marine; this step was taken on March 12. The Zimmermann Note was all that was needed to make the country realize the truth of President Wilson's words uttered a short time before ". . . war now has such a scale that the position of neutrals sooner or later becomes intolerable. . . . America must hereafter be ready as a member of the family of nations to exert her whole force, moral and physical, to the assertion of those rights [fundamental rights of mankind] throughout the round globe."

Armed neutrality

Neutrality "intolerable"

Foreseeing that the war was about to assume a new phase, Germany now began to retrench in France; between March 17 and 19 her armies retired to the carefully chosen and strongly fortified "Hindenburg Line," evacuating 1,300 square miles of

French territory on a 100-mile front from Arras to Soissons. Here she assumed what was believed to be an invulnerable position, come what might, and one which could be held without anxiety until the success of the submarine program was achieved. Even if America entered the war it was not believed that she could largely augment the Allied armies under twenty-four or thirty months. By that time Germany believed that England would be brought to her knees and American aid would have arrived too late.

Germany prepares for America's entry into the war

Despite the regret which many Americans felt at our not having declared war upon the sinking of the *Lusitania*, it is now plain that the delay brought some very genuine material and psychological advantages. We had had time, for instance, to learn the business of, and perfect the machinery for, the manufacture of high explosives and of the scores of strange appliances and engines of this newest warfare. Again, the four most important agencies for carrying on the war, the Federal Reserve Bank System, the National Defense Act, the Council of National Defense, and the Shipping Board, were all created and ready for their giant tasks in 1917. More important still, we had had time also to look upon a world at war with new and serious eyes. We had had time to confirm ourselves in our opinion that this bestial thing, War, was wholly incompatible with civilization; time to become ready to dedicate ourselves anew to the principles which had for long been dear to us—the creation of a world which should arbitrate its differences more and go to war over them less.

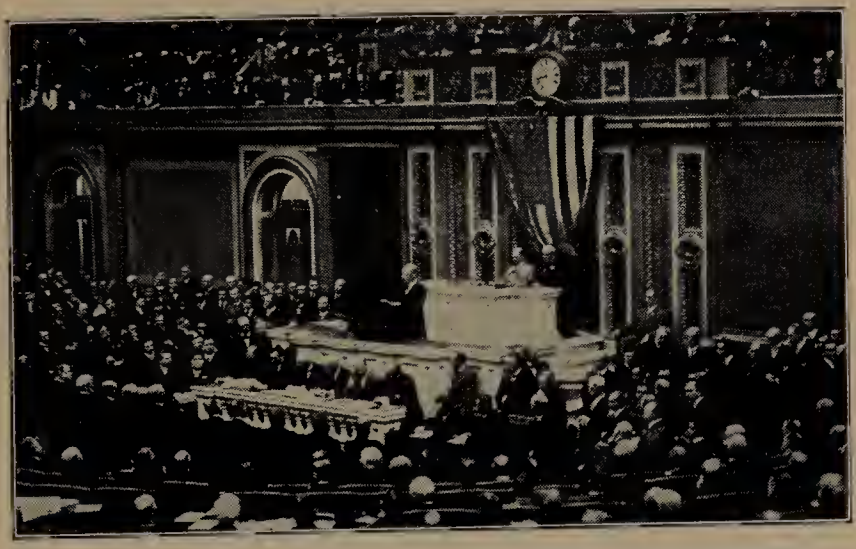
The advantages of America's delay

In well-chosen words President Wilson had expressed this theory before the United States Senate January 22, 1917. His central idea was that the present war must end only by the leading powers of the world agreeing to something like an international Monroe Doctrine by which no nation should seek to extend its influence over any other nation or people but that "every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of de-

"Self-determination"

velopment, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful." This was to be achieved, in President Wilson's mind, by a Concert of Powers or League of Nations which should supplant the international anarchy of rival armies, rival armaments, and Prussian types of diplomacy. The Allies at first failed to catch the vision which he pictured, particularly when he spoke of a "peace without victory"—forgetful of the

League of Nations broached



President Wilson Reading His War Message to Congress, April 2, 1917

fact that it is never a sound theory of discipline to try to secure moral progress by failing to punish crime where there is no change of mind. More and more, however, the sentiment which finally brought the United States into the war prevailed. Enthusiasts at home and abroad hailed the day when America should join the contest for the purpose of setting the world's house in order after the fight was won. The hard-headed statesmen among the Allies welcomed it (even with that indigestible ideal) since American resources promised to be a controlling factor in gaining the victory.

The need of American resources

On April 2, 1917, President Wilson took the final, momentous step by asking Congress to declare war in order that the United States might have an active part in bringing about the "universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself free at last." It is important to remember that our administration entered the war for a specific purpose—that from ashes and cinders a safer world might arise, guided by a concert of nations imbued with high ideals. While many did not sympathize with this idealism, the nation strongly favored the President in his action. Very many felt that the consequences of German victory would affect all the world seriously.

President Wilson's idealism

Congress immediately voted, 455 to 56, in favor of a declaration of war, and, on April 6, President Wilson issued a proclamation declaring that a state of war existed between our country and the Imperial German Government.

War declared

READING LIST

Seymour, Chaps. 4 and 5; Bassett, Chap. 3; Horst von der Goltz, *My Adventures as a German Secret Agent; Report Senate Committee of Inquiry into German Propaganda;* Rogers, Appendix; A. C. McLaughlin, *The Great War: From Spectator to Participant* (Series No. 2 War Information, No. 6).

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Compare Washington's policy of morality with the tenets of Prussianism. Why was the suggestion in the Zimmermann Note a greater menace to Mexico than to the United States? Compare our motives in entering the Great War to those which led us to enter the Spanish-American War and the War of 1812. What are the lawful activities of agents and spies (a) in an enemy's country and (b) in a neutral country? How very differently did Nathan Hale (see Biographical Sketches) use the word "necessity" from the Prussian use of it in connection with the invasion of Belgium? Distinguish between the acts of Germany which violated American neutrality and those which involved abuse of diplomatic privilege. Define neutrality, espionage, sabotage.

Section 64. America on a War Basis

The United States threw itself into the war with typical energy and, despite blunders and some misdirection of effort, more than met the expectations of her Allies in the three great tasks of (a) providing the sinews of war, (b) helping to master the sea, and (c) manning the battle-sectors of France with fresh troops.

Our three tasks

What it would cost to do our duty was pretty plainly indi-

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THE FIRST AMERICAN TROOPS TO ARRIVE IN LONDON

cated by the fact that all belligerents had expended in the first three years of war the unheard-of sum of about one hundred billion dollars. The daily expense of the war was then $117,000,000. Just as the South thought that the North would not precipitate war in 1861 because it loved money-making too much, so Germany thought the United States would not enter a costly struggle because

The cost of war

we were so pleased with the profits it was already bringing us. In each case altruism mightily outweighed selfishness, and the United States in 1917 readily faced an estimated expenditure of a sum in one year of war ($12,067,278,679.07) greater, by twenty-eight millions, than the total expense of running our government through the preceding seventeen years. Moreover, we assumed this with the public announcement that we would refuse any recompense in shape of indemnity at its close. It was much to risk for a principle—were principles not the most priceless things in the world.

THE FEDERAL RESERVE DISTRICTS. (Showing also the divisions of standard time.)

Financing Armageddon

Immediately (April) Congress authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow seven billion dollars, giving bonds and certificates of indebtedness as collateral. In September the Department was ordered to borrow twelve and a half billions more on bonds, war-saving certificates, and short-term notes. In each case the Department was authorized to lend money to our Allies, and seven billions of dollars were devoted to this purpose.

New taxes

New taxation laws, especially on non-essentials, were laid to meet this increase of expenditure; the income tax

and excess profits tax were devised for the same purpose. Our people were asked to lend money to the government through "Liberty Loans" May 24 (two billions) and September 24 (three billions). Their eagerness for the cause is illustrated by the fact that these loans were oversubscribed by more than fifty per cent. "Liberty Loans"

Exceedingly fortunate it was at this moment that our Federal Reserve Bank system was in operation; these banks, in their respective zones, acted as agents of publicity for the Treasury Department, took subscriptions to the Loans, and issued the bonds therefor. Had it been necessary to create such a medium for this work, it would have been materially delayed. Reserve Banks

For the enormous task of raising and fitting armies, both in camp, in the home, and on the farm, and for mobilizing the nation's industries and resources, many new agencies had to be created. Chief among these was the granting to the President of very great powers. Many had opposed this tendency in our past history, as in the case of giving Lincoln extraordinary powers. But in the main we as a people always recognized the good sense of Hamilton's argument made more than a century ago: "The idea of restraining the legislative authority in the means of providing for the national defense, is one of those refinements which owe their origin to a zeal for liberty more ardent than enlightened." In granting President Wilson enormous powers, over and above those common to his position as Commander-in-chief of our armies, Congress centralized authority and made expedition and efficiency possible. The powers of the President

The most important government agency for ordering our affairs in these bewildering days was, like the Federal Reserve system, already in existence. This was the Council of National Defense, created in August, 1916, "for the coördination of industries and resources for the national security and welfare." Six members of the President's Cabinet composed this Council, but the actual work was done through an Advisory Commission The Council of National Defense

which organized fifteen advisory agencies, boards, or commissions. Among the most prominent of these was the War Industries Board which acted as a government clearing house for war industry needs. An agency of almost equal importance was created by a Food and Fuel Control Act (August 10). Under the direction of Herbert Hoover as Food Administrator this organization attempted to protect both producer and consumer

War Industries Board

An Airplane Flight in Formation

against speculation, manipulation, unfair middleman's contracts, artificial scarcity, speculative "corners," and extortions. Through it the government could requisition the necessaries for army and navy, and, under Mr. Hoover's efficient management, a vast country-wide campaign for conserving food supplies through the aid of innumerable women's organizations was conducted. Simultaneously a Food Administration Grain Corporation was established with a capital of fifty mil-

The Food Administration Grain Corporation

lions, wholly subscribed by the government, to buy and sell grain. Later (October), by Presidential proclamation, important and inclusive classes of foods were brought under Federal control, including virtually the whole machinery of their manufacture and distribution.

The Shipping Board

As in the case of the Council of National Defense and Reserve Bank system, so, too, in the Shipping Board, we had an agency formed in pre-war days of great value, and quite ready for service. This Board (created by an Act of September 7, 1916) consisted of five members with broad powers to advise and regulate the rates and practices of water carriers in domestic commerce. To it came, naturally, gigantic and vital tasks upon the outbreak of the war, for it was to our resources in shipping that our Allies looked for America's first important contribution to the great cause. Soon after war was declared the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation was formed as the agency of the Shipping Board, with a capital of fifty millions, also subscribed by the government. This agency contracted for, and managed the construction of, new ships and completed the construction of the commandeered ships then building. Such was the energy displayed that, by December, 1918, the Board had under construction on its own contracts 884 ships and was bringing to completion 426 others which were building in this country on private or foreign account. These ships had a total tonnage of three million tons. The Board's program called for the completion of ten million tons of new vessels by 1919. Likewise the Federal Trade Commission (1914), previously mentioned, came to have exceedingly important powers as the war broke out, since its duty of investigating prices and costs of such products as steel, oil, and coal determined what the government should pay for munitions and supplies. Again, under the Food and Fuel Control Act, President Garfield of Williams College was appointed Fuel Administrator. Many complications arose in administrating suc-

Emergency Fleet Corporation

Federal Trade Commission

Fuel Administrator

cessfully this highly important office, but the coöperation of every fuel consumer was invoked, the wasting of fuel was curtailed, and some relief from the great demand for coal, and the consequent pressure on the nation's transportation facilities, was secured.

All of these efforts toward putting the country on an efficient war basis, however, would have been of slight value but for the intelligent handling of the transportation problem. Fortunately the railway men of America were of an exceptionally high caliber and were inspired by a superb type of patriotism. In December the government took over the control and management of the railroads; they were put in charge of a Director

Government control of transportation

The Zigzag Course of Transports at Sea

General of Railroads, William G. McAdoo. The lines remained in the hands of their former operators, however, but these formed at once a loyal army of a million and three quarters of men to operate the 693 lines under their charge with no thought but for victory. A Transportation and Communication Committee of one, consisting of Daniel E. Willard, as-

sisted by a committee on national defense of the American Railway Association, worked out a program of marked efficiency in reducing unnecessary freight and passenger traffic and in devoting all railroad facilities to war problems. In achieving this efficiency a real factor was the Priority Act (August 6). The administration of this act forbade the use of cars for unessential freight and employed wise discrimination in allowing certain freights prior right of way as necessity, the seasons, and other considerations of exigency demanded.[1]

Priority Act

But the war called for a mobilization of the intellectual, moral, and religious resources of the nation as well as the material. Various governmental and semi-governmental agencies supplied this need. The Committee on Public Information, consisting of three Cabinet members and a civilian chairman, was established by executive order (April 14) as an official channel of information concerning the purposes and conduct of the war. Sixteen subsidiary committees assisted in this work and, so far as the committee took the public into its confidence, its work was a success. New acts making plain to the blindest where lay the path of patriotism were passed by Congress. The Espionage Act (June 15) warned people not to pass on to the enemy information which should give the latter "comfort"; and the "Trading with the Enemy Act" (October 6) increased the President's powers, beyond the limit set by the "Espionage Act," in dealing with persons of criminal intent. These powers, by executive order, the President passed on to various committees. Such semi-official organizations as the Red Cross, Young Men's Christian Association, Salvation Army,

Committee on Public Information

Espionage Act

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[1]We saw, in the case of the Civil War, that the North waged the struggle (until its last year) without proper centralization of power (p. 340). In the Great War that failing was not present. To illustrate how efficiently centralization was secured the following lines are quoted from one of Mr. McAdoo's letters to the president of a great railway system: ". . . I speak thus frankly because I feel that you ought to know that a change in the management of the —— Railroad will be inevitable unless better results are speedily obtained."

and Knights of Columbus were given an enormous backing by the American people, as is indicated by the success of the "drives" conducted to raise money for their support.

While the call thus went out to men and women of every class and in every line of industry to become "soldiers for freedom," organized labor, under the leadership of Samuel Gompers, rallied patriotically to the country's cause. The American Federation of Labor (November 19) voted (21,579 to 402) for the energetic and whole-hearted prosecution of the war. Under the direction of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense a

The patriotism of organized labor

Inspection of Recruits at an American Cantonment

Committee on Labor was formed, which, in turn, appointed eight national subcommittees to strive for the health, welfare, and efficiency of all workers in those vital industries upon which the success of the great adventure into world war depended.

Thus, in briefest outline, the people of the United States arose to the occasion and furnished, as we shall see, a mighty army for the Allied cause. The brain-power and executive ability of the nation could never, under any circumstances, have offered itself more readily and heartily to a national undertaking. Nor could the country have found many leaders better fitted to inspire a whole people to its duty and its opportunity than President Wilson seemed to be. This should be recognized now because, in the politics of peace and reconstruction of the world,

many differed with him in policy and lost confidence in him. In no crisis of our country's history has a chief executive ever reflected in public addresses and State papers more perfectly the spirit and purpose of our nation. If it seems from the accounts written by those close to him that the Cabinet was compelled to urge President Wilson forward in the crucial days of 1917, it is also clear that most of the agencies that brought us success in the war were being created in those days of waiting and anxiety.

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Seymour, Chaps. 6 and 7; F. L. Paxson, "The American War Government," *American Historical Review*, October, 1920; Bassett, Chaps. 5–9; *Handbook of Economic Agencies for the War of 1917* (Monograph No. 3 of Hist. Branch, War Plans Div.); Paxson, Chaps. 48–53.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Compare the centralization of governmental power 1917–1918 to that which occurred 1861–1865. Compare the economic conditions in the North in Civil War days to those prevailing in our country in 1917–1918. Why in war times is the criticism of the administration party highly objectionable? Why was President Wilson's advice to voters in 1920 to keep the Democratic party in power considered bad taste by many? What national agencies most successfully furthered America's getting on a war basis? What work did non-combatants do in your city or section? Explain the exact service of the Federal Reserve system at this time.

Section 65. "Old Glory" in France

The task of raising armies fit to meet the crisis in Europe and transport them thither in safety now confronted our Nation. The energy displayed—despite our inexperience with war as it was then being fought abroad— was typically American; the quality of privates who carried "Old Glory" to new glories on the battlefields of France and Italy proved that the American soldier of 1917 was the equal of any adversary—and more.

The task of raising armies

Fortunately the Spanish-American War had taught us some last few lessons needed in the matter of army organization. In

1903 President Roosevelt's efficient Secretary of War, Elihu Root, had pushed through Congress an act which put to an end the old system by which one man, a Major-General, was the responsible head of our American army. This Act created a General Staff Corps. This Staff, while presided over by a "Chief of Staff," consisted of a group of high army officers in whose combined hands lay the planning and direction of all our military organization. Under this Staff, for instance, certain schools for the training of army specialists had been encouraged as never before. A new type of army officer and a new type of army organization was the result. Although not aided by Congress, as it should have been, this General Staff developed ideas of what an army ought to be and in 1917 was able to carry those ideas effectually into operation.

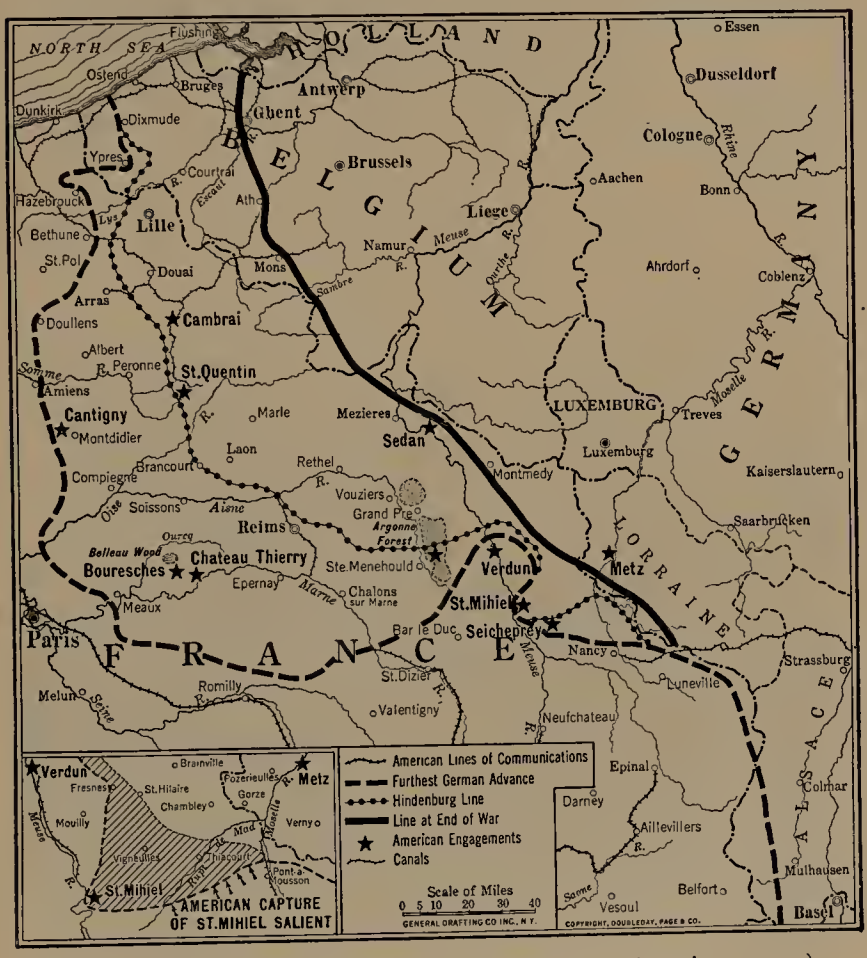
Origin of the General Staff

General Pershing at the Tomb of Lafayette

For example, it urged that the old worn-out voluntary enlistment system should be abolished. This was done. By the Selective Service Act of May 18, 1917, all men between the ages of 21 and 31 were enrolled for military service. Of this number local draft boards chose by lot those who should form the new army contingents; these were hurried off to one or the other of sixteen great camps or cantonments, conveniently located throughout

The Selective Service Act

the country, for training. Congress authorized the President to draft 500,000 of these men at once for training and ordered the regular army to be increased by volunteers for that service to



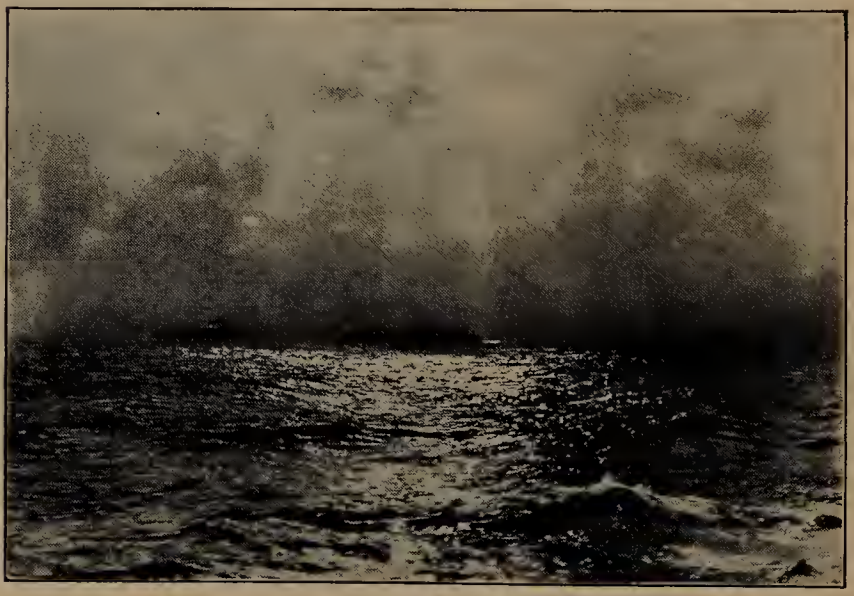
THE BATTLE LINE IN FRANCE. (Including the American zone.)

287,000 men. The very serious task of providing officers fit to command men was undertaken as energetically as was the task of raising armies to be officered; it proved the more difficult task of the two. From April to December, 1917, the number of officers was increased from about 13,000 to over 110,000; many

of these men proved of excellent character and ability—the bravest of the brave.

At the outset our government did not anticipate sending troops to Europe earlier than the spring of 1918. Little was it dreamed that before 1917 had expired nearly a quarter of a million men in American uniform would be on French soil or bound thither. This unexpected alacrity was brought about by the insistent plea to our government made by a commission sent by our Allies (prominent on which was France's hero, General Joffre, and England's statesman, Mr. Balfour) which informed our authorities and our people of the des-

A European commission urges instant aid from the United States



Silhouettes at Sea. (Army transports under convoy to France.)

perate need there was in France for tangible proof of America's firm purpose to aid and of her ability to do so. This change in our plans was made possible partly because of the efficiency of our newly formed Shipping Board—and England's ability to protect our ships in trans-Atlantic service. The Shipping Board bought and built ships until, by November 1, 1918, it

had 431 in service. We must always remember, when criticisms are uttered concerning mistakes which were made in these hurried days, that the United States felt "honor bound" to place regiments in France much earlier than might reasonably have been expected. Haste makes waste; but a dilatory policy might have made something worse—might have cost us millions of lives instead of thousands.

The feat of the Shipping Board

In answer to our Allies' plea General John J. Pershing, commander of the proposed American Expeditionary Force, arrived with his staff in Paris June 13, 1917. Whether or not he exclaimed, as he was reported, "Lafayette, We Are Here," as he placed a wreath upon that gallant hero's tomb, the words well echoed the fervent sentiment of the American people. Time will probably show that General Pershing, laboring under gigantic handicaps due to his inexperience and that of the officers under him in the type of warfare then in vogue in Europe, performed his task well. The "First Division" of troops to arrive were men of the regular army whom Pershing had commanded in Mexico. It was soon followed by the "Second Division" and further contingents at the average rate of 10,000 men a day for five consecutive months. At the end we had more than two million soldiers overseas and as many more in training at home.

Pershing arrives in France

The First and Second Divisions arrive

But both regulars and others—officers and men—needed training in France under officers acquainted with war as it was there being fought. It was settled at once that American troops should ultimately occupy the eastern section of the bloody battle line which ran from the English Channel through France. This section included the Argonne Forest, the battle-front above Verdun and St. Mihiel to the Moselle, south of the great citadel of Metz. Behind these final goals of future fame training camps for the American cohorts were established, with headquarters at first at Chaumont and, later, at Tours. Here the work of training the men went on so rapidly that

First disposition of our troops in France

when the terrific German drives broke toward Cambrai and Calais in March and April, 1918, American troops were fighting with French and English to stem the tide (map p. 549). On April 25 the First Division of American troops took over a portion of the line near Montdidier, and on May 28 they attacked and captured the town of Cantigny. The ability shown in this first operation without assistance was very satisfactory. By June the Second Division

Montdidier and Cantigny

Cutting the Railroad to Metz

went into line at Bouresches and the Third Division near Château-Thierry. The Fifth and Sixth regiments of marines in the Second Division stopped dead the German drive near Belleau Wood west of Bouresches only thirty miles from Paris. During the week following the Wood was attacked and finally cleared of Germans. These minor successes were small in one sense but very great in another. They showed that the American "doughboy" was worth his weight in radium to France. In the last German drive (beginning July 14) our

Belleau Wood

Third Division retired temporarily from its position on the south bank of the Marne; then it attacked powerfully. Its deportment has been described by General Pershing as "one of the most brilliant pages in military annals." The 38th regiment held its ground against an attack of two German regiments and captured 600 prisoners (map p. 549).

The Third Division at the Marne

With the German advance stopped and the American divisions consolidated, our soldiers hailed the day when "American drives" could be directed upon the foe. To the "First Army" (500,000 Americans and 70,000 French) was given the task, September 12, of attacking the strategic St. Mihiel sector. In two days the work was su-

St. Mihiel

An American Ambulance Train, Camouflaged Against Attack from Above

perbly accomplished, 16,000 prisoners, 443 guns, and great quantities of stores being captured. Expecting further advance on the part of Uncle Sam's khaki-colored demons who thrived so lustily on St. Mihiel, the German army staff was

surprised to find General Pershing, on September 26, striking with a powerful army at the vital Meuse-Argonne line behind which lay the precious Metz-Sedan road. With Sedan lost, German troops might have to be withdrawn from the entire region—if not from France itself. In the open the Americans rushed forward at a rate roadmakers could not equal, while those attacking in the Argonne Forest (a line eight miles in length) moved more slowly but no less certainly forward. By the 10th the Forest had been conquered and our troops were in touch with the French who had been coming forward on their right. With far-famed Sedan just beyond, the last weeks of October saw the Americans take the bit in their teeth, and lunge irresistibly onward to Landreset-St. George (October 24) and to the prize of the great campaign, Sedan, November 6. Five days later the Armistice was signed and the war was over.

Sedan threatened

In the Argonne Forest

At Sedan

Splendid as were these campaigns in eastern France, the American uniform was seen at many points in that war-engulfed Old World. The Second Corps had operated with the British near St. Quentin, at Brancourt, and on the Selle River. The 332d Regiment served in Italy and fought on the Piave River. Various companies served in Russia against the Bolshevists; 9,000 Americans were sent to Siberia where they coöperated with the Allies in protecting the Siberian Railway. On the high seas our navy threw its weight in on the side of England and her allies at a most opportune moment. Our 1916 naval program was instantly discarded with the outbreak of the war. Work on heavier ships was suspended and all efforts were bent toward the construction of submarine destroyers. When we entered the war (April-May, 1917) the destruction of Allied shipping by German submarines was at its height; thereafter it steadily declined. In guarding transports, shipping lanes, and coast-lines, in laying mines and coöperating effectually with their allies, our sailors and commanders maintained high the old-time prestige of the American navy.

St. Quentin

Our navy maintains its ancient prestige

Only in after years, when all the documents in the case can be examined, will historians be able to declare with assurance the relative merits of the tactics and operations of the great number of officers, American and Allied, engaged in the titanic struggle which was suddenly brought to a close November 11, 1918. Each nation claims, and rightly so, its fair share in the honor of whipping a foe of masterly ability and courage. Whatever may be the verdict of the future as to the relative merits of commanders, divisions, and regiments, no fair-minded person but agrees that American soldiers put their whole weight on the scales in a critical hour, and, with an earnestness and valor never surpassed in history, won for themselves and their country a fame that will forever live.

The valor of the American soldier a nation's heritage

READING LIST

Seymour, Chaps. 8 and 9; Bassett, Chaps. 9–14; J. Pershing, *Report to the Secretary of War*, *N. Y. Times Current History*, Jan. and Feb., 1920; Paxson, Chap. 54.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

What poor military policies common to our other wars were abandoned when we entered the Great War? What did ex-President Roosevelt mean when he said at Camp Dodge: "It will be easier for you men to explain, after the war, why you wore a uniform than to explain why you didn't"? Why was it said that the spirit of the American soldiers resembled the spirit of the Crusaders? What characteristics made our soldiers adept in mastering the art of war that was being employed in Europe? What part had athletic training had in this result? Why was it easier to make good soldiers than good officers? Should we have more West Points? Why did Pershing's alleged remark at Lafayette's Tomb awaken so hearty a response from our people? General Ludendorff has said (*Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1922): "If one reflects once more on the history of the Great War one has no doubt that, by the behavior of the United States, the Entente felt encouraged to begin the war and to carry it on, till, at the end, American interference in France, and at the same time the growing propaganda, made the Allies win the war." State in your own words this German authority's opinion of the value of American intervention. (See Ludendorff's article for numerous tributes to American influences, the tactical excellence of American military operations, and the bravery of our soldiers.)

Section 66. A Treaty and a League

President Wilson's Fourteen Points

In the midsummer of 1917 Pope Benedict XV proposed a plan to bring peace to the warring world. The effort did not bring the hoped-for result. Prompted by such propositions President Wilson formulated a program on which he believed all men really desirous of peace could meet. The plan contained his famous Fourteen Points. These may be summarized as follows: 1. "*Open covenants openly arrived at.*" This meant

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THE HALL OF MIRRORS AT VERSAILLES. (Arranged for the signing of the Treaty.)

that secret treaties and pacts should no longer be permitted and that negotiations should be carried on without the old-time covering of secrecy. 2. *Freedom of the Seas.* By this the President meant that the time-honored laws of neutrality should be strictly observed. 3. *Equality of Trade Regulations.* Germany had claimed that she was not given "fair play" in world commerce. This third point called for fair play among nations and

the doing away with special privileges and favoritism. 4. *Reduction of Armaments.* All men have decried the expensive competition among nations over armies and navies. This is what led to the Washington Conference on Disarmament in 1922. 5. *Readjustment of Rival Claims to Colonies.* This point sought to settle some of the jealousies which rival nations have felt at encroachment on colonies they considered their own. It also proposed that the peoples of such colonies should have a voice in the settlement of their political fates. 6. *Restoring Russian Territory.* In March, 1917, Czar Nicholas II had been deposed from the throne of Russia and a Russian Republic established. The United States favored the new Republic and this point specified that all occupied Russian territory must be restored. 7. *Restoration of Belgium.* 8. *Restoration of Invaded Portions of France and the Return of Alsace-Lorraine to France.* The province of Alsace-Lorraine had been taken from France by Germany in 1871. The seizure was not justifiable and the people desired to be returned to France. 9. *Alteration of Italian Boundary.* This point favored giving back to Italy certain borderlands in which Italians lived but which had been annexed in former years by Austria-Hungary. 10. *Independence for Austro-Hungarian Peoples.* This "nation" was a collection of various races; some of them aspired to autonomy and President Wilson favored their dreams of independence. 11. *Readjustment in the Balkans.* This point looked forward to a settlement of long-standing rivalries of the nations in the Balkan Peninsula and favored Serbia's desire to have an outlet to the Adriatic Sea. 12. *Freedom of Peoples Suffering Under Turkish Rule.* This applied to such races as the Armenian which had long desired to escape the domination of the Turk. It also demanded that the Dardanelles (the strait between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean) should be internationalized—that is, be free of access to all nations. 13. *Poland Independent.* This brave people had long fought and dreamed of independence and of an outlet to the sea. This point favored these aspirations. 14. *A League of Nations to Secure to All Nations, Great and Small, Political*

Independence and Territorial Security. This point will be discussed later.

The principles expressed in the "Fourteen Points" were received favorably in Germany, especially when the tide of war set against the Kaiser's armies in 1918. Among our European allies the points relating to indemnities and reparations were acceptable. Those concerning the "self-determination" ambition of subject States, and those which favored a league to enforce peace, were deemed visionary and impracticable by many both at home and abroad. When, on October 5, 1918, the German Chancellor asked President Wilson to take steps looking toward a truce and a peace it was made plain that the German people felt that in such idealism as was expressed by the "Fourteen Points" lay their principal hope of a generous "way out" from their difficulties. That request put, so to speak, the reins in President Wilson's hands.

The reception of the "Fourteen Points" abroad and at home

President Wilson asked to intervene

From now on to the signing of the Armistice, on November 11, 1918, our President bent his energies to fashion a treaty of peace which would embody his "Fourteen Points"—including a permanent League of Nations which should put the principles of those Points into practice. Many believed that a peace with the Central Powers and a league to protect the world from war were two different propositions and should not be confused. The Armistice of November 11 called for a meeting at Paris of peace commissioners from every belligerent country to draw up the Treaty of Versailles, as it came to be known. The American commissioners, appointed by the President, were himself, his intimate friend Colonel Edward M. House, Robert Lansing, Secretary of State Henry White, former ambassador to Italy and France, and General Tasker H. Bliss. These men individually were of credit to the country. Many were disappointed, however, that international experts and jurists like ex-President Taft and Elihu Root were not appointed on the commission. The

He fashions a Treaty and a League

The American commissioners

President and his commission took with them to Paris a draft of the Peace-and-League document which President Wilson had prepared. It laid down principles of a peace with the Central Powers and also created the nucleus of an international organization which should supplant the weak Hague Tribunals of former years.

President Wilson was received in Paris, London, and Rome with overwhelming enthusiasm by the people. Thousands looked upon him as a spokesman of a new age—the time long foretold when war should cease to devastate the earth. His draft of a Treaty-and-League went before the brilliant assembly of commissioners when they met January 18, 1919. For long months the discussion and revision of it went on. The final draft contained 440 articles and was ready for the signatures of the contracting parties in June, 1919. When signed by them it had to be ratified by the lawful treaty-making powers of their respective governments.[1] The ratifying power in our country is the United States Senate, as we have seen. As the months passed strong objection to the portions of the Treaty which dealt with the League of Nations developed in the United States, led by the prominent Republican Senator from Massachusetts, Henry Cabot Lodge. Many of the specific criticisms levelled at the proposed League were weak. Stress was laid by these objectors on Article X of the document, which seemed to make it obligatory on every contracting nation to go to war automatically under

President Wilson's reception in Europe

Objections to a Treaty-and-League settlement in the United States

Article X

[1]The main purpose of the Covenant (or constitution of the League) was to eliminate the likelihood of future wars. The machinery to carry on the work consists of a Permanent Court of Justice, a Council and an Assembly. In the Assembly sit representatives of each signatory State; it meets once each year at Geneva, Switzerland, on the first Monday in September. The Council consists of representatives of the four or five largest States, augmented by four other elected members from other States. The Court of Justice (now consisting of eleven judges and four deputy judges) was to be planned by the Council and approved by the assembly. The Covenant specified that the League would in no wise interfere with America's Monroe Policy.

certain circumstances. They pointed out that the United States could not be brought into a war automatically, for the Constitution required that war must be declared by the American Congress.[1] The real, underlying objection to the Treaty-and-League was, however, that abiding American prejudice against "entangling alliances." Confident, to an incredulous degree, in the belief that the American people sympathized wholly with his ideals for world-peace, President Wilson and the other American commissioners joined with the representatives of the other nations and signed the treaty of peace June 28, 1919.

Prejudice against "entangling alliances"

For one thing particularly the treaty should be remembered with patriotic pride. We had entered into the war with the declaration that we sought no material gain. The treaty gave us none. President Wilson returned home immediately to lead a fight for the ratification of the treaty by a hostile Senate. He stumped the country in its defense and became seriously ill because of over-exertion.

The Senate (opposed from the beginning to ratification without reservations), on November 19 by a vote of 38 to 53, refused to ratify the treaty without reservations. Attempts to ratify with reservations had previously failed. The Democratic party, still guided by the invalid President, went before the people of the country in the presidential election of 1920 to demand their verdict on the question which the Senate had settled with a negative vote. The Democratic candidate, James M. Cox of Ohio, was defeated by the Republican candidate, Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio, by a popular plurality of nearly seven million and an electoral plurality of 277. While opposing the existing Treaty-and-League

The Senate refuses to ratify it

The election of 1920

[1]Article X of the Covenant reads that if hostilities threaten "the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation [of military coöperation] shall be fulfilled." Advocates of the Covenant pointed out that the United States would never be "advised" to participate in any war without first having the constitutional sanction or Act of Congress which is required by our Constitution.

written by President Wilson, the Republican party favored a treaty with Germany and proceeded to contract one. It also favored an association of nations which should lessen the likelihood of war. How sincerely it held this view and how determinedly its leaders, such as Senator Lodge, were to put it into practice will be seen.

READING LIST

1. American View: Seymour, Chaps. 10–14; E. M. House and C. Seymour (ed.) *What Really Happened at Paris;* C. H. Haskins and R. H. Lord, *Some Problems of the Peace Conference;* R. Lansing, *The Peace Negotiations;* Paxson, Chap. 55.
2. English View: H. W. V. Temperley (ed.) *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris.*
3. French View: André Tardieu, *The Truth About the Treaty.*

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Would you agree that Wilson's "Fourteen Points" might be objected to on the ground that they interfered with Europe's "primary interests" as Monroe (p. 238) used those words in establishing the Monroe Doctrine? Have the "primary interests" of Europe become international interests to-day? Have ours? What part of American objection to a League Covenant arose from (a) an old prejudice against "entangling alliances", (b) the unpopularity of its chief promoter, (c) political prejudice, (d) honest conviction that the League would "not work"? If America had been represented by a non-partizan Commission would the League have been more popular? If the Senate had been fully consulted and asked for advice? Would a popular referendum have agreed with the Senate's verdict? Should we have more popular control over our foreign policies? What of our wars would not have been declared if the question had been submitted to a referendum? Would that be wise when war threatens?

Section 67. The Washington Conference and Recent Events

Great relief was felt the world over when the titanic war with the Central Powers was terminated with the armistice of November 11, 1918. Overtaxed nerves found an outlet in hysterical demonstrations of joy in the Allied nations. When the news of the armistice reached one division of the American army a

six-footer of a corporal, strong as an ox and "hard as nails," fainted to the ground when the company baker extended to him, without warning, a platter of hot "raised" biscuits. The incident shows to what pitch the tension had strung men up. With the passing of the hours of jubilation people attempted to settle back into the old ways of doing things and to reconstruct a world economically and psychically upset.

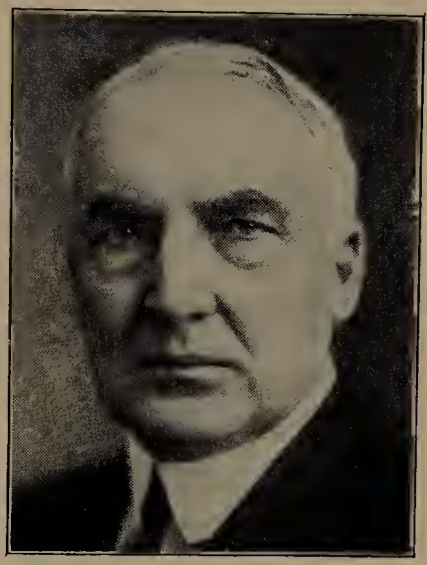
The aftermath of the Great War

The task was greater than most foresaw. The ways of peace are not those of war; and when the call came "As You Were" it was found difficult to obey it. Thousands of industrial plants had turned from the manufacture of implements of peace to those of war. They had to be reconstructed and a market for other goods found. Almost everywhere governments had "taken over" many private enterprises, plants, and systems of communication by land and by water. When these were to be turned back to the private owners it was found that in the rush of war days no proper attention had been given to upkeep and the properties were much the worse for wear. Prices of the necessaries of life, and wages, had mounted to unknown heights. Neither could come down quickly, although only slowly could markets be found for goods. Thus between the upper millstone of the high cost of living and the nether millstone of a falling wage scale (due to poor selling conditions) labor seemed about to be ground to pieces. But a nation with vast resources is always buoyant in a crisis like this, and the United States suffered far less than did her allies. As we have seen, the number of strikes in our country in either 1919 or 1920 was considerably less than in 1916—before we entered the war. But conditions were serious, and the land was not without preachers of sedition and radicalism, as we shall see.

Industrial demoralization

Many bureaus and departments, public and private, which had served us in war days, were now abolished, throwing thousands who had been true patriots out of work. Thousands had left good jobs to serve their nation in one capacity or another. Often, on returning, they found the jobs filled or the business

changed or abolished. Thousands returned home physically unfitted to take their old jobs. Great numbers, while not actually ill, were psychically unfit for any job; too many of these forlorn, war-shocked individuals became petty criminals. Thousands of citizens had patriotically gone without some of the so-called "necessities" of life in these days; on the other hand, numbers had "profiteered" wickedly during the crisis. Of the true patriots we heard little; of the ghouls who had sacrificed honor for profit we heard much. It unsettled some men's faith, bred class hatred and incipient anarchy. Every nation had incurred a monstrous debt, which had to be paid by additional taxes. Thousands of homes were glorified without, but made still and dark within, by a golden star in the window; thousands of men had been maimed for life. War's aftermath is as real as war; and to meet its hardships people are not buoyed up by the patriotic fervor which stimulates them to every sacrifice while war is on.



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WARREN G. HARDING

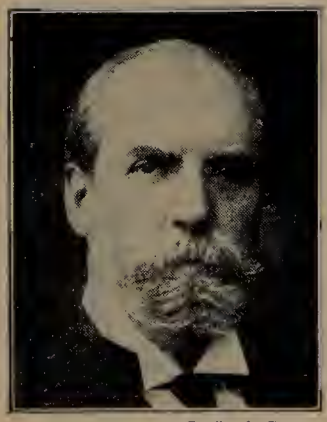
You see, then, the situation. It was another "critical period" in our history—a time when anything could happen if men did not hold true to the principles of honest living and honest thinking. In 1917 the Russian monarchy was overthrown in a republican revolution. In the autumn of that year the reins of government were captured by Russian socialists and the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic was established. This "government" put socialist principles into practice more fully than has been attempted in modern times: (1) banks and

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic

all financial institutions were nationalized, i.e., operated by the government; (2) industries were remodelled and nationalized; and (3) lands were nationalized and given to the peasants. This "Bolshevist" government, so called from one of the Socialist groups or parties, entered into the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with the Central Powers, March 3, 1918. One of the terms of the Treaty called for demobilization of the Russian army. This desertion of the Allies by Russia was more than counterbalanced by the energy with which America prosecuted the war. Of greater peril to the cause of good government everywhere, however, was the determined effort of Russian Bolsheviki to spread their foolish ideas of "government" to all parts of the earth. Wherever radical socialists lived the gospel of Bolshevism began to be preached—planting seeds that would lead to the overthrow of private business and private initiative, which is the life of business. The propaganda of these incendiaries particularly threatened Italy, Germany, Great Britain, and Japan, but the activity of government officials suppressed it. Conditions now favored the propagation of the seductive theories of Bolshevism in our "land of the free" and the chance to do so was not neglected. Said our Assistant Secretary of State: "The Bolsheviki in Russia . . . have availed themselves of every opportunity to initiate in the United States a propaganda aimed to bring about the forcible overthrow of our present form of government."

Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

Bolshevist propaganda



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CHARLES E. HUGHES

As good citizens it is necessary for us all to recognize certain vital facts connected with every kind of propaganda. Our Constitution makes sedition illegal and punishable by heavy penalties. National statutes make the penalty for aliens deportation.

It is illegal to conspire forcibly to overthrow existing government or hinder the execution of laws. Our states are free to pass such laws against the preaching of extremists as they see fit, providing these laws do not conflict with the Constitution. On May 10, 1920, by an "Act to Deport Certain Undesirable Aliens," Congress strengthened the Sedition Act of 1909 by ordering that in every case where the question of guilt arose the Secretary of Labor's decision should be final; it also made the readmission into this country of deported aliens impossible. It reinforced other Acts, such as one punishing severely any one threatening the life of the President of the United States. On the other hand, almost every state in our Union passed laws of various kinds against sedition.

Congressional action to suppress Bolshevism

Recent months have seen some very important amendments to the Constitution passed, notably those regarding national prohibition and universal suffrage. The progress of prohibition in this country had been marked in recent years. So many great corporations, such as railways, had found that drunkenness was a source of so much inefficiency and so many accidents that they had put a ban on employes drinking. Individual states began to pass prohibition measures of various kinds, usually prohibiting the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors in their limits. In December, 1917, Congress proposed a national prohibition amendment to the Constitution. Within a month this amendment had been ratified by the necessary three fourths of the states, and on January 29, 1919, the acting Secretary of State proclaimed the amendment to be a part of the Constitution to take effect January 16, 1920. Despite the difficulties of enforcing so unheard-of a law (in a country as large as ours) success has been achieved. The "saloon" of the olden time, as a breeder of bad morals and crooked politics, no longer flourishes in our land.

State prohibition measures

National prohibition

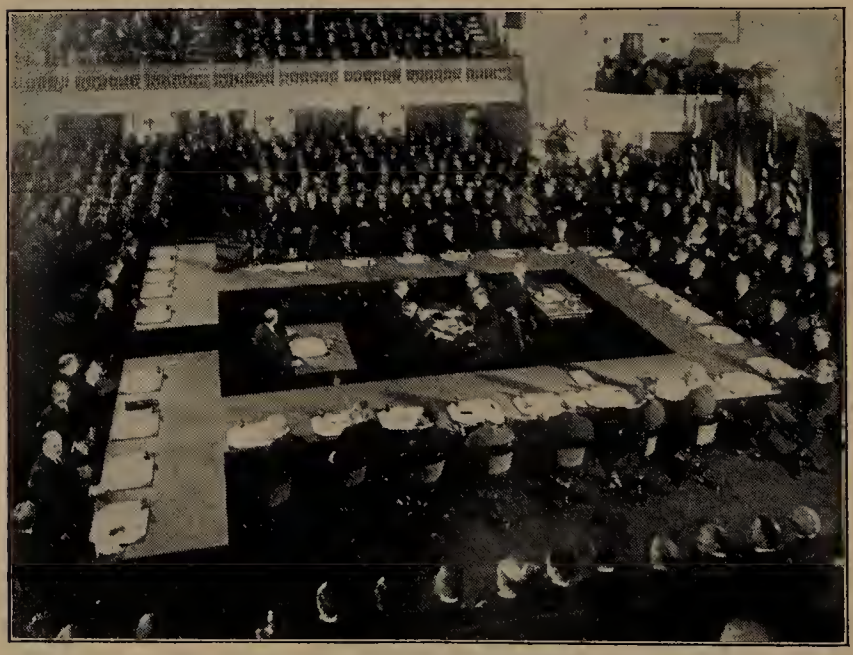
Hand in hand with the abolition of the saloon as an injurious factor in American business and political life came the extension of the suffrage to women. After repeated efforts such an

amendment was passed by the House May 21, 1919, and was endorsed by the Senate on June 4. During 1919 twenty-two states ratified this Susan B. Anthony Amendment, as it was called from one of the great pioneers for woman's suffrage. On August 18, 1920, the necessary number of states had completed ratification to make it the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

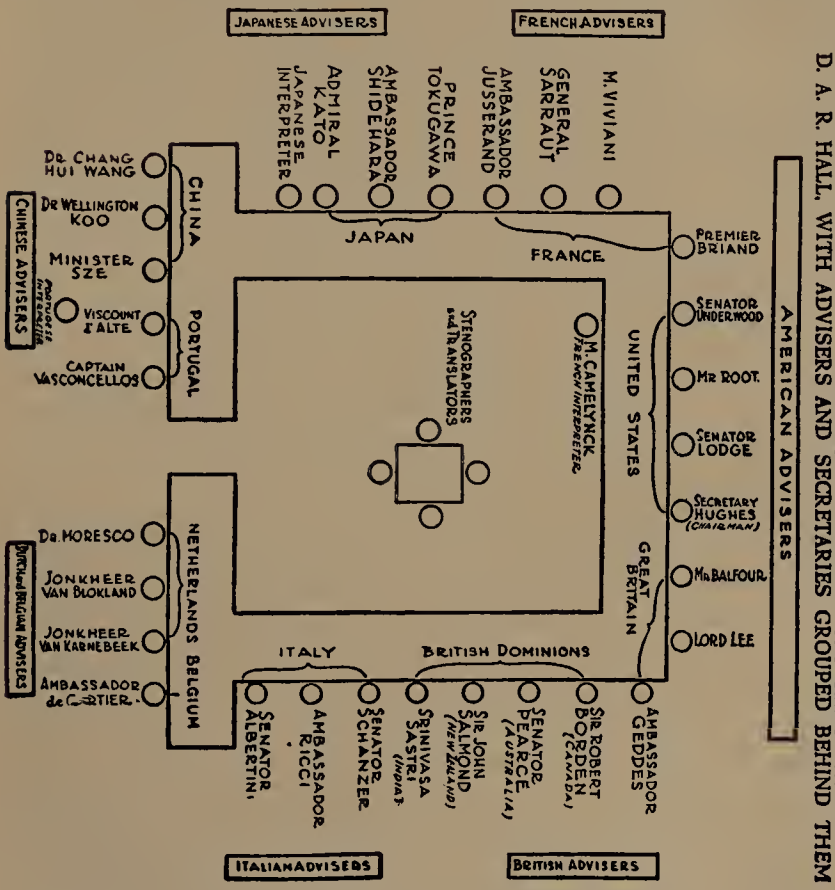
The purpose of the Republican administration to meet the hope of men who longed to see the chances of war reduced was soon satisfied by the Washington Conference on Disarmament. This, too, was a factor in helping to settle economic and psychic conditions because it now seemed to many that a war was drifting to us from across the Pacific—a war with Japan. The invitation to this Conference was issued by President Harding August 11, 1921. Interested nations were invited to send dele-

The Washington Conference



THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE IN SESSION

gations to Washington for this purpose on November 11 of that year. The following nations responded: Belgium, China, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portu-



WHERE THE DELEGATES TO THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE WERE SEATED. (*Key to picture opposite.*)

gal. The American representatives were Secretary of State Hughes and Senators H. C. Lodge and O. W. Underwood and Elihu Root. The topics proposed for discussion were: (1) limitation of naval armament, (2) rules for the conduct of new agencies of warfare, (3) limitation of land armament, (4) ques-

tions relating to China, and (5) mandated islands.[1] The conference discussed these questions from November 12, 1921, to February 6, 1922.

The conference delegates were startled at the outset by a sweeping challenge issued by Secretary Hughes for all nations there represented to stop building battleships and to scrap many they then owned. For the United States he proposed to scrap 15 ships then under construction and 15 old ships; these totalled 845,000 tons. He proposed that Great Britain scrap 583,000 tons and Japan 448,000 tons. Also he asked that no new capital ships be built for ten years and that building after that ten-year period should proceed only on a certain ratio, namely a 5-5-3 ratio, both the United States and Great Britain being allowed to build five ships each to Japan's three. After long discussion this program was agreed to. Many hailed this decision as a sign of a new day of peace; many others saw in it a destruction of the tools of war but not a wiping out of the causes of war.

Secretary Hughes's proposal for limiting naval armament

As to rules for the conduct of new agencies of war, the submarine was outlawed as a weapon to be used against merchantmen and the use of poison gas in war was prohibited. While of course only a limited number of nations agreed to these rules, they set a standard which no nation will treat with impunity in the future.

The problems of the Pacific and China were partially settled by the signing of a "Four-Power Pacific Treaty" between the United States, Japan, Great Britain, and France. This treaty had two very important articles: (1) it stated that if occasion of dispute among the signers arose the question was to be automatically submitted to, and arbitrated by, delegates representing all four powers; (2) if a question of dispute arose between one

The Four-Power Pacific Treaty

[1] In the Treaty of Versailles certain Pacific Islands (together with other territory) were temporarily awarded to the custody of various nations. The islands were to be administered by the nations to which they were assigned for a period of years. This was termed giving such nations a "mandate" (temporary control) and the islands were said to be "mandated."

of the signers and a nation not included in the treaty the signatory nation should take no action without first coming to an agreement in the matter with the three other signatory nations; (3) the treaty was to go into effect for ten years; (4) as soon as the treaty-making bodies of each nation had ratified it. This treaty is noteworthy because it signally honored the principle of arbitration for which, we have seen, the United States had long stood. It was welcomed by Americans because it abrogated the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1911, a treaty that was ambiguous and partial in its benefits because American interests in the Pacific were not taken into consideration.

As to China two arrangements were unanimously agreed upon. One established yet more firmly the "Open Door" principle which had been advocated by America since 1844. The other made a beginning of the division of Chinese customs, abolishing foreign post offices and releasing the Chinese Government from the obligation to keep funds lying in foreign banks. Again, an agreement was made between China and Japan regarding the return of the Province of Shantung to China; other agreements between China and England and France paved the way for China's getting back other territory which originally belonged to her and which had been leased to these nations.

The Open Door policy confirmed

In general, the Washington Conference marked a step forward on the long, long road toward the abolition of war because (a) it showed a willingness of statesmen to talk openly on matters which, a generation ago, would have been jealously guarded "State secrets"; (b) it offered the best proof the world has recently had that secret treaties are things of the past; and (c) it was the most democratic, open discussion in public of questions which were getting serious ever engaged in by any of the countries concerned.

Constructive results of the Washington Conference

READING LIST

F. A. Ogg, Chap. 19; H. A. Gibbons, *An Introduction to World Politics*, Chap. 49; J. H. Latané, *From Isolation to Leadership*, Chap. 12; G. Emer-

son, *The New Frontier*, Chaps. 10 and 11; G. Croly, *The Promise of American Life*, Chap. 13; Paxson, Chap. 57; J. H. Robinson, *The Mind in the Making*, Chap. 8; Fox, *Map Studies*, No. 27.

QUERY AND DISCUSSION

Compare the reconstruction problem which faced our country in 1919 and that which faced us in 1865. Compare our last Sedition Act with that of 1798 (p. 200) with reference to severity and provocation. Prohibition has been called our first great moral issue since slavery. In what way is it a moral, rather than a political, issue? What is the significance of the Four Power Treaty? Is it an "entangling alliance"? Wherein is the League of Nations an advance over the Hague Tribunals? Would you say it was as much of an improvement as the Constitution was over the Articles of Confederation? Explain the menace of a secret treaty. Has our country ever entered into one? In discussing limitation of armaments should we seek to remove a symptom or effect a cure? Did the signers of the Washington Conference agreement stop building war craft which were not proscribed by the Conference, such as airplanes and lesser men-of-war? Have we proven that growth in democracy develops public interest in international questions?

APPENDIX I

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

(These sketches give some *supplementary information* concerning most of the characters mentioned in this volume. Those are omitted whose principal reason for fame is already described in the text or of whom nothing more of importance is known than what is contained in the narrative. Emphasis has been laid on the careers of those of relatively mediocre importance, since the lives of our greatest men are easily accessible and could not be described adequately in brief form. Brief sketches are included of those American historical writers of to-day who are quoted in the text, in order that pupils may know the character of the authorities cited by the author.)

Abercrombie, James (1706–1781); born in Scotland; in command of British forces in America, 1756 and 1758; defeated at Ticonderoga, 1758; succeeded by General Amherst, 1759.

Adams, Charles Francis (1807–1886), born at Boston; edited *Boston Whig;* Graduate of Harvard, 1825; became prominent in Republican party; served in Congress, 1859–61; minister to Great Britain, 1861–68; represented U. S. on the Geneva Tribunal, 1871; unsuccessful candidate for Republican presidential nominee, 1872.

Adams, John (1735–1826); second President of U. S., 1797–1801; born at Braintree, Mass.; graduated at Harvard; admitted to bar, 1758; delegate to Continental Congress, 1774; as chairman of board of war encouraged movement for Independence; commissioner to France, 1778; minister to Great Britain, 1785; Vice-President, 1789–97.

Adams, John Quincy (1767–1848); sixth U. S. President, 1825–1829; son of John Adams; born at Braintree, Mass.; graduate of Harvard, 1787; minister to The Hague, 1794; negotiated commercial treaty with Prussia, 1799; in state senate, 1802; national senate, 1803–08; minister to Russia, 1809–14; a negotiation of Treaty of Ghent, 1814; minister to England, 1815–17; Secretary of State under Monroe, 1817–25; member of House of Representatives, 1830–1848; famous for efforts in behalf of abolition.

Adams, Samuel (1722–1803); an American political leader; second cousin of John Adams; a signer of Declaration of Independence; able and unselfish worker for American independence; member of Congress for eight years; governor of Massachusetts, 1794–1797.

Agassiz, Louis John Rudolph (1807–1873); naturalist; native of Switzerland; published five volumes on *Fossil Fishes,* 1834–44; arrived at Boston, 1846; professor of zoölogy and geology at the Lawrence Scientific School, made scientific exploration of shores of Lake Superior, later of southern coasts of U. S. of Brazil and waters of the Pacific; received many degrees and medals for valuable contributions to science.

Aguinaldo, Emilio (1870–); born on island of Luzon; of Chinese and Tagalog parentage; reared by a priest; well educated; went to Hongkong before he was twenty; learned something of European methods of warfare; led Filipino rebellion against Spain, 1896; aided Dewey against Spanish, 1898; led revolt against American authority when disappointed in expectation of Philippine independence, 1898–1901; now a prosperous farmer.

Aldrich, Nelson Wilmarth (1841–1915); for thirty years U. S. senator from Rhode Island; an authority upon tariff and financial problems; a large share of credit is due him for the Federal Reserve banking system.

Allen, Ethan (1737–1789); migrated from Connecticut to Vermont with four

brothers about 1766; organizer "Green Mountain Boys" to oppose New York's claim to Vermont; captured by the British while reconnoitering near Montreal and held captive, 1775–1778; made brigadier-general by Congress; largely instrumental in forcing recognition of Vermont as a state.

Allison, William Boyd (1829–1908); born at Perry, O.; practiced law in Ohio until 1857; removed to Iowa; U. S. senator from Iowa for thirty-five years, 1873–1908; practically every financial measure passed in this period was at least in part his work.

Allouez, Claude Jean (1620–1689); French missionary among Indians on St. Lawrence and Lake Michigan; founded missions among the Foxes, Miamis, etc., on Green Bay; kept valuable records.

Altgeld, John Peter (1847–1902); born in Prussia; served in Union Army in Civil War; speculated fortunately in Chicago real estate; elected by Democrats judge of Illinois Supreme Court 1886 and governor of Illinois 1893; aroused storm of protest by pardoning Chicago anarchists; author *Our Penal Machinery and Its Victims*.

Amherst, Sir Jeffrey (1717–1797); born in England; commanded expedition against Louisburg, 1758; appointed commander-in-chief in America, 1758; drove French from Lake Champlain, 1759; captured Montreal, completed conquest of Canada; governor of Virginia, 1763; conceived violent hatred of the Indians; later held positions of honor in England.

Andros, Sir Edmund (1637–1714); English colonial governor in America; governor of New York, 1674–1683; in 1686 made governor of united New England Colonies; colonists refused to recognize his authority; returned to England upon news of abdication of King James; later was popular as governor of Virginia, 1691–1697.

Anthony, Susan Brownell (1820–1906); school teacher; advocate of abolition, temperance, and co-education; founded *The Revolution* (woman's rights organ) 1868; arrested and fined for voting in the election of 1872; lectured on suffrage throughout the English-speaking world; delegate to international council of women in London, 1899; co-author *History of Woman Suffrage;* president American Woman Suffrage Association for many years.

Aquinas, St. Thomas (1227–1274); author of *Summa Theologiae*, standard authority of the logical system of the Catholic Church to-day.

Arnold, Benedict (1741–1801); native of Connecticut; entered army at outbreak of Revolution; made brigadier-general after leading a regiment into Canada to an unsuccessful attack on Quebec, 1777; embittered by appointment over him of five juniors as major-generals; forced the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga; made major-general; court-martialed for quarrels with authorities of Pennsylvania, sentenced to reprimand.

Arthur, Chester Allan (1830–1886); twenty-first President of United States, 1881–85; born at Fairfield, Vermont; began practice of law in New York City, 1854; engineer-in-chief on Governor Morgan's staff, 1860; inspector-general and quartermaster-general of state militia, 1861–63; collector of port of New York, 1871–78; elected Vice-President, 1880.

Ashburton, Alexander Baring, Lord (1774–1848); born in England; employed in mercantile affairs in United States as a young man; member of Parliament, 1812–35; became peer, 1835.

Astor, John Jacob (1763–1848); born in Germany; son of a butcher; emigrated to New York, 1783; within six years acquired fortune of $200,000 in fur trade; at his death had commercial connections throughout the world; founder of Astor Library, New York.

Atchison, David R. (1807–1886); native of Kentucky; removed to Missouri; member state legislature and circuit court; U. S. senator from Missouri, 1843–1855; strong pro-slavery advocate.

Austin, Moses, and Stephen Fuller; Moses Austin of Connecticut received from Mexico permission to colonize 300 families in province of Texas; died in 1821. Stephen, son of Moses, established the settlement of San Felipe de Austin, 1821; joined Texas Revolution, 1835; became commander-in-chief of Texas army; appointed commissioner to United States; secretary of state in Republic of Texas under Sam Houston, 1836; died while negotiating for recognition of Texan independence by United States, 1836.

Bacon, Nathaniel (1648–1676); Virginia planter; member of governor's council; became dissatisfied with unequal taxation, unjust tobacco dues, and unfair system of voting in the colony.

Baldwin, Jesse A. (1854–); born, Greenwood, Ill.; admitted to bar, 1877; assistant United States attorney, 1877–84; judge of Appellate Court, 1910–12; trustee of University of Chicago.

Balfour, James (1848–); first sat in British House of Commons, 1874; secretary of state for Ireland, 1887;

leader of conservative party for more than twenty years; prime minister, 1902–05; leading conservative in coalition war ministry formed, 1915; at head of British delegation in disarmament conference at Washington, D. C., 1921.

Ballinger, Richard Achilles (1858–); born at Boonboro, Ia., admitted to bar; judge of State of Washington superior court, 1894–97; mayor of Seattle, 1904–06; commissioner of general land office, 1907–09; Secretary of Interior, 1909, until his resignation in 1911.

Bancroft, George (1800–1891); historian; born in Worcester, Mass.; graduate of Harvard, 1817; received Ph.D. in Germany at age of twenty; published a volume of poems, 1823; published ten volume *History of the United States*, 1834–1874; interested in transcendentalism; Secretary of Navy under Polk; established Naval Academy at Annapolis; minister to England, 1846–49; Prussia, 1867; North German Confederation, 1868; German Empire, 1871; published *History of the Formation of the Constitution*, 1882.

Bassett, John Spencer (1867–); graduate Trinity College, N. C.; professor of history Smith College, 1906– ; author *A Short History of the United States*.

Beauregard, Pierre Gustave Toutant (1818–1893); began Civil War by bombardment of Fort Sumter; born at New Orleans; graduated at West Point, 1838; won distinction in Mexican War; superintendent of West Point; resigned to enter Confederate Army as general; after war became president of New Orleans, Jackson & Mississippi Railroad.

Beecher, Henry Ward (1813–1887); graduate of Amherst, 1834; Lane Theological Seminary, 1834–1838; pastor Plymouth Congregational Church, Brooklyn, from 1847 on; famous as editor, publicist, and author; strong anti-slavery and Unionist supporter; represented Union sentiment in England, 1863; author of two score of volumes; chosen to the Hall of Fame, 1900.

Bell, John (1797–1869); native of Tennessee; practiced law; member of Congress, 1827–41; joined Whigs, 1832, and was elected Speaker of the House; Secretary of War in Harrison's cabinet but resigned because of rupture between Tyler and Whigs; member of Senate, 1847–59; nominated for presidency by Constitutional Union party, 1860; supported the Confederacy.

Benton, Thomas Hart (1782–1858); born in North Carolina; became eminent lawyer in Tennessee; lieutenant-colonel in army, 1813-15; removed to Missouri, 1813; established *Missouri Inquirer;* United States senator, five terms; opposed repeal of Missouri Compromise, 1854; wrote *Thirty Years' View of the American Government*, etc.

Berkeley, Sir John (1607–1678); a proprietor of New Jersey; in exile with royal family after defeat of Cavaliers; lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 1669.

Berkeley, Sir William (about 1610–1677); born near London; governor of Virginia, 1641–52, 1660–77; staunch royalist; second period of governorship marked by intolerance and harshness; recalled for cruelties inflicted upon participators in Bacon's Rebellion.

Bernstorff, Count J. H. von (1862–); German ambassador to United States, 1908–17; later made ambassador to Turkey.

Birney, James Gillespie (1792–1857); born in Danville, Ky.; graduate of Princeton, 1810; began practice of law, 1814; removed to Alabama, 1818; elected prosecuting attorney, 1823; freed his slaves, 1833; organized the Kentucky Anti-slavery Society, 1835; removed to Cincinnati; issued an anti-slavery paper, *The Philanthropist*, became leader of Constitutional Abolitionists; candidate of the Liberty party for President in 1840 and 1844.

Black Hawk (1767–1838); chief of the Sacs in 1788; fought against United States in War of 1812; repudiated treaty ceding lands east of Mississippi precipitating Black Hawk War, June, 1831; defeated by Gen. Dodge, July 21, 1832, and by Gen. Atkinson at Bad Ax River; kept as a hostage until 1833; died on reservation near Ft. Des Moines.

Blaine, James Gillespie (1830–1893); born at Brownsville, Pa., newspaper editor in Maine, 1854–60; member of Congress, 1862–75; receptive candidate for presidency in 1876 and 1880; senator, 1876–81; secretary of state, 1881; also from 1889–1892; author of *Twenty Years in Congress*.

Blair, Montgomery (1813–1883); graduate of West Point, 1835; practiced law in St. Louis; solicitor U. S. Court of Claims, 1855–1858; postmaster general, 1861–1864.

Bland, Richard Parks (1835–1899); born, Hartford, Ky.; practiced law in Missouri; member of Congress, 1873–95,1897–99; author of Bland-Allison act.

Bliss, Tasker Howard (1853–); born at Lewisburg, Pa., graduated from West Point, 1875; military attaché at United States Legation, Madrid, 1897–98; served through Porto Rican campaign, 1898; collector of customs at Havana and chief of Cuban customs service, 1898–1902; member of joint

army and navy board, 1903–05, 1909–10, 1915; commanded brigade on Mexican Border, 1911; chief-of-staff with rank of general United States Army, 1917; American commissioner to negotiate Peace, Paris, 1918–19; governor of U. S. Soldiers' Home, 1920– .

Bogart, Ernest Ludlow (1870–); born, Yonkers, N. Y.; graduate of Princeton, 1896; Ph. D., University of Halle, 1897; professor of economics, University of Illinois, 1909– ; author of *Economic History of the United States*, etc.

Bonneville, Benjamin (about 1795–1878); explorer, born in France, graduate of West Point, 1815; explored in Rocky Mountains, 1831–36; served in Mexican War; brevetted brigadier-general, 1865.

Boone, Daniel (1734–1820); famous pioneer and backwoodsman; born in Pennsylvania; wagon driver in Braddock's campaign, 1755; moved to North Carolina; made first expedition to Kentucky, 1767; later served as guide and surveyor; member of legislature; sheriff in Kentucky; moved to Point Pleasant, W. Va., 1790; settled in Spanish territory (now Missouri) in 1795.

Booth, John Wilkes (1839–1865); actor; brother of noted actor, Edwin Booth; left stage, 1863; fanatical partizan of the South; carried out a conspiracy by assassinating Lincoln in Ford Theatre; escaped with broken leg; was overtaken and shot at Bowling Green, Va.

Boulton, Matthew (see Watt, James).

Braddock, Edward (1695–1755); a famous English general; noted for bravery in Europe; commander at Gibraltar; appointed commander of all British forces in America, 1754.

Bradford, William (about 1590–1657); born in Yorkshire, England; second governor of Plymouth Colony, 1621–1657; wrote the *History of Plymouth Plantation* upon which all later histories of the colony have been based.

Bradley, Joseph P. (1813–1892); graduate of Rutgers, 1836; associate-justice United States supreme court, 1870.

Bragg, Braxton (1817–1876); native of North Carolina; graduated at West Point, 1837; served in Seminole War; brevetted lieutenant-colonel in Mexican War; resigned to engage in sugar planting in Louisiana, 1856; joined Confederate Army, 1861; became commanding general at Shiloh on death of A. S. Johnston; superseded Beauregard in command of Army of West; defeated by Grant at Chattanooga; asked to be relieved of command; resumed service in Georgia against Sherman; later became chief engineer of Alabama.

Breckinridge, John Cabell (1821–1875); native of Kentucky; educated at Centre College and Transylvania University; practiced law at Lexington; major in Mexican War; member of Congress, 1851–55; elected Vice-President with Buchanan, 1856; nominated for President by southern section of Democratic party, 1860; elected U. S. senator, but resigned to enter Confederate Army; major-general in 1862; Secretary of War in cabinet of Jefferson Davis, 1865; escaped to Europe at close of war; returned to practice law in 1868.

Brewster, William (about 1560–1644); a Dissenter from the Established Church of England; known in Plymouth Colony as Elder Brewster; was for a period the only preacher in the colony; for twenty-four years a leader of the colonists.

Bright, John (1811–1889); elected to English Parliament, 1841; Cabinet member under Gladstone, 1868–70, 1873–74, 1880–82; earnest Quaker; fearless reformer and orator.

Brock, Sir Isaac (1769–1812); British soldier; placed in command of garrison at Quebec, 1806; became major-general; captured Detroit, 1812; mortally wounded while repelling American attack on Queenstown.

Brown, John (1800–1859); born at Torrington, Conn., learned no trade; barely supported his twenty children; strong free-state man in territory of Kansas, to which region he migrated in 1855.

Bryan, William Jennings (1860–); born, Salem, Ill.; graduate of Illinois College, 1881; admitted to bar, 1883; Democratic member of Congress, 1890–94; editor of *Omaha World-Herald*, 1894–96; Democratic nominee for presidency, 1896, 1900, 1908; secretary of state in Cabinet of Wilson, 1913–15; editor of *The Commoner*.

Bryce, James (1838–1922); born in Belfast, Ireland; educated at Glasgow and Oxford; barrister, 1867; professor of law, Oxford, 1870–93; member of Parliament, 1870–90; as Cabinet member supported Gladstone in Home Rule debates; ambassador to United States, 1907–13; author of *The American Commonwealth*, *Modern Democracies*, etc.

Buchanan, James (1791–1868); fifteenth president of United States, 1857–61; born in Franklin County, Pa.; admitted to bar, 1812; member of Congress, 1821–31; minister to Russia and negotiator of first commercial treaty with that country, 1831; U. S. senator, 1834–45; resigned to become secretary of state; minister to Great Britain, 1854; signer of "Ostend Mani-

festo" favoring annexation of Cuba, 1854.

Buck, Solon Justus (1884–); born, Berlin, Wis., graduated at University of Wisconsin; Harvard, Ph.D., 1906–08; professor of history at University of Minnesota, 1921– ; author of *The Granger Movement*, , *The Agrarian Crusade*, etc.

Buckner, Simon Bolivar (1823–1914); born in Hart County, Ky.; graduated at West Point, 1844; instructor at West Point, 1845–6; served in Mexican War; brigadier-general in Confederate service, 1861; captured at Fort Donelson; exchanged, fought at Murfreesboro and Chickamauga; governor of Kentucky, 1887–91; candidate of National Democrats for vice-presidency on ticket with J. M. Palmer, 1896.

Buell, Don Carlos (1818–1898); born in Ohio; graduated at West Point, 1841; rose to rank of major in Mexican War, became lieutenant-colonel in regular army; brigadier-general of Union volunteers, 1861; major-general, 1862; fought at Shiloh; drove Bragg from Kentucky; mustered out of volunteer service, 1864; resigned commission, 1865; became president of Green River Iron Company in Kentucky.

Buford, John (1826–1863); native of Kentucky; graduated at West Point, 1848; ranked captain, 1859; inspector-general with rank of major, 1861; fought under Hooker; on McClellan's staff at Antietam; began battle of Gettysburg; assigned to command Army of Cumberland just before his death in Washington, D. C., December 16.

Burgess, John William (1844–); graduate of Amherst, 1870; dean of faculty of political science, Columbia University, since 1890; author of numerous works on political science, *The Civil War and the Constitution*, etc.

Burgoyne, John (1722–1792); captain and lieutenant in Seven Years' War; introduced light cavalry into British army; brigadier-general, 1762; member of Parliament; major-general in 1776; also a successful dramatist; *The Heiress* still holds English stage; author of *Dramatic and Poetical Works*.

Burke, Edmund (1729–1797); English; born, Dublin, Ireland; accounted greatest political writer of his century; member of Parliament, 1766; authorities declare him most influential orator House of Commons has ever known; speech "On Conciliation with America" delivered 1775.

Burns, Robert (1759–1796); born at Alloway, Ayrshire, Scotland; farmer lad; meager education; became one of world's best beloved poets.

Burnside, Ambrose Everett (1824–1881); graduate of West Point, 1847; invented breech-loading rifle, 1856; entered army as colonel of Rhode Island volunteers, 1861; captured garrison on Roanoke Island, 1862; twice offered command of Army of Potomac before accepting; superseded by Hooker; served under Grant, 1864–65; governor of Rhode Island, 1866–69, U. S. senator, 1875–81.

Burr, Aaron (1756–1836); born, Newark, N. J.; graduate of Princeton; lawyer; entered Revolutionary army, 1775; became lieutenant-colonel; U. S. senator, 1791; created one of first political machines in New York City; candidate for governor of New York, 1804.

Burt, William Austin (1792–1858); native of Massachusetts; U. S. deputy surveyor in Michigan, 1840–1847; invented solar compass, 1836, an instrument for readily determining a true meridian; given prize medal for the invention, London, 1851; judge Michigan circuit court and "father" of Sault Ste. Marie Canal.

Butler, Andrew Pickens (1796–1857); native of South Carolina; graduate of South Carolina College, 1817; admitted to the bar, 1819; chosen governor, 1847; twice elected U. S. senate; famous upholder of States Rights doctrine.

Butler, Benjamin Franklin (1818–1893); major-general of militia, 1861; commander Army of the James, 1864; removed by Grant; governor of Massachusetts and member of Congress five terms.

Cabeza de Vaca, Alvar Nunez (about 1490–); born in Spain; accompanied Narvaez to Florida as royal treasurer, 1528; shipwrecked; governor of Paraguay, 1540.

Cabot, John (1450–1498); and **Sebastian** (1476–1557); father and son; Italian navigators in service of England during reign of Henry VII. The elder Cabot was lost at sea in 1498 when making an attempt to colonize the New World. Sebastian made various voyages to South America.

Calhoun, John Caldwell (1782–1850); native of South Carolina; graduate of Yale, 1804; admitted to bar; member of House of Representatives, 1811; leader in bringing on War of 1812; Secretary of War under Monroe, 1817–25; Vice-President, 1825–31; U. S. senator, 1833–43; 1845–50; member of Tyler cabinet, 1843–45.

Calvert, Cecilius (See **Calvert, George**).

Calvert, George, Lord Baltimore (1580–1632); English statesman; founded temporary settlement as refuge for Catholics in Newfoundland, 1621; received tract of land northeast

of Potomac from Charles I; died before charter was signed, and rights passed to son, Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore.

Cannon, Joseph Gurney (1836–); born at Guilford, N. C.; admitted to bar in Illinois; Republican member of Congress, 1873–91, 1893–1913, 1915–1923; speaker of House, 1905–11, perfected Reed's system by which speaker controlled legislation; most picturesque figure of his time; a wit and famous story-teller.

Carnegie, Andrew (1835–1919); born, Dunfermline, Scotland; emigrated to United States at age of thirteen; weaver's assistant, messenger boy, telegraph operator, division superintendent for Pennsylvania railroad; invested in oil lands; entered iron industry after Civil War and became an industrial leader of America; introduced Bessemer process into American steel industry; consolidated his interests in Carnegie Steel Co., 1899; retired 1901, when company merged with U. S. Steel Corporation; endowed Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh; Carnegie Church Peace Union, Carnegie Libraries; Carnegie Institution at Washington, D. C., etc.

Carranza, Venustiano (1860?–1920); one of greatest land owners in Mexico until revolt against Diaz, 1911; appointed governor of Coahuila by Madero; upon death of Madero acclaimed First Chief of Constitutionalists, 1912; became ruler of Mexico excepting sections in north and south; his government formally recognized by United States, October, 1915; assassinated 1920.

Carroll, Charles (1737–1832); born in Annapolis, Md., educated abroad; elected to Continental Congress, 1776; signed Declaration of Independence and outlived all other signers; elected first senator from Maryland, 1789.

Carteret, Sir George (1599–1680); born in St. Ouen, Jersey; governor of Isle of Jersey; sheltered Prince of Wales (Charles II) after execution of Charles I; personal friend of James, Duke of York; retained his share of New Jersey till death.

Cartwright, Peter (1785–1872); born in Virginia; boyhood spent in Kentucky; converted at age of sixteen; became a local preacher; accepted into regular ministry, 1803; settled in Sangamon Co., Ill., 1824; powerful influence for righteousness; was interested in spread of education, also in political affairs.

Cass, Lewis (1782–1866); born, Exeter, N. H.; practiced law, Zanesville, O., officer in War of 1812; as superintendent of Indian affairs, Michigan Territory, negotiated nineteen treaties; organized scientific expedition to explore upper Mississippi, 1829; Secretary of War, 1831; U. S. minister to France, 1836–42; U. S. senator, 1845–48; Democratic nominee for president, 1848; U. S. senator, 1851–57; Secretary of State in Buchanan's cabinet; resigned upon Buchanan's refusal to re-inforce Fort Sumter.

Champlain, Samuel de (1567–1635); French explorer and colonial pioneer; visited Mexico and West Indies; suggested canal across Isthmus of Panama to Henry IV of France; was lieutenant-governor of Quebec for nineteen years.

Channing, Edward (1856–); historian; born in Dorchester, Mass.; graduate of Harvard, 1878; professor of history at Harvard since 1883; publications include *A History of the United States*, etc.

Chase, Salmon Portland (1808–1873); born Cornish, N. H.; graduate of Dartmouth; admitted to bar, 1829; regarded legal champion of anti-slavery party; U. S. senator from Ohio, 1849–55; governor of Ohio, 1855–59; a founder of Republican party, 1856; Secretary of Treasury, 1861–64; Chief Justice of Supreme Court, 1864; conducted impeachment trial of Johnson.

Chittenden, Hiram Martin (1858–); native of New York; graduate of West Point, 1884; chief engineer Fourth Army Corps in Spanish-American War; had charge of government works in Yellowstone National Park and on western rivers; also of reservoir surveys in arid regions; consulting engineer on Dayton, O., flood problem, etc.

Churchill, Winston Leonard Spencer (1874–); English; served in army in India, Egypt, and South Africa; elected to Parliament by Conservatives, 1900; soon became a Liberal; Parliamentary Secretary for colonies, 1905; President of Board of Trade, 1908–10; Home Secretary, 1910; First Lord of Admiralty, 1911–15; relieved because of dissatisfaction with conduct of Dardanelles campaign; appointed Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster; joined army in France, 1915; author of *The River War*, etc.

Clark, George Rogers (1752–1818); native of Virginia; common school education; land surveyor; accepted command under Baron von Steuben, 1780; in active service till end of war.

Clark, William (1770–1838); brother of George Rogers; born in Virginia; removed to Kentucky, fought against Indians under Wayne, 1794; governor of Missouri Territory, 1813–21; superintendent of Indian affairs, 1822–38.

Clay, Henry (1777–1852); native of

Virginia; admitted to bar; moved to Kentucky, 1797; member of state constitutional convention, 1799; U. S. senator, 1806–07; 1810–11; member of House of Representatives, 1811–21, 1823–25; Speaker of House for ten years; favored War of 1812; a negotiator of Treaty of Ghent, 1814; Secretary of State under J. Q. Adams; member of Senate, 1831–42; Candidate of National Republicans for President, 1832 and 1844.

Clayton, John Middleton (1796–1856); native of Maryland; practiced law at Dover, Del.; elected U. S. senator, 1828; reëlected, 1835; resigned, 1836; reëlected to Senate, 1845; Secretary of State, 1849; negotiated Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850; elected to Senate, 1853.

Cleaveland, General Moses (1754–1806); native of Connecticut; graduate of Yale in 1777; practiced law; captain U. S. A., 1799; Connecticut legislature; brigadier-general of militia, 1796; director of "Connecticut Land Company" which purchased 3,795,000 acres of Connecticut's "Western Reserve" in Ohio for $1,200,000; appointed superintendent and agent of the Company; led the first company thither, landing on present site of Cleveland, O., July 22, 1796.

Cleveland, Grover (1837–1908); twenty-second and twenty-fourth President of U. S., 1885–89, 1893–97; born at Caldwell, N. J., admitted to bar at Buffalo, N. Y., 1859; sheriff of Erie County; mayor of Buffalo, 1881; Democratic governor of New York, 1882–84.

Clinton, DeWitt (1769–1828); native of New York; member of assembly, 1798; state senate, 1799–1802; U. S. senator, 1802; mayor of New York, 1803–07, 1808–10, 1811–15; state senator, 1806–11; lieutenant-governor, 1811–13; defeated as Federalist candidate for President by Madison; governor of New York, 1817–27.

Clinton, George (1739–1812); native of New York; member of Continental Congress, 1775; served in army, 1777; governor of New York, 1777–1795; leader of New York Anti-Federalists; three times candidate for presidency; vice-president with Jefferson, 1804; with Madison, 1808; his vote in 1811 prevented rechartering of U. S. Bank.

Clinton, Sir Henry (about 1738–1795); British general; major-general at Bunker Hill; knighted, made lieutenant-general after Battle of Long Island; started to the aid of Cornwallis on day of latter's surrender; replaced by Sir Guy Carleton, 1782.

Cobden, Richard (1804–1865); English statesman and political reformer called "apostle of free trade"; entered Parliament, 1841; brought about repeal of the Corn Laws, 1846; protested against British recognition of Confederate States in America as a belligerent nation.

Columbus, Christopher (probably 1451–1506); born in Genoa; shipped as sailor, 1470; settled in Lisbon, about 1477; was sent to Spain in chains by governor of colony he had founded in Espanola (Haiti); reached coast of Central America in last voyage, 1502; died at Vallaloid, May 20, 1506; buried in Seville; his body and that of his son, Diego, removed to Santo Domingo, Haiti, 1542; to Havana, 1796; to Seville, Spain, 1898.

Commons, John Rogers (1862–); graduate of Oberlin, 1888; professor of political science, University of Wisconsin, since 1904; author of many works on political science.

Conkling, Roscoe (1829–1888); prominent in organization of Republican party; member of Congress from New York, 1858–1863, 1865–1867; U. S. senator, 1867–1881; out of sympathy with reformers.

Cooper, James Fenimore (1789–1851); author; born, Burlington, N. J.; studied at Yale; six years in navy; published thirty-two volumes of fiction known as *Leatherstocking Tales.*

Cooper, Peter (1791–1883); born in New York; built largest rolling-mill then in America in Trenton, N. J., 1845; made first wrought-iron beams for fire-proof buildings; established "Cooper Union," New York City, 1845, an institution giving educational advantages to working classes.

Cornwallis, Charles Marquis (1738–1805); British general; openly opposed Revolution; took part in Battle of Long Island, Princeton, Brandywine; in later years did brilliant service as commander-in-chief and Governor General of India.

Coronado, Francisco Vasquez (about 1500–1549); Spanish explorer, high official in vice-regal court of Mexico.

Cortez, Hernando (1485–1547); daring Spaniard; commander of fleet sent from West Indies to Mexico in search of gold; conquered Aztecs; won Mexico for Spain, 1520.

Cox, Jacob Dolson (1828–1900); born, Montreal, Canada; admitted to bar, 1852; elected U. S. senator from Ohio, 1859; rose to rank of major-general in Civil War; governor of Ohio, 1866–68; Secretary of Interior under Grant, 1869–70; member of Congress, 1877–79.

Cox, James M. (1870–); born Jacksonburg, O.; reared on farm; worked in printer's office; newspaper reporter;

bought *Dayton Daily News*, 1898; and *Springfield Press-Republican*, 1903; member of Congress, 1909–13; governor of Ohio, 1913–15, 1917–21; Democratic nominee for U. S. President, 1920.

Crawford, William Harris (1772–1834); native of Virginia; admitted to bar of Georgia, 1798; U. S. senator, 1807–13; minister to France, 1813–15; Secretary of War, 1816; Secretary of Treasury, 1816–25; Circuit judge of Georgia, 1827–34.

Cromwell, Oliver (1599–1658); Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1653–1658; a leader of Parliamentary party in the Civil War which led to the execution of Charles I, and to the establishment of the Commonwealth.

Crook, George (1828–1890); native of Ohio; graduate of West Point, 1852; served as captain in West Virginia, 1861; commanded division of cavalry in Army of Cumberland; commanded Army of West Virginia and aided Sheridan in the Shenandoah; brevetted major-general in U. S. Army, 1865; afterward distinguished himself as Indian fighter in the West.

Curtis, George William (1824–1892); born in Providence, R. I.; editor of *Putnam's Monthly, Harper's Weekly;* published essays in *Harper's Monthly;* efficient supporter of Republican party through speeches and writings; head of Civil Service Commission, 1871.

Custer, George Armstrong (1839–1876); born in New Rumpley, O.; graduate of West Point, 1861; daring cavalry officer during Civil War—"never lost a gun nor color"; brevetted major-general; commanded expeditions against Indians in the West; killed by Sioux.

Cutler, Manasseh (1742–1823); born in Killingly, Conn.; graduate of Yale; ordained as minister, 1771; chaplain in the army, 1776; as agent for Ohio Company bought 1,500,000 acres northwest of the Ohio; started company of emigrants who founded Marietta; travelled thither in sulky, 750 miles in 29 days; member of Congress, 1800–04.

Dana, James Dwight (1813–1895), American geologist; professor at Yale; 1855–1890; for forty-nine years editor of *American Journal of Science.*

Davis, David (1815–1886); graduated at Kenyon, 1832; lawyer and judge in Illinois; administrator Lincoln's estate, 1865; U. S. Supreme Court, 1862–1877; U. S. Senate, 1877–1883.

Davis, Jefferson (1808–1889); born, Christian County, Ky.; graduated from West Point, 1828; took part in Indian campaigns; U. S. Congress, 1845–46; served in Mexico under Taylor; U. S. senator, 1847–51; Secretary of War under Pierce, 1853–57; reëlected to Senate; resigned when Mississippi seceded; elected as provisional, then permanent, President of Confederate States, 1861–65; imprisoned at Fortress Monroe, 1865–67; released on bail; given full liberty, 1869; author of *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government.*

Dawes, Charles Gates (1865–); graduate of Marietta, 1884; Cincinnati Law School, 1886; lawyer and gas interests; president Central Trust Company of Illinois since 1902; advanced from major of engineers to brigadier-general A. E. F., 1917–1918; author *The Banking System of the U. S.* and *Essays and Speeches.*

Debs, Eugene Victor (1855–); born in Terre Haute, Ind.; organized American Railway Union, 1893; won strike on Great Northern, 1894; leader great railroad strike, 1894; presidential candidate of Socialist party, 1904, 1908, 1912; sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for violation of Espionage Act, 1918; pardoned by President Harding, 1922.

Decatur, Stephen (1779–1820); midshipman in the navy, 1798; in 1804, when the U. S. *Philadelphia* was stranded inside the harbor of Tripoli, Decatur ran 'longside, drove off the Tripolitans, and fired the frigate; deed characterized by Admiral Nelson as "most daring act of the age"; made Commodore, 1810; eulogized by President Madison for bringing Barbary pirates to terms; killed in a duel with Commodore Barron.

Dernburg, Bernhard (1865–); head of German propaganda in America, 1914; had spent years of apprenticeship in New York banking house; connected with Deutsche and Darmstadter Banks in Germany; German Secretary for Colonies, 1907; member of Prussian Herrenhans, 1913; returned to Germany after *Lusitania* was sunk, 1915.

Dewey, George (1837–1917); born at Montpelier, Vt.; graduated from U. S. Naval Academy; served in Civil War under Farragut and elsewhere; commissioned lieutenant-commander; at outbreak of Spanish-American War ranked as commodore and commanded Asiatic squadron; victory at Manila Bay won him rank of admiral; commander of all squadrons and fleets of American Navy, 1902; president of naval board of strategy, 1908.

Dickinson, John (1732–1808); born in Maryland; admitted to bar; practiced law in Philadelphia; member of first

Continental Congress; voted against Declaration of Independence; successively president of Delaware and Pennsylvania, 1781–85; member of Constitutional Convention; aided in framing the Delaware Constitution.

Dix, Dorothea Lynde (about 1802–1887); philanthropist; born in Worcester, Mass.; taught girls' schools, Boston; later devoted time to alleviation of condition of paupers, lunatics, criminals; instrumental in founding state insane asylums; superintendent of hospital nurses during Civil War.

Douglas, Stephen Arnold (1813–1861); born at Brandon, Vt.; meager education; admitted to bar, 1834; entered Illinois legislature, 1836; judge of state supreme court, 1841–43; elected to Congress, 1843; U. S. senator, 1847–1861; Democratic leader; advocated annexation of Texas and Mexican War; chairman of Senate committee on organization of territories; reported Kansas-Nebraska Bill to Senate; nominee of northern Democrats for presidency, 1860; strong supporter of Lincoln and the Union when the Civil War broke out.

Drake, Sir Francis (about 1540–1595); educated by Sir John Hawkins, a kinsman; gained fame for bravery under Hawkins while captain of the *Judith;* began his famous trip "round the world," 1577; named our Pacific coast "New Albion"; crossed the Pacific; doubled Cape of Good Hope in June, 1580; reached England in September, being the first of his race to go 'round the globe; vice-admiral in battle with native Spanish Armada, 1588; died of illness in the West Indies fighting Spain.

Earle, Alice Morse (1853–1911); native of Massachusetts; famous writer on colonial history; author *Stage Coach and Tavern Days, Home Life in Colonial Days,* etc.

Early, Jubal Anderson (1816–1894); native of Virginia; graduated at West Point, 1837; studied and practiced law; opposed secession but joined Confederate Army; rendered conspicuous service at Bull Run; soon ranked as major-general; considered one of ablest Confederates after Lee and Jackson.

Elkins, Stephen Benton (1841–1911); born in Ohio, 1841; graduated University of Missouri, 1860; served in Union army; U. S. district attorney, in New Mexico, 1870; delegate to Congress from New Mexico, 1873–77; Secretary of War, 1891–94; U. S. senator from West Virginia, 1895–1907; developer of coal and iron regions of West Virginia; railway builder, philanthropist; founder Davis-Elkins College, etc.

Ellicott, Joseph (1760–1826); native of Pennsylvania; surveyor; assisted in laying out City of Washington; employed as surveyor by Holland Land Company in western New York, 1797–1800; laid out City of Buffalo, N. Y.; induced Governor Clinton to favor the Erie Canal project; State Canal Commissioner.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo (1803–1882); author; born in Boston; graduate of Harvard, 1821; taught school for five years, licensed to preach; began career as lecturer and essayist, 1833–34; editor of *The Dial;* published poems and essays.

Eric the Red (950?–1000); Norseman; fled to Iceland to escape murder charge; driven to Greenland by second accusation; named island and made settlement.

Ericsson, John (1803–1889); engineer; born in Sweden; captain in Swedish army; invented artificial draught used in locomotives; won prize for locomotive making speed of 50 miles an hour; came to New York, 1839; received gold medal from Mechanics' Institute for model of steam fire-engine; applied his screw-propeller to U. S. ship-of-war *Princeton.*

Everett, Edward (1794–1865); born at Dorchester, Mass.; educated at Harvard; entered Unitarian ministry; professor of Greek literature at Harvard; editor of *North American Review,* served five terms in Congress; governor of Massachusetts, 1835–43; president, Harvard College, 1846–49; Secretary of State in Fillmore's cabinet; Senator from Massachusetts, 1852–54; nominated by Constitutional Union party for Vice-President, 1860.

Ewell, Richard Stoddert (1817–1872); born in Georgetown, D. C.; graduate of West Point, 1840; served in Mexican War; joined Confederate Army, 1861; major-general, 1862; made lieutenant-general; engaged in stock raising in Tennessee till death.

Fairbanks, Erastus and Thaddeus; natives of Massachusetts but united in hardware business in Vermont in 1824. The slow process of weighing hemp led them to invent the Fairbanks platform scale, June 13, 1831, the only marked improvement in weighing methods since Roman times; founders of St. Johnsbury Academy at St. Johnsbury, Vt., where the E. and T. Fairbanks scale works are located. Erastus was Vermont's "War Governor," 1860–61.

Farragut, David Glasgow (1801–1870); adopted by David D. Porter at age of seven; entered navy as midshipman at

nine; served with credit in War of 1812 and in Mexican War; established Mare Island Navy Yard in San Francisco Bay, 1854–53; offered services to North, 1861; commanded blockading fleet; united with Adm. Porter in capture of New Orleans, 1862; aided in siege of Vicksburg, 1863; captured Mobile, 1864; created vice-admiral, 1864; admiral, 1866.

Ferdinand V (1452–1516); King of Aragon; see Isabella.

Field, Cyrus West (1819–1892); born in Stockbridge, Mass.; entered business in New York City; retired at thirty-three with a fortune; organized company to lay cable from Newfoundland to Ireland, 1854; checked in this enterprise by financial panic of 1857; renewed attempts at close of Civil War; was successful, July 27, 1866.

Fillmore, Millard (1800–1874); thirteenth President of the United States, 1850–53; born in Cayuga County, N. Y.; apprenticed to wool carder and cloth maker from age of fourteen; schooling scanty; admitted to the bar, 1823; elected to New York legislature, 1828; member of House of Representatives, 1833–35, 1837–43; opposed the annexation of Texas as slave territory; elected Vice-President by the Whigs, 1848; became President upon death of Taylor, 1850.

Fish, Carl Russell (1876–); born at Central Falls, R. I.; graduated at Brown, 1897; Professor of American History at University of Wisconsin since 1900; author of *American Diplomacy*, etc.

Fiske, John (1842–1901); original name Edmund Fiske Green; later took the name of his maternal great grandfather; native of Hartford, Conn.; precocious as a youth; graduate of Harvard, 1863; law school, 1865; lecturer at Harvard, 1869–71; assistant librarian, 1872–79; thereafter engaged in writing; probably the most popular philosophical and historical writer America has produced; writings embrace over thirty volumes, the most important being on early American history; always interesting if not always scientifically accurate.

Fitch, John (1743–1798); born in Connecticut; deputy surveyor of Kentucky; believed western rivers could be navigated by steam; was refused aid by state legislatures; formed a company; built crude steamboat in New Jersey capable of three miles an hour; built passenger boat, 1790; lacked money to finance venture; failed in attempt to introduce his invention in France; committed suicide in Kentucky.

Foch, General Ferdinand (1851–); joint hero with Joffre at battle of Marne; after Marne, placed in general command of French and British armies that fought at Ypres; French military representative on Supreme War Council of Allies; styled by Joffre "the greatest war strategist in France."

Foote, Andrew Hull (1806–1863); born in New Haven, Conn.; midshipman in navy, 1822; circumnavigated globe; fought pirates of Sumatra, 1838; aided introduction of total abstinence into U. S. navy; engaged in suppression of slave trade on African coast, 1849–52; flag-officer of flotilla of gunboats during Civil War; commanded attacks on Forts Henry and Donelson and on Island No. 10.

Forbes, John (1710–1759); born in Fifeshire, Scotland; lieutenant-colonel of Scot's Greys, 1845; as brigadier-general, commanded troops against Fort Duquesne, which he named Fort Pitt.

Fourier, Charles (1772–1837); socialist; born in Bensançon, France; devised the social system known as Fourierism.

Franklin, Benjamin (1706–1790); born in Boston, January 17, 1706; son of tallow-chandler; one of seventeen children; had less than a year's schooling; apprenticed to older brother as printer; ran away to Philadelphia, 1723; published *Pennsylvania Gazette* and *Poor Richard's Almanac* yearly, 1732–57; founded first American public library; identified lightning as electricity and invented the lightning rod, 1746; introduced fire companies, police system, postal service; served as Postmaster General of the colonies, 1753; from 1757–75 was frequently in England trying to prevent war; was minister to France during war; his immense popularity in France aided in securing treaty of Alliance; was the only American to sign Declaration of Independence, treaty of alliance with France, and Treaty of Paris, 1783.

Frederick II (1712–1786); known as Frederick the Great of Prussia; son of Frederick William I and of Princess Sophia, sister of George II of England; developed Prussian military system; made Prussia the equal of Austria; laid foundation for the German Empire.

Frederick William; former crown prince of Germany; born, 1882.

Fremont, John Charles (1813–1890); born, Savannah, Ga.; explored overland route to Pacific, 1843; assisted in occupation of California, 1846; military governor of California and one of its first U. S. senators; found new route to Pacific, 1853; Republican candidate for presidency, 1856; radical Republican nominee, 1864; promotor of trans-continental railway.

Frontenac, Comte Louis (1620–1698); an able, far-seeing governor of New France, 1672–1682, reappointed 1689–1698; did much to establish French power in America; encouraged exploration by La Salle, Marquette, and Joliet; conducted Frontenac's War against Iroquois and English.

Fulton, Robert (1765–1815); American engineer and inventor; rudimentary education; took up landscape and portrait painting; went to London with Benjamin West to study painting, 1787; discovered his mechanical genius; patented flax-spinning, rope-making, and marble-cutting machines; invented a submarine torpedo boat; found no government interested in it; launched steamboat on Seine, 1803; unable to interest French government; lawsuits over infringement of patent rights kept him almost poor.

Gadsden, James (1788–1858); graduate of Yale, 1806; aide-de-camp to General Jackson in Seminole War, 1818; planter; president South Carolina Railway; U. S. minister to Mexico, 1853; conducted negotiations for Gadsden Purchase, 1853–54.

Gage, Thomas (1721–1787); commissioned as lieutenant, English army, 1741; accompanied Braddock to America, 1754; chief of English forces in America, 1763–72; ordered to Boston for enforcement of Boston Port Bill and Stamp Act, 1768; recalled to England after Battle of Bunker Hill.

Gallatin, Albert (1761–1849); born in Switzerland; instructor at Harvard, 1780; U. S. senator, 1793; unseated as ineligible; leader of Republicans in House of Representatives, 1795–1801; Secretary of Treasury, 1801; negotiated treaty of Ghent, 1813–14; minister to France, 1816–23; minister to Great Britain, 1826–27.

Garfield, Harry Augustus (1863–); native of Ohio; son of U. S. President James A. Garfield; graduate of Williams College, 1885; president of Williams College, 1908– .

Garfield, James Abram (1831–1881); twentieth U. S. President, 1881; born in Orange, O.; radical anti-slavery member of Ohio senate, 1859; served in Union Army, 1861–62; ranked as major-general; held seat in Congress, 1863–1880; U. S. senator, 1880; chosen as compromise Republican candidate for the presidency, 1880.

Garrison, William Lloyd (1804–1879); abolitionist; born in Newburyport, Mass.; edited *National Philanthropist*, Boston, 1827; published *The Liberator*, a weekly abolitionist paper, 1831–65; founder and president of American Anti-Slavery Society, 1843–65; delegate to World's Anti-Slavery Convention, London, 1840.

Gates, Horatio (1728–1806); English, with Braddock, 1755; settled in Virginia after French and Indian War; made adjutant-general by Continental Congress, 1775; in command at Saratoga, 1777; commander in South, 1780; military conduct seriously questioned in battle of Camden; succeeded by General Greene.

Genêt, Edmond Charles Edouard (1765–1834); chief of bureau of correspondence in French Department of Foreign Affairs; minister to U. S., 1792; settled in New York City; became naturalized citizen; married daughter of Governor George Clinton.

Gerry, Elbridge (1744–1814); born at Marblehead, Mass.; graduated at Harvard, 1762; signed Declaration of Independence; member of the United States Constitutional Convention; member of Congress; was sent to France to establish diplomatic relations, 1797; governor of Massachusetts, 1810–1812; was Vice-President of the United States at the time of his death.

Giddings, Joshua Reed (1795–1864); born, Athens, Pa.; fought against Indians under Colonel Hayes, 1812; elected to Congress, 1838; served twenty years; active abolitionist; opposed annexation of Texas, Fugitive Slave Law, and repeal of Missouri compromise; died while U. S. consul-general to Canada.

Gilbert, Sir Humphrey (1539–1583); English; attempted to find new route to Indies; planted colony near St. John, Newfoundland; half brother of Walter Raleigh.

Girty, Simon (1750–1815); born in Pennsylvania; spy for British at Fort Pitt, 1774; leader of Indians against Americans during Revolution; incited and shared in numerous atrocities; fought with British in War of 1812.

Gist, Christopher; native of North Carolina; frontiersman and scout; explored for the Ohio Company, 1750–51; companion of Washington's on mission to French fort on Lake Erie, 1753.

Gladden, Washington (1836–1918); born Pottsgrove, Pa.; ordained Congregational minister, 1860; on editorial staff of *The Independent*, 1871–74; served as pastor, 1860–1914; became pastor emeritus of First Congregational Church of Columbus, O., 1914; author of *Social Facts and Forces*, etc.

Gladstone, William Ewart (1809–1898); born in Liverpool, of Scotch parentage; four times Premier of Great

Britain; most famous political leader of Victorian reign; first Premier to fight for Irish Home Rule; advocated free trade, equal taxation, extension of suffrage, education of the masses.

Goethals, George Washington, (1858–); native of Brooklyn; graduate of West Point, 1880; lieut.-col. and chief of engineers Spanish-American War; constructed Mussel Shoals locks on Tennessee River; appointed chairman and chief engineer of Panama Canal, 1907; completed his work (1914) a year before scheduled time; acting chief Quartermaster General U. S. A., 1917; chief of Division of Purchase, Storage, and Traffic, 1918; recipient of many honors and medals for conspicuous services.

Gompers, Samuel (1850–); born in London; emigrated to U. S. at age of thirteen; first registered member of Cigar Makers' International Union at age of fourteen; an organizer of American Federation of Labor; has served as president of Federation since 1882 (except year 1894); sentenced to prison, 1908, for boycotting Buck Stove & Range Company; case dropped by Supreme Court, 1914; advocated military preparedness, 1916.

Gould, Jay (1836–1892); born in Roxbury, N. Y.; began work in hardware store; became bank director in Stroudsburg, Pa.; began buying and selling railroad stock; removed to New York, 1859; controlled 10,000 miles of railroad by 1890; consolidation of telegraph lines into Western Union Telegraph Company due to his enterprise; fortune at death estimated at $72,000,000.

Grant, Ulysses Simpson (1822–1885); eighteenth President of United States, 1869–77; born at Point Pleasant, O.; graduated from West Point, 1843; served with distinction in Mexican War; engaged in business, 1854–61; enlisted as volunteer, 1861; served as major-general in West until 1864; placed in command of all U. S. military forces, 1864; ranked as general, 1866; served as Secretary of War during suspension of Stanton, 1867–68; after a trip around the world again brought forward for presidential nomination, 1880.

Grasse, François Joseph Paul, Comte de; French naval officer; sailed to America in command of twenty-six warships, 1781.

Gray, Robert (1755–1806); born in Tiverton, R. I.; captain of the *Washington* sent by Boston merchants to trade with Indians of Northwest; returned by way of Pacific; was first to sail around world under American flag; discovered mouth of Columbia on second trip to Northwest, 1792.

Greeley, Horace (1811–1872); born in Amherst, N. H.; common school education; apprenticed in newspaper office; founded *Morning Post*, first two-cent daily ever published, New York, 1833; paper was financial failure; founded the weekly *New Yorker*, 1834; established the New York *Tribune* (still published), 1841; known as America's most famous journalist; molder of public opinion through newspapers; candidate for the Presidency of the Liberal Republicans and Democrats against Grant in 1872; called by Whittier "Our later Franklin." Author of *The American Conflict, Recollections*, etc.

Greene, Nathanael (1742–1786); born at Patowomut, R. I.; Quaker upbringing; rose from ranks to brigadier-general in Rhode Island; joined Washington at Cambridge, 1775; appointed major-general.

Hale, Nathan (1755–1776); graduate of Yale in 1773; lieutenant Webb's regiment at siege of Boston; made captain, 1776; divided his pay among mutinous men of his company to restore order; made captain in "Congress's Own" company of picked rangers; when friends tried to dissuade him from becoming a spy he replied: "Every kind of service necessary for the public good becomes honorable by being necessary." He entered British lines disguised as Tory school master; when captured, incriminating papers and drawings were found between the soles of his shoes; before execution he was denied religious consolation and his last letters to mother, sister, and sweetheart were destroyed before his eyes.

Hamilton, Alexander (1757–1804); born on Island of Nevis, West Indies; graduate of King's College (Columbia); entered American army, 1776; served as aide; admitted to bar, 1782; member of Constitutional Convention, 1787; secured ratification of Constitution by New York; Secretary of Treasury, 1789–95; won undisputed place among financiers and statesmen of the world.

Hamilton, Henry; born in England; lieutenant-governor of Detroit during Revolution; promoter of Indian raids; planned a confederation of tribes to desolate Virginia, 1778; made prisoner of war by Clark at Vincennes; died, 1796.

Hancock, John (1737–1793); native of Massachusetts; graduate of Harvard, 1754; member Massachusetts general court many years; member first Conti-

nental Congress; classed with Adams as most important "rebel"; major-general Massachusetts militia; first governor of Massachusetts; urged adoption of Constitution by his native state; patriotism and ability unquestioned though impaired by pride and jealousy.

Hancock, Winfield Scott (1824–1886); native of Pennsylvania; graduate of West Point, 1844; fought in Mexican War; at beginning of War of Secession given command of Army of Potomac, distinguished himself at Williamsburg, Va., and at Chancellorsville; wounded at Gettysburg; assigned to military division on Governor's Island, N. Y., 1867, upon resigning from supervision of reconstruction in Louisiana and Texas; Democratic candidate for presidency, 1880.

Hanna, Marcus Alonzo (1837–1904); born in Ohio; entered wholesale grocery business, 1858; chairman of National Republican campaigns of 1896 and 1900; U. S. senator, 1897–1905.

Harding, Warren Gamaliel (1865–); twenty-ninth President of U. S., 1921– ; born in Corsica, O.; in newspaper business at Marion, O., since 1884; member of Ohio Senate, 1900–04; lieutenant-governor of Ohio, 1904–06; U. S. senator, 1915–20.

Harmar, Josiah (1753–1813); born in Philadelphia; entered army, 1776; made brevet-colonel, 1783; made Indian agent for territory northwest of the Ohio; appointed commander-in-chief of the U. S. army, 1789; made adjutant-general of Pennsylvania in 1793.

Harrison, Benjamin (1833–1901); twenty-third President of U. S., 1889–1893; born at North Bend, O., grandson of William Henry Harrison; admitted to bar, 1853; removed to Indianapolis, 1854; served with ability in Civil War; U. S. senator, 1881–87.

Harrison, William Henry (1773–1841); ninth President of U. S., 1841; born, Berkeley, Va.; entered army, 1791; secretary of Northwest Territory, 1798; resigned to become territorial delegate in Congress; governor of Indiana Territory, 1801–13; ranked as major-general in War of 1812; representative in Congress from Ohio, 1816–19; Senator, 1825–28; minister to Colombia, 1828.

Hawkins, Sir John (1532–1595); British admiral; early life spent roving the seas as a free lance; rear-admiral at defeat of Spanish Armada; knighted for bravery; did more than any man to break Spain's claim to exclusive right to New World trade; died of illness in his ship off the West Indies.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel (1804–1864); first great American novelist; born at Salem, Mass.; graduate of Bowdoin, 1825; published *Twice-Told Tales*, 1837; was weigher in Boston custom-house, 1838–41; lived at Brook Farm one year; U. S. consul at Liverpool, 1853–57; author, *The Scarlet Letter*, *The House of Seven Gables*, etc.

Hay, John (1838–1905); born at Salem, Ind., admitted to bar but never practiced; private secretary to Lincoln; secretary of legation at Paris, 1865–67; chargé d'affaires at Vienna, 1867–68; Secretary of Legation at Madrid; First Assistant Secretary of State, 1879–81; ambassador to Great Britain, 1897; Secretary of State, 1898–1905.

Hayes, Rutherford Birchard (1822–1893); nineteenth President of U. S., 1877–81; born at Delaware, O.; admitted to bar, 1845; served in Union Army throughout Civil War; Republican member of Congress, 1865–67; governor of Ohio, 1868–72; reëlected, 1875; practiced law, 1880–1893.

Hayne, Robert Young (1791–1839); native of South Carolina; admitted to bar, 1811; served in War of 1812; for six years attorney-general of South Carolina; U. S. senator, 1823–32; governor of South Carolina, 1832–34; supported heartily South Carolina nullification ordinance but was less radical than many; mayor of Charleston; president of Louisville, Cincinnati, and Charleston Railway.

Henderson, Richard (1735–1785); native of Virginia; admitted to the bar in North Carolina, 1769; associate judge of superior court; made the purchase of 18,000 acres in Kentucky for Transylvania Land Company; migrated thither, 1775; purchase annulled by Virginia but Henderson compensated by grant of land on Green River; this migration with Daniel Boone to Kentucky in 1775 was the crucial event in the founding of that state.

Henry the Navigator (1394–1460); son of John I of Portugal; founded navigation school at Sagres; encouraged and financed explorers; reached Madeira Islands in 1420; Azores, 1448; discovery of shape of Africa a result of his efforts.

Henry, Patrick (1736–1799); an American patriot and an eloquent orator; born in Virginia; studied law by himself and was licensed; member of Virginia House of Burgesses, 1765; delegated to First Continental Congress, 1774; governor of Virginia two terms; unkempt in appearance, uneducated, poor; won fame by force of personality and oratorical power.

Herkimer, Nicholas (about 1715–1777); rose from lieutenant to brigadier-general of New York provincials during

Revolution; commanded Tryon county militia at Oriskany; bled to death from bullet wound received in the battle.

Hill, David B. (1843–1910); born in Havanna, N. Y.; lieutenant-governor of New York, 1882–85; governor of New York upon Cleveland's resignation, 1885; twice elected for full term; U. S. senator, 1891–97; famous for stampeding an audience by beginning an address with the words: "I am a Democrat."

Hill, James Jerome (1838–1916); born in Canada; attended Rockwood Academy; in steamboat business, St. Paul, 1856–1869; head of Hill, Griggs & Company, 1869–75; established Red River Transportation Company, Northwestern Fuel Company; bought the St. Paul and Pacific Railway, 1878; interested in building Great Northern Railway, 1888–1893; president and chairman of Board to 1912; famous collector of French paintings; donor to St. Paul Theological Seminary; author of *Highways of Progress.*

Holmes, Oliver Wendell (1809–1894); author; born at Cambridge, Mass.; graduate of Harvard, 1829; studied medicine at home and abroad; professor of Anatomy and Physiology, Dartmouth College, 1838–47; held same chair at Harvard, 1847–83; first gained fame as a literary genius at home and abroad by publishing in the *Atlantic Monthly* talks which make up the *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table;* author of three novels and many poems.

Hood, John Bell (1831–1879); native of Kentucky; graduated from West Point, 1853; served in U. S. army till outbreak of War of Secession; joined Confederate forces; commanded divisions at Antietam and Gettysburg; lost a leg at Chickamauga; served in Atlanta campaign under Johnston, whom he succeeded to the command; relieved of command after being routed by Sherman and Thomas.

Hooker, Joseph (1814–1879); after graduating from West Point, 1837, joined artillery; served in Florida and on Maine frontier, 1837–40, displayed conspicuous gallantry during Mexican War, rose to rank of lieutenant-colonel; reëntered service, 1861; placed in command of Army of Potomac, 1863; defeated at Chancellorsville; replaced by Meade; made major-general for service at Lookout Mountain; relieved of command, 1864; retired from service, 1868; beloved by his soldiers who knew him as "Fighting Joe Hooker."

Hooker, Thomas (1586–1647); born in England; popular non-conformist preacher in London; fled to Holland, 1630; arrived in Boston, 1633; pastor at Newtown (Cambridge), Mass.; noted for his defending Connecticut from criticisms of Massachusetts men who advised immigrants not to settle in the Connecticut Valley.

Hoover, Herbert Clark (1874–); born, West Branch, Ia.; graduated from Stanford, 1895; did engineering work in United States, Mexico, Canada, Australia, India, China, Russia, Italy, etc., 1895–1913; chairman American Relief, London, 1914–15; Belgium, 1914–19; U. S. food administrator, 1917–19; chairman of American Relief engaged in Children's Relief in Europe, 1919– ; chairman European Relief Council, 1920– ; appointed Secretary of Commerce by President Harding, 1921.

Hough, Emerson (1857–1923); graduate of University of Iowa, 1880; Yellowstone Park explorer, 1895; resulted in Congressional act protecting buffalo. Author of many novels from *The Singing Mouse Stories* (1895) to *The Sage Brusher* (1919).

House, Edward Mandell (1858–); born at Houston, Tex.; graduated from Cornell, 1881; personal representative of President Wilson to European governments, 1914–16; special representative of U. S. Government at Inter-Allied Conference, Paris, 1917; designated to act for U. S. in negotiation of Armistice.

Houston, Sam (1793–1863); born in Kentucky; family moved to Tennessee; adopted as member of Cherokee Indian tribe; served under Jackson in Creek War, 1812–13; became lawyer; member of Congress, 1823–27; governor of Tennessee, 1827; emigrated to Texas; President of Republic of Texas, 1836, 1841–44; favored annexation of Texas to U. S.; first U. S. senator from Texas, 1846.

Howe, Richard, Earl (1726–1799); gained fame in British navy in War of Austrian Succession and Seven Years' War; vice-admiral, commander of British fleet in American waters, 1776; First Lord of the Admiralty, 1783; commander of Channel fleet, 1793; Knight of the Garter, 1794.

Howe, Sir William (1729–1814); lieutenant-colonel of British army at capture of Louisburg; fought under Wolfe at Quebec; sent with reënforcements to relief of Gage, 1775; led British at Battle of Bunker Hill; succeeded Gage, October, 1775; succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton, 1778.

Hudson, Henry (?–1611); Englishman; explored Hudson River, Hudson Bay and Strait.

Huerta, Victoriano (1844–1916); graduate of National Military School,

Chapultepec, Mexico; served in army under President Diaz for thirty years; placed in command of government troops by Madero to suppress the deposed Diaz, but headed counter-revolution which forced Madero's resignation; alleged to have said that he ordered assassination of Madero; set up provisional government; fled to Europe, 1914; arrested at El Paso, Tex., 1915, for violating U. S. neutrality; died before trial.

Hughes, Charles Evans (1862–); born at Glens Falls, N. Y.; admitted to bar, 1884; practiced in New York City; professor of law at Cornell, 1891–93; lecturer at New York law school, 1893–1900; Republican governor of New York, 1907; associate justice of U. S. Supreme Court, 1910–16; Secretary of State under Harding, 1921– .

Hull, William (1753–1825); born at Derby, Conn.; educated at Yale; admitted to bar; rose from rank of captain to lieutenant-colonel in Revolution; governor of territory of Michigan, 1805; promoted to rank of brigadier-general and given command of army of Northwest, 1812; court-martialed and ordered shot for surrender of Detroit; sentence remitted by President Madison.

Irving, Washington (1783–1859); "America's pioneer in general literature"; born in New York City; first attained fame by his *Knickerbocker's History of New York;* most noted work, *The Sketch Book.*

Isabella of Castile (1451–1504); the union of Isabella and Ferdinand of Aragon united chief kingdoms of Spain.

Jackson, Andrew (1767–1845); seventh President of U. S., 1829–1837; born in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina; admitted to bar; removed to Tennessee; became U. S. district attorney; member of state constitutional convention, 1796; judge of state supreme court; representative of Tennessee in first congress; senator for brief time; consolidator of the Democratic party.

Jackson, Helen Hunt (1831–1885); native of Massachusetts; author of numerous volumes of prose and poetry; her *A Century of Dishonor* widely read; appointed by U. S. Government to investigate Indian affairs, 1881.

Jackson, Thomas Jonathan (1824–1863); born at Clarksburg, Va.; early education limited; graduated from West Point, 1846; served gallantly in Mexican War; taught at Virginia Military Institute, 1851–61; gave himself to Confederate cause; killed at Chancellorsville.

Jay, John (1745–1829); born, New York City; graduate of King's College (Columbia); admitted to bar, 1768; member of First Continental Congress; president of Congress, 1778–79; minister to Spain, 1779; aided in negotiating Treaty of Paris, 1783; Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1784–89; first Chief Justice of Supreme Court; governor of New York, 1795–1801.

Jefferson, Thomas (1743–1826), third President of U. S., 1801–1809, born Shadwell, Albemarle County, Va.; son of Peter Jefferson and Jane Randolph; graduate William and Mary's College; admitted to bar, 1767; member of House of Burgesses, 1769; married Mrs. Martha Wayne Skelton, 1772; built his famous home "Monticello"; delegate to Continental Congress, 1774; resumed seat in Virginia legislature, 1776; secured prohibition of importation of slaves into Virginia, 1778; governor of Virginia, two terms, 1779–1781; Congressman, 1782–1784; prominent in coinage legislation and peace treaty; minister to France, 1785; Secretary of State, 1789; resigned, 1793; leader of Democratic-Republican party; Vice-President of U. S., 1796; wrote "Kentucky Resolutions."

Joffre, Gen. Joseph Jacques Cesaire (1852–); late commander-in-chief of French armies; second lieutenant during Franco-Prussian War, 1870–71; later served in French colonies; appointed chief of general staff, 1911; assumed active command, 1914; succeeded by Nivelle, 1916; was made Marshal of France, now chief military advisor to French Government; received with great acclaim as head of French mission to America.

Johnson, Andrew (1808–1875); seventeenth President of U. S., 1865–69; born at Raleigh, N. C.; removed to Tennessee, 1826; member of state legislature, 1835–41; served in Congress, 1843–52; governor of Tennessee, 1852–57; U. S. senator, 1857; vigorously denounced secession, 1861; military governor of Tennessee, 1862; elected Vice-President with Lincoln, 1864; became President upon death of Lincoln; elected U. S. senator, 1875, but died soon after.

Johnson, Sir William (1715–1774); born in Ireland; settled in New York, 1738; superintendent of Indian affairs during French and Indian War and until his death adopted into Mohawk tribe and made sachem; granted large estate in New York by King for military service.

Johnston, Albert Sidney (1803–1862); native of Kentucky; graduate of West Point, 1826; commanded army in

Texas; Secretary of War Texan Republic; served in Mexican War; conducted Mormon campaign, 1857; commanded Confederate forces in the West, 1861–2; killed in the Battle of Shiloh; promised to be one of the most brilliant generals of modern times.

Johnston, Joseph E. (1807–1891); born, Cherry Grove, Va.; graduated from West Point, 1829; became captain in Seminole War; twice wounded in Mexican War; quartermaster-general of U. S. army, 1860; resigned when Virginia seceded, and was commissioned brigadier-general by Jefferson Davis; fought at Bull Run, Fair Oaks, in the West, and against Sherman at Atlanta; superseded by Hood; criticized, like McClellan, for being too cautious; appointed commissioner of railroads by President Cleveland, 1887.

Joliet, Louis (1645–1700); Canadian explorer; gave world first definite knowledge of Mississippi River; was given sovereign rights of Joliet, Canada, in 1697; descendants are still in possession.

Jones, John Paul (1747–1792); born in Scotland; named originally John Paul; assumed name of friend and benefactor, Willie Jones; offered services to colonies; appointed commander of flagship, *Alfred*, 1775; said to have been first to raise U. S. flag over a man-of-war; entered Russian service as rear-admiral, 1787.

Kearny, Stephen Watts (1794–1848); born, Newark, N. J.; left college to enter army, 1812; became brigadier-general, 1846; commanded army of West at outbreak of Mexican War; governor of California, 1847; civil and military governor of Vera Cruz, 1848; of city of Mexico, 1848; major-general, 1848.

Kent, James (1763–1847); jurist; born in Phillipstown, N. Y.; studied law; professor of law at Columbia College, 1793; rose from justice of the supreme court of New York to be Chancellor of the state, 1814–23; his monumental *Commentaries* have not yet been superseded as an exposition of legal principles.

Key, Francis Scott (1780–1843); native of Maryland; educated at St. John's College; became district attorney of District of Columbia, 1801; was a captive on board British warship that bombarded Fort McHenry during night of September 13, 1814—wrote *Star-Spangled Banner* at dawn; author of other poems.

King, Rufus (1755–1827); born Scarborough, Me.; admitted to bar, 1780; member of Massachusetts general court, 1783; member of Congress, 1784–86; offered resolution to exclude slavery from Northwest Territory; delegate to Federal Convention, 1787; U. S. senator from New York, 1789–96; supported the Jay Treaty; minister to England, 1796–1803; member of Senate, 1813–1825; Federalist nominee for President, 1816; received 34 electoral votes.

Lafayette, Marie Jean Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de (1757–1834); French soldier and statesman; came to America in ship fitted out by himself and offered services to new Republic, 1777; made major-general in American army; rendered valuable service in Virginia, 1781, against Benedict Arnold and Cornwallis; revisited America. 1784, and 1824–25; twenty-three cities and towns and many counties named in his honor in United States.

Lafitte, Jean and **Pierre,** French pirates and smugglers who operated on the lower Mississippi and Gulf; pardoned for past crimes by President Madison in 1815 in return for their services rendered to Jackson in the "Battle of New Orleans."

La Follette, Robert M. (1855–); native of Wisconsin; admitted to bar, 1880; Republican member of Congress, 1885–91; youngest member on entrance; governor of Wisconsin, 1900, 1902, 1904; resigned governorship to enter U. S. Senate, 1905–11; reëlected senator, 1911, 1917, 1923; progressive Republican; leader in political reform; made words Wisconsin and Progress "almost synonymous."

Lansing, Robert (1864–); born at Watertown, N. Y.; graduate of Amherst, 1886; admitted to bar, 1889; counsel, North Atlantic Coast Fisheries Arbitration at The Hague, 1909–10; counselor for Department of State, 1914–15; Secretary of State in President Wilson's Cabinet, 1915–20.

LaSalle, Rene Robert Cavelier Sieur de (1643–1687); next to Champlain greatest of French pioneers in America; explored valley of Illinois River; made first settlement there, 1682; built Ft. St. Louis on Illinois River about which, for twenty years, was maintained the largest confederation of Indian tribes ever controlled by white man for such a period; sailed for Gulf of Mexico, 1684, to found colony at mouth of Mississippi; missed destination; was murdered by a companion.

Lawrence, Amos Adams (1814–1886); graduated from Harvard, 1835; cotton manufacturer and banker; became interested in colonization of Kansas in

1853; treasurer of Emigrant Aid Association; donor of Lawrence Hall at Harvard; founded "Lawrence Institute," Lawrence, Wis., 1849, now Lawrence University.

Leake, S. F.; member of the 28th Congress from Virginia; author of the "popular sovereignty" theory made famous by Cass and Douglass.

Lee, Charles (1731–1782); English officer under Braddock, 1755; emigrated to America, 1773; appointed senior major-general, next in rank to Washington, 1775; court-martialed after Monmouth and suspended from command; dismissed from army for disrespectful letter to Congress.

Lee, Henry (1756–1818); born in Virginia; graduate of Princeton, 1773; efficient army scout, 1777–1780; called "Light-Horse Harry"; lieutenant-colonel of cavalry troops under Greene; delegate to Continental Congress; governor of Virginia, 1792–1795; commanded troops that put down "Whiskey Rebellion"; father of Robert E. Lee; author of the famous eulogy of Washington "First in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Lee, Richard Henry (1732–1794); born at Stratford, Va.; educated in England; childhood friend of Washington; leader in First Continental Congress; president of Congress, 1784; U. S. senator from Virginia, 1789.

Lee, Robert Edward (1807–1870); born in Stratford, Va.; son of "Light-Horse Harry" Lee; graduated from West Point with brilliant record, 1829; married Mary Custis, great grand-daughter of Martha Washington, 1831; rendered noteworthy service in Mexican War, superintendent at West Point, 1852–55; joined Virginia forces, 1861; at close of war became president of Washington College, later Washington and Lee University.

Leif the Lucky; Norseman; introduced Christianity into Greenland.

Leisler, Jacob; born in Frankfort, Germany; of Huguenot descent; came to America, 1660; settled first in Albany, later in New York; known chiefly as leader of democrats against aristocrats.

Lesseps, Ferdinand, Vicomte de (1805–1894); born at Versailles, France; served as consul at Madrid, Cairo, etc.; obtained charter from Said Pasha of Egypt to build Suez Canal, 1854; work was completed in thirteen years; Egyptian government defrayed expenses; appointed by International Congress to build a Panama Canal, 1879; made unsuccessful attempt to carry on enterprise under French auspices.

Lewis, Andrew (1720–1780); born in Donegal, Ireland; of Huguenot family; came to Virginia, 1732; was volunteer to occupy Ohio region, 1754; major of Virginia regiment at Braddock's defeat; commissioner to treat with Indians at Fort Stanwix; commanded Virginia troops that drove Dunmore from Virginia.

Lewis, Meriweather (1774–1809); member of Lewis and Clark expedition; native of Virginia; aided in quelling Whiskey Rebellion, 1794; Jefferson's private secretary, 1801; governor of Louisiana Territory, 1807.

Liliuokalani (1838–); queen of Hawaiian Islands, 1891–94; deposed for treatment of non-naturalized whites; visited U. S. to press her claims, 1896; returned to private estate upon annexation of Islands to U. S., 1898; permitted American flag to be flown from her residence for first time in 1917.

Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865); sixteenth President of U. S., 1861–65; born in Hardin County, Ky.; admitted to bar at Springfield, Ill., 1837; Whig member of Illinois legislature, 1834–41; member of Congress, 1847–49; opposed Mexican War; supported Wilmot Proviso; a founder of Republican party in Illinois; defeated by Douglas as candidate for U. S. Senate, 1858; shot at Ford's Theater by John Wilkes Booth, April 14; died April 15.

Lincoln, Abraham, grandfather of President Abraham Lincoln; moved to Kentucky in 1780; had three sons, the youngest, Thomas, was father of Abraham; shot by Indian, 1788.

Livingston, Robert R. (1746–1813); native of New York; graduated from King's (Columbia) College in 1765; partner in law with John Jay; delegate Continental Congress, 1775–77, 1779–81; Secretary of Foreign Affairs, 1781–83; minister to France, 1801; pushed Louisiana purchase; partner with Robert Fulton; *Clermont* named from Livingston's country estate; founder American Academy of Fine Arts; author of numerous essays.

Locke, John (1632–1704); English philosopher; influential as moralist, economist, and as defender of individualism.

Lodge, Henry Cabot (1850–); born in Boston; graduated from Harvard, 1871; received Ph. D. in 1876; admitted to bar, 1876; edited *North American Review*, 1873–76; lecturer on American history at Harvard, 1876–79; member of Congress, 1887 for three terms; elected U. S. senator, 1899, 1905, 1911, 1917, 1922; one of most scholarly members in the history of the American Senate; author of *Life of Washington*, etc.

Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth (1807–1882); born at Portland, Me.; graduate of Bowdoin College, 1825; professor of modern languages at Bowdoin, 1829–35; at Harvard, 1836–1854; became one of America's best known poets at home and abroad, receiving degrees from both Cambridge and Oxford Universities; one of four American authors awarded a place in Hall of Fame.

Longstreet, James (1821–1904); native of South Carolina; graduated from West Point; served in Mexican War; during Civil War, known as one of hardest fighters in Confederate Army; affectionately called "Old Pete" by his soldiers; made major-general in Confederate Army, 1862; appointed minister to Turkey by President Hayes; U. S. Commissioner of Railroads, 1898–1904.

Loudoun, John Campbell (1705–1782); born in Scotland; governor of Virginia and commander-in-chief of British forces in America, 1756; recalled for inefficiency, 1757.

Lowell, James Russell (1819–1891); born at Cambridge, Mass., of distinguished family; graduate of Harvard; admitted to bar; succeeded Longfellow as professor at Harvard, 1855; editor of *Atlantic Monthly*, 1857–62, of *North American Review*, 1863–72; minister to Spain, 1877–80; to England, 1880–85; noted essayist and poet; published *Fable for Critics*, *My Study Window*, etc.

Madero, Francisco (1873–1913); born in San Pedro, Mexico; well-educated; a liberalist and idealist; overthrew President Diaz; unanimously elected President, 1911; arrested and forced to resign, 1913; assassinated while being transferred from one prison to another.

Madison, James (1751–1836); fourth President of U. S., 1809–17; born Port Conway, Va.; member of Virginia constitutional convention, 1776; member Continental Congress, 1780–84; member Federal Convention; Federalist member of first Congress; later aided in organization of Democratic-Republican party; author of "Virginia Resolutions," 1798, and nullification report, 1800; Secretary of State, 1801.

Mann, Horace (1796–1859); famous educator; born at Franklin, Mass.; graduate of Brown University; admitted to bar, 1823; served in state legislature; secretary of Massachusetts board of education; appointed to remodel school system, 1837; gave whole time and energy to school reforms; founded at Lexington, Mass., first training school for teachers in United States; looked upon as the real founder of common school system; served in Congress, 1848–53; president of Antioch College, Ohio, 1852–59.

Marion, Francis (1732–1795); colonial leader in Revolution; grandson of Huguenot refugee; commanded troop against Cherokees, 1761; rose from captain to brigadier-general of South Carolina troops; commander of Fort Johnson after war; member of South Carolina Senate.

Marquette, Jacques (1637–1675); French; Jesuit missionary and explorer; influence on Indians was deep and lasting; gave up work at Sault Sainte Marie and Mackinaw to explore with Joliet.

Marshall, John (1755–1835); native of Virginia, served in army, 1775–81; admitted to bar, 1781; sat in Virginia assembly, 1782–88; strong advocate of Federal Constitution in Virginia convention, 1788; colleague of Pinckney and Gerry as envoy to French Directory; 1797; Secretary of State, 1800; Chief Justice of Supreme Court, 1801–35.

Mason and Dixon; Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon; English surveyors; determined boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania to be 39° 43′ 26″ (1763–67) known as The Mason-Dixon Line.

Mason, James Murray (1798–1871); graduate of University of Pennsylvania, 1818, and law school, William and Mary, 1820; member of Virginia legislature; U. S. Congress, 1837–1839; member Senate, 1847–1861; author of fugitive slave law of 1850; committee (with Slidell) to represent Confederate States abroad, 1862–1865.

Maury, Matthew Fontaine (1806–1873); native of Virginia; his *Wind and Current Charts* revolutionized science of navigation; sent as commissioner to Europe by Confederate government; published valuable nautical works.

Mazarin, Jules or **Julius** (1602–1661); French; prime minister under Louis XIII; believed in absolute monarchy.

McAdoo, William Gibbs (1863–); student University of Tennessee, admitted to the bar, 1885; president Hudson and Manhattan Railroad Company which built first tunnels under Hudson River, completed 1904; secretary of treasury in President Wilson's cabinet; chairman Federal Reserve Board; made director-general of railways, December, 1917–January, 1919.

McClellan, George Brinton (1826–1885); born in Philadelphia; graduated at West Point, 1846; lieutenant in Mexican War; instructor at West Point;

commissioned by government to make western surveys for proposed Pacific railroad; sent to Europe to study organization of armies; major-general, 1861; proved remarkable military organizer; superseded in command by Burnside; Democratic candidate for president against Lincoln, 1864; elected governor of New Jersey, 1877.

McClernand, John Alexander (1812–1900); native of Kentucky; admitted to bar in Illinois, 1832; served in Black Hawk War; member of Congress, 1843–51, 1859–61; resigned to enter army at outbreak of war; served with ability and received rank of major-general; resigned commission, 1864; practiced law in Springfield, Ill.

McCormick, Cyrus Hall (1809–1884); invented reaping machine, 1831; native of Virginia; meager schooling; removed to Chicago, 1847, where extensive reaper factories were built; member of French Academy of Science, 1878; founded McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago.

McDonough, Thomas (1783–1825); native of Delaware; Scotch-Irish descent; rose from midshipman in navy to commander, 1800–13; served in Mediterranean squadron under Bainbridge and Decatur; promoted to captain for victory on Lake Champlain in War of 1812; died in command of Mediterranean squadron.

McDowell, Irvin (1818–1885); born at Columbus, O.; educated in France and at West Point; served in Mexican War; made brigadier-general, 1861; commanded Army of the Potomac at Bull Run; superseded by McClellan; relieved from field duty, 1862.

McKee, Andrew, deserted American cause with the Girty brothers in 1778 and operated with hostile Indians against the colonies in the West.

McKinley, William (1843–1901); twenty-fifth President of U. S., 1897–1901; born at Niles, Ohio; served in Union Army during Civil War; admitted to bar, 1867; Republican representative in Congress, 1877–83, 1887–91; championed high protective tariff; shot by anarchist at Pan-American exposition at Buffalo.

McLaughlin, Andrew Cunningham (1861–); born in Beardstown, Ill.; graduate of University of Michigan, 1882; professor of history at University of Chicago since 1908; author of *The Confederation and Constitution,* etc.

McPherson, James B. (1828–1864); born, Sandusky, O.; graduated from West Point, 1853; rose to rank of brigadier-general in Civil War; aide to Halleck, 1861; chief engineer of Army of Tennessee; served under Grant at Vicksburg; fought in Atlanta campaign; killed while reconnoitering.

Meade, George Gibson (1815–1872); born at Cadiz, Spain, of American parentage; graduate of West Point, 1835; served in Seminole War; civil engineer in government surveys; served with distinction in Mexican War; in War of Secession succeeded Hooker as commander of Army of Potomac, 1863; won victory at Gettysburg; served under Grant in Virginia campaign, 1863–64; had charge of various military departments after war.

Monroe, James (1758–1831); fifth President of U. S.; 1817–1825; native of Virginia; rose to rank of major in Revolutionary War; member of Virginia legislature, 1782; in Congress, 1783–86; opposed Federal Constitution; U. S. senator, 1790–94; minister to France, 1794; recalled, 1796; governor of Virginia, 1799–1802; special minister to France, 1803; Secretary of State, later Secretary of War under Madison.

Montcalm, de Saint-Veran, Louis Joseph, Marquis de (1712–1759); a French general appointed to the chief command of French forces in Canada, 1756; a national hero.

Montgomery, Richard (1736–1775); born in Ireland; graduate of Trinity College, Dublin; served under Wolfe before Louisburg, 1758; served in West Indies; lived in England until 1772; migrated to America; delegate to New York Provincial Congress, 1775; brigadier-general in Continental Army, 1775; invaded Canada, capturing Montreal, 1775; made major-general; British commander at Quebec gave Montgomery's body the honor of a military burial; in 1818 it was brought to New York City.

Morgan, Daniel (1736–1802); born in New Jersey; wagoner in Braddock's army at age of seventeen; enrolled famous continental rifle-corps, 1775; accompanied Arnold to Quebec; played conspicuous part in capture of Burgoyne, 1777; served under Greene; led troops that suppressed Whiskey Insurrection; member of Congress, 1796–99.

Morgan, John Pierpont (1837–1913); native of Hartford, Conn.; student English High School, Boston, and University of Gottingen; entered banking business in New York, 1857; member Dabney, Morgan & Company, 1864–1871; Drexel, Morgan & Company, now J. P. Morgan & Company, largest private bankers in the United States; floated United States bond issue of sixty-two millions in Cleveland's administration; organized U. S. Steel Corporation, 1901; controlled over

50,000 miles of railways; made great gifts to hospitals, churches and institutions; collector of paintings, yachtsman and philanthropist; among his gifts was a two-million-dollar donation to the University of the South (1902).

Morrill, Justin Smith (1810–1898); native of Vermont; Republican member of Congress, 1855–67; chief author of Morrill tariff; U. S. senator, 1867–1898; chairman of Senate Committee of Finance; strong champion of protection.

Morris, Gouverneur (1752–1816); financier and diplomatist; born, Morrisania, N. Y.; admitted to bar, 1771; chairman of committee to draft state constitution, 1777; member Continental Congress, 1777; sided with Federalists in Constitutional Convention; minister to France, 1792; recalled at request of France; U. S. senator, 1800–03.

Morris, Robert (1734–1806); born in Liverpool, England; emigrated to American colonies; a Pennsylvania delegate to Continental Congress, 1775; signer of Declaration of Independence; financed the Revolutionary War; Yorktown campaign made possible by his financial aid; established Bank of North America, 1781; member of first U. S. Senate.

Morse, Samuel Finley Breese (1791–1872); inventor of telegraph; laid first submarine cable in New York Harbor; took first daguerreotype in United States; noted portrait painter; a founder and first president of National Academy of Design, New York; professor of history of art at University of the City of New York.

Muzzey, David Saville (1870–); graduate of Harvard, 1893; professor of History, Columbia University, 1912– ; author *An American History.*

Narvaez, Panfilo de (1470?–1528); Spanish soldier and adventurer; attempted exploration of Florida.

Nasmyth, James (1808–1890) born in Edinburgh, Scotland; invented planing machine, steam pile driver, hydraulic machines, nut-shaping machine.

Nicholas II (1868–1917); former Czar of Russia.

Nicholson, Sir Francis; born in England; lieutenant-governor of New York under Andros; governor of New York, 1687–89; of Va. and Md., 1690–99; of Virginia, 1699–1705; commanded forces that captured Nova Scotia, 1710; governor of South Carolina, 1719–25.

Nicolet, Jean; French; traded with Indians at Quebec; perhaps first white man to explore interior of Wisconsin.

North, Frederick, Lord, Earl of Guilford (1732–1792); an English statesman; prime minister, 1770–1782; uncompromising in attitude toward American colonies; held to his policies by George III even after he was convinced that they were ruinous.

Oglethorpe, James Edward (1696–1795); founder and first governor of Georgia; as member of Parliament proposed establishment of American colony for debtors; in 1732 received charter from George II; and grant of $50,000 from parliament.

Oldham, John (about 1600–1636); born in England; went to Plymouth about 1623; accused of unorthodoxy by Church; went to Nantasket; represented Watertown in colonial legislature, 1634; explored to site of Windsor, Conn., 1634.

Otis, James (1725–1783); patriotic leader in American Revolution; born in Massachusetts; graduate of Harvard; resigned as advocate-general of Massachusetts rather than defend application for Writs of Assistance; recommended Stamp Act Congress and was delegate; published violent attack on commissioners of customs, 1769; wounded in quarrel with a commissioner; became mentally unbalanced.

Page, Walter Hines (1855–1918); studied at Randolph-Macon, 1872–1876; fellow Johns Hopkins, 1876–1878; editor *Atlantic Monthly*, 1896–1899, and *World's Work*, 1900–1913; United States ambassador to Great Britain, 1913–1918; author *The Rebuilding of Old Commonwealths.*

Paine, Thomas (1737–1809); born in Norfolk, England; removed to America, 1774; editor of *Pennsylvania Magazine;* his pamphlet *Common Sense* was followed by a series of radical pamphlets called *The Crisis;* secretary to committee on foreign affairs, 1777; dismissed 1779 for exposing diplomatic secrets in writings; went to Europe, 1787; member of French National Convention; imprisoned for opposition to execution of Louis XVI; wrote *Age of Reason;* returned to United States, 1802.

Pakenham, Sir Edward Michael (1778–1815); lieut. 92nd Foot, 1794; lieut.-col. 64th foot, 1779; lieut.-colonel 7th royal fusiliers, 1805; brother-in-law of Duke of Wellington; commander third div. Brit. army at Salamanca; major-general, 1812; made Knight of the Bath, 1813; succeeded Gen. Ross in command British army in U. S., 1814; killed at New Orleans, Jan. 8, 1815.

Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount (1784–1865); born in Hampshire, England; educated at University

of Edinburgh; premier of Great Britain, 1855–57; 1859–65.

Parker, Alton Brooks (1852–); born in Cortland, N. Y.; admitted to bar, 1873; resigned as chief justice of state court of appeals to accept Democratic nomination for presidency, 1904; returned to practice of law.

Parkman, Francis (1823–1893); born in Boston; graduate of Harvard; planned history of French in America while in college; after graduation, lived for several months with Indians of Dakota, and permanently injured his health; author of volumes on *France and England in the New World;* visited Europe five times for material.

Parsons, Samuel Holden (1737–1789); born in Lyme, Conn.; graduate of Harvard; admitted to bar, 1759; representative in Connecticut assembly 18 sessions; commissioned major-general in Revolution; appointed by Washington as first judge of Northwest Territory; employed to treat with Indians in northern Ohio.

Pastorius, Francis Daniel, German lawyer; converted to Quakerism; emigrated to Pennsylvania, 1683; agent of Frankfort Land Co.; purchased 15,000 acres from Penn; founded Germantown; became the lawgiver of the settlement.

Paterson, William (1745–1806); born at sea; admitted to New Jersey bar, 1769; delegate to state constitutional convention, 1776; attorney-general, 1776–1783; delegate to Continental Congress, 1780–81; member of Federal Convention, 1787; proposed "New Jersey Plan"; U. S. senator, 1789; governor of New Jersey, 1791–93; associate justice of Supreme Court, 1793–1806.

Paxson, Frederic Logan (1877–); graduate of University of Pennsylvania, 1898; professor of American history, University of Wisconsin, since 1910; author, *The New Nation, Recent American History.*

Payne, Henry B. (1810–1896); native of N. Y.; removed to Ohio, 1834; member of Congress, 1875–77; U. S. senator, 1885–91.

Pemberton, John Clifford (1814–1881); born at Philadelphia; graduated from West Point, 1837; served with distinction against Indians and in Mexican War; entered Confederate service at beginning of War of Secession; chief in command during defense of Vicksburg; resigned after fall of Vicksburg.

Penn, William (1644–1718); most famous member of the Society of Friends or Quakers; son of noted English admiral; converted to Quakerism by Thomas Loe while student at Oxford; wrote religious pamphlets and book entitled *No Cross, No Crown;* invested his fortune in the Pennsylvania colony.

Perry, Oliver Hazard (1785–1819); born in South Kingston, R. I.; entered navy as midshipman, 1799; served in Tripolitan War; commanded fleet on Lake Erie, 1813; sent against pirates in West Indies, 1819; died at Port of Spain, Trinidad.

Pershing, John Joseph (1860–); native of Missouri; graduate of West Point, 1886; served against Apaches, 1886; also against Sioux; military instructor at University of Nebraska, 1891–95; instructor at West Point at outbreak of Spanish-American War; first lieutenant at Santiago; organized and was first chief of Bureau of Insular Affairs in War Department; military governor of Philippines; military attaché at Tokio during Russo-Japanese War; promoted to brigadier-general; governor of province of Moro in Philippines; ordered to Mexican border, 1914; appointed Chief of Staff, U. S. A., 1921.

Petain, Gen. Henri Phillippe, retired French colonel at outbreak of World War; ordered to Alsace by Joffre; the hero at Verdun; superseded Nivelle as commander-in-chief of French armies in spring of 1917; an unerring strategist.

Phillips, Wendell (1811–1884); born at Boston; admitted to bar, 1834; orator of abolition movement; closely associated with Garrison; delegate to world's anti-slavery convention at London, 1840; opposed reëlection of Lincoln; president of American Anti-Slavery Society, 1865–70; advocate of temperance and woman's suffrage.

Pickens, Andrew (1739–1817); born Paxton, Penn.; moved to South Carolina, 1752; fought against Creeks and Cherokees; brigadier-general in Revolution; member of state legislature, 1783–93; 1801–12; member of Congress, 1793–95.

Pickering, Timothy (1745–1829); born at Salem, Mass.; admitted to bar, 1768; ranked as adjutant general and quartermaster general during Revolution; delegate to Federal Convention; member state constitutional convention, 1789–90; negotiated with northern Indian tribes, 1790–94; Postmaster General, 1791–94; Secretary of War, 1794; Secretary of State, 1795; Senator, 1803–11; member of Congress, 1813–17.

Pickett, George Edward (1825–1875); Confederate general; led famous charge at Gettysburg; born at Richmond; graduated from West Point; served in Mexican War as lieutenant; fought Indians on Western frontier; upon outbreak of War of Secession resigned from U. S. Army to become colonel of Vir-

ginia forces; his division nicknamed "Gamecock Brigade" in Peninsular campaign; gave brilliant service at Petersburg.

Pierce, Franklin (1804–1869); fourteenth President of U. S., 1853–57; born at Hillsborough, N. H.; admitted to bar, 1827; served in Congress, 1833–37; U. S. Senator, 1837–42; brigadier-general in Mexican War, 1847–48; urged annexation of Cuba during presidency.

Pike, Zebulon Montgomery (1779–1813); born at Lamberton, N. J.; entered army as cadet, rose to rank of lieutenant; led two exploring expeditions into Louisiana Territory; best-known mountain peak in U. S. named for him; promoted to colonel in 1812; killed in attack on York, Canada.

Pinchot, Gifford (1865–); born at Simsbury, Conn.; graduated from Yale with reputation of being "mad on trees"; studied forestry in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Austria; member of National Forest Commission, 1896; chief of Division of Forestry (Forest Service of U. S. Department of Agriculture since 1905), 1898–1910; president of National Conservation Committee, 1910; also, professor of forestry at Yale since 1903; elected Governor of Pennsylvania, 1922.

Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth (1746–1825); native of South Carolina; studied law in England; brigadier-general in Revolution; member of Federal Convention, 1787; minister to France, 1796; one of three commissioners entrusted with settlement of French troubles; major-general in army to fight France, 1798; Federalist presidential candidate, 1804 and 1808.

Pinkney, William (1764–1822); native of Annapolis, Md.; lawyer; member of Maryland convention to ratify Constitution; special commissioner to determine claims of American merchants for losses by acts of English government; minister to England 1807–11; Attorney General in Madison's cabinet; minister to Russia, 1816–18; U. S. senator, 1820.

Pitt, William, first Earl of Chatham (1708–1778); became member of Parliament, 1735; known as "The Empire Builder"; largely responsible for overthrow of France and for English supremacy in India and America, 1763; opposed imposition of taxes on American colonies.

Pizarro, Francisco (1471–1541); Spanish explorer; crossed Isthmus of Panama with Balboa; became cattle farmer in Panama; explored western coast of South America; conquered Incas of Peru; founded Lima.

Platt, Thomas Collier (1833–1910); born, Oswego, N. Y.; elected to Congress, 1872; political ally of Roscoe Conkling; elected to U. S. Senate, 1881; resigned with Conkling because the President did not follow their wishes in making appointments; regained seat, 1897.

Poe, Edgar Allan (1809–1849); poet, born in Boston, Mass.; orphaned at age of two; adopted by John Allan, wealthy merchant of Richmond, Va.; educated at Richmond Academy and at University of Virginia; published a volume of poems, 1827; secured cadetship at West Point but was expelled; married in 1835, and for a period wrote brilliantly for various magazines; after death of wife, 1847, he became increasingly dissipated till death; did notable literary work, critical, narrative, and poetical; most famed for his poetry; best known abroad for his tales *The Gold Bug, The Purloined Letter,* etc.

Polk, James Knox (1795–1849); eleventh President of U. S., 1845–49; born in Mecklenburg Co., N. C.; admitted to bar in Tenn., 1820; Democratic member of Congress, 1825–39; governor of Tenn., 1839–41; dominated his Cabinet and controlled Congress during his Presidency.

Polo, Marco (about 1250–1324); Venetian; journeyed to China in 1271; favorite in court of Kublai Khan, Mongol ruler; returned to Venice, 1295; *Book of Marco Polo* source of European knowledge of Orient for centuries.

Ponce de Leon, Juan (about 1460–1521); Spanish; with Columbus on second voyage; killed by Indians in attempt to colonize Florida.

Pontiac (about 1720–1769); chief of Ottawas; born in Ohio; organized great Indian confederacy extending from Lake Superior to Gulf of Mexico and including practically all tribes in Mississippi Valley; proposed extermination of British in America; after five months struggle, treaty of peace was made.

Pope, John (1822–1892); born in Louisville, Ky.; graduated at West Point, 1842; served in Mexican War; conducted explorations in Minnesota and in Rockies, 1849–50, 1854–59; served in Union Army in West, 1861–62; commanded Army of Virginia in summer of 1862; assigned to army of Northwest, 1862; ranked as major-general, 1882; retired, 1886.

Powell, John Wesley (1834–1902); graduated from Oberlin College, Ohio; did research work in geology; served in Civil War on Union side; professor of geology in Wesleyan College, later at Illinois Normal University; began valuable surveys of Colorado River regions, 1868; director of U. S. Geological Survey, 1884–94.

Powhatan (about 1550–1618); Indian chief born near Jamestown, Va.; real name, Wahunsonacook; frequently supplied English settlers with food after his daughter, Pocahontas, married John Rolfe in 1614.

Prescott, William (1726–1795); served in French and Indian War; commanded party which fortified Bunker Hill and led colonials at the Battle of Bunker Hill; fought at Saratoga; member, State Legislature; grandfather of William Hickling Prescott, the historian.

Prescott, William Hickling (1796–1859); historian; born, Salem, Mass.; grandson of Colonel William Prescott; graduate of Harvard, 1814; author of *Conquest of Mexico, Conquest of Peru,* etc.

Pulaski, Casimir (1748–1779); Polish soldier, exiled, met Benjamin Franklin in France; was prevailed on to aid Americans in Revolution; joined American Army, 1777; made brigadier-general after Brandywine; organized corps of cavalry at Valley Forge; mortally wounded in siege of Savannah.

Putnam, Israel (1718–1790); captain in the Old French War; made colonel, 1764; appointed brigadier-general of Massachusetts Militia, 1775; major-general after Battle of Bunker Hill; fortified New York; defeated in Battle of Long Island; distinguished for bravery in Battle of Harlem Heights; fortified Philadelphia; commanded American right wing in Battle of Monmouth.

Putnam, Rufus (1738–1824); native of Massachusetts; served in Old French War; surveyor; explored East Florida, lieutenant-colonel, Continental Army, 1775; chief engineer, 1776; fought with his cousin, General Israel Putnam, at New York; in battle of Saratoga; built Fort Putnam at West Point; in battle of Stony Point; brigadier-general, 1783; aided in putting down Shays's Rebellion; chief organizer, Ohio Company; led the pioneers to Marietta, Ohio; judge Supreme Court, Northwestern Territory; surveyor-general of U. S., 1796–1803; "Father and Founder of Ohio."

Pyncheon, William (about 1590–1662); born in England; removed to New England, 1630; founded Agawam, near Springfield, Mass., 1636.

Quay, Matthew Stanley (1833–1904); native of Pennsylvania; admitted to bar, 1854; served in Union Army during Civil War; served his state as legislator, secretary, and treasurer, 1872–1885; became Republican boss of Pennsylvania; U. S. senator, 1887; chairman of Republican National Committee, 1888; tried for misappropriation of state funds, 1899; acquitted; appointed U. S. senator, 1899; reëlected, 1901.

Raleigh, Sir Walter (about 1552–1618); English navigator and historian; favorite of Queen Elizabeth; shared in victory over Spanish Armada; explored Orinoco River; author of *History of the World.*

Randolph, Edmund Jennings (1753–1813); born Williamsburg, Va.; admitted to bar; aide under Washington, 1775; member of Virginia constitutional convention, 1776; attorney-general of Virginia; member of Congress, 1779–82; governor of Virginia, 1787; submitted "Virginia plan" in Federal Convention, 1787; attorney-general of U. S., 1789; succeeded Jefferson as Secretary of State; resigned 1795.

Randolph, John (1773–1833); descendant of Pocahontas and John Rolfe; studied at Princeton and Columbia Colleges; practiced law; elected to Congress, 1799; lost seat in the House through opposition to the war with England, 1813; reëlected, 1815; elected to the Senate, 1825; envoy to Russia, 1830; gained a reputation for invective and sarcasm in Congress; bitterly opposed the Missouri Compromise; freed his slaves and provided for their support in his will.

Reed, Thomas Brackett (1839–1902); born in Portland, Me.; practiced law in Portland; attorney-general of Maine, 1870–72; member of U. S. House of Representatives, 1877–99; Speaker of House, 1889–91, 1895–99; nicknamed "Czar Reed"; unsuccessful candidate for Republican nomination for president, 1892 and 1896.

Revere, Paul (1735–1818); son of a Frenchman named Rivoire; educated, North Grammar School, Boston; engraver by trade; served in the Old French War; produced many engravings which made popular the patriot cause; commissioned major and lieutenant-colonel, 1776; invented method of rolling copper into large sheets; made plates for the *Constitution* and the *Clermont.*

Reynolds, John Fulton (1820–1863); a native of Pennsylvania; graduate of West Point, 1841; served in Mexican War; brigadier-general of volunteers, 1861; made major-general, 1862; killed on the first day at Gettysburg.

Rhodes, James Ford (1848–); educated New York University and University of Chicago; his *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850,* the standard work of its period; author of *History of the Civil War, History of the United States from Hayes to McKinley.*

Robertson, James (1742–1814); "the father of Tennessee"; born in Virginia; made a settlement on the Watauga River about 1760; founded Nashville, 1780; appointed commander of militia in the Territory South of the Ohio by Washington, 1791; appointed agent to Chickasaw tribes at outbreak of War of 1812; died at his post.

Rockefeller, John Davison (1839–); born in Richford, N. Y.; common school education; removed to Cleveland, O., 1853; at nineteen borrowed $1,000 and became head of a commission firm; organized company with Samuel Andrews, oil refiner, 1862; subsequent consolidations resulted in Standard Oil Company, 1882; retired from business, 1895; has devoted much time and millions of dollars to public welfare.

Roosevelt, Theodore (1858–1919); twenty-sixth President of United States, 1901–1909; born in New York City; descendant of wealthy Dutch burghers, the Van Rosenvelts; graduate of Harvard; Republican member of state assembly, 1881–1884; rancher in North Dakota, 1884–86; U. S. Civil Service Commissioner, 1889–95; president New York City police board; assistant secretary of Navy, 1897–98; commander of the "Rough Riders," 1898; governor of New York, 1899; Vice-President of United States, 1901, until death of McKinley same year; Progressive nominee for President, 1912.

Root, Elihu (1845–); born at Clinton, N. Y.; graduated in law at New York University; admitted to bar, 1867; U. S. District Attorney, 1883; succeeded Alger as Secretary of War in McKinley's Cabinet; Secretary of State in Roosevelt's Cabinet; resigned to become U. S. senator from New York, 1909; counsel for United States in North Atlantic fisheries arbitration, 1910; member of Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, 1910; received Nobel Prize for Peace, 1912; chairman of commission to Republic of Russia, 1917; commissioner plenipotentiary at Disarmament Conference, Washington, 1921; has received honorary degrees from thirteen universities.

Rosecrans, William Starke (1819–1898); born at Kingston, O.; graduated at West Point, 1842; served as army engineer, 1842–54; served under McClellan; commanded in West Virginia and Mississippi; as commander of the Army of the Cumberland, was defeated at Chickamauga; succeeded by Thomas; later relieved of authority; minister to Mexico, 1868; member of Congress from California, 1881–85; rank of brigadier-general restored, 1889.

Royce, Josiah (1855–1916); native of California; graduate University of California, 1875; professor University of California, 1878–1914; Harvard, 1914–1916; author *History of California, William James and Other Essays, The Problem of Christianity*, etc.

Rumsey, James (1743–1792); born in Maryland; propelled boat by machinery on Potomac, 1784; obtained patent for steam-propelled boat, 1787; a "Rumsey Society" formed to aid him in Philadelphia; went to London; obtained patents in Great Britain, Holland and France; made experiment on Thames, 1792; died in London without completing his invention.

Russell, Lord John (1792–1878); born in London; educated at University of Edinburgh; twice Premier of Great Britain; as foreign secretary under Lord Palmerston accused of violating neutrality in the Alabama affair.

Sackville-West, Lionel Sackville, second **Baron Sackville,** born in England, 1827; envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to United States, 1881–88; recall asked for because accused of interfering with United States political affairs.

Saint Clair, Arthur (1734–1818); Scotch-American; educated at University of Edinburgh; came to America during French and Indian Wars; later settled in Pennsylvania; made major-general in Revolution; deprived of command for surrendering to Burgoyne; volunteered and again rose to distinction; member of Continental Congress, 1785–87; first governor of Northwest Territory, 1789–1802; commanded forces against Miami Indians, 1791; relieved of governorship by President Jefferson.

Saint Leger, Barry (1737–1789); British soldier; served under Wolfe at Quebec; driven into Canada by Arnold, 1777; carried on guerilla operations along border.

Salisbury, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, Marquis of (1830–1903); elected to Parliament, 1853; became a prominent Conservative; entered House of Lords on death of father, 1868; Secretary of State for India, 1874; for Foreign Affairs, 1878; Premier, 1885, 1886–92, 1895–1902.

Sampson, William Thomas (1840–1902); born, Palmyra, N. Y.; son of Irish immigrants; appointed midshipman in U. S. Naval Academy, and graduated 1861; became lieutenant-commander in navy during Civil War; instructor in Naval Academy, 1868–71; held many positions of trust; at outbreak of Spanish-American War was

given charge of North Atlantic squadron and was commander-in-chief of naval forces at Cuba; later took command of Charleston navy yard.

Santa Anna, Antonio Lopez de (1795–1876); born at Jalapa, Mexico; served in colonial army of Spain, 1810–21; aided in revolt of Mexico, 1821; defeated last attempt to restore Spanish power in Mexico, 1829; President of Mexico, 1833; commanded army against Texas, 1835–36; against United States, 1846; reinstated as President, 1853–55.

Schley, Winfield Scott (1839–1911); graduate U. S. Naval Academy, 1860; served in Civil War, being made lieutenant-commander, 1866, captain in 1888, and commodore in 1898; made rear-admiral after the battle of Santiago, 1898; retired, 1901.

Schurz, Carl (1829–1906); "the greatest American citizen of German birth"; born at Liblar, Prussia; aided in publication of liberal newspaper; fled from Germany to escape arrest; emigrated to America, 1852; lawyer, and journalist in Wisconsin; resigned as minister to Spain to serve in War of Secession; U. S. senator from Missouri, 1869–76, (first German-American to enter Senate); Secretary of Interior, 1877–81; editor-in-chief of New York *Evening Post*, 1881–83; president of National League for Civil Service Reform, 1892–1901.

Scott, Thomas A. (1824–1881); a native of Pennsylvania; entered service of Pennsylvania Railway, 1851; superintendent, 1855–59; vice-president, 1859–61; Assistant Secretary of War, 1861–62; assistant quartermaster general under Hooker; president and promoter "Pan Handle Route" of Pennsylvania lines; Union Pacific Railway, Texas Pacific Railway.

Scott, Winfield (1786–1866); native of Virginia; admitted to bar, 1806; served in War of 1812; became major-general after close of war; commanded federal troops at Charleston during nullification trouble; served in Seminole War, 1835–37; commander-general of army, 1841–1861; defeated as nominee for President, 1852.

Semmes, Raphael (1809–1877); entered U. S. navy, 1826; rendered important services in Mexican War; secretary United States Lighthouse Board, 1858–1861; made commander Confederate navy, 1861; commanded the *Alabama*, 1862–1864; promoted as rear-admiral, 1864; author of *Afloat and Ashore during Mexican War: The Cruise of the Alabama*.

Sevier, John (1745–1815); born in Virginia; explored in East Tennessee; built Fort Watauga, 1769; settled in North Carolina; member of legislature, 1777; fought in Revolution; governor of Tennessee when first organized, 1796–1801, and again, 1803–09; member of Congress, 1811; died on a mission to Creek Indians.

Seward, William Henry (1801–1872); born Florida, N. Y.; educated at Union College; practiced law; governor of New York, 1838–42; entered Senate, 1849; resisted extension of slavery; Secretary of State under Lincoln and Johnson; adjusted Trent Affair and Alabama Affair; negotiated purchase of Alaska.

Seymour, Horatio (1810–1886); born at Pompey Hill, N. Y., admitted to bar; governor of New York, 1852–54, 1863–65; Democratic nominee for president, 1868.

Shafter, William Rufus (1835–1906); born at Galesburg, Mich.; common school education; became colonel of Seventeenth U. S. Colored Infantry, 1864; ranked brigadier at close of war and continued in service; at close of Spanish-American War given command of Military Department of East; transferred to Department of Pacific; retired with rank of major-general, 1901.

Shays, Daniel (1747-1825), farmer; successively ensign, lieutenant, and captain in Revolution; discharged 1780; organized a party of 1000 men who prevented the sitting of Massachuse ts Supreme Court at Springfield, Mass., September, 1786; attacked Springfield arsenal January 25, 1787, and was repulsed; "army" defeated at Petersham, February, 1787; granted a pardon and was given a pension for Revolutionary services in 1820.

Sheridan, Philip Henry (1831–1888); born in Albany, N. Y.; graduated at West Point, 1853; fought against Indians; won rapid promotion in Civil War; made commander of cavalry of Army of Potomac, 1863; given charge of Army of Shenandoah, 1864; one of three Union officers to attain rank of general, the others being Grant and Sherman; commanded various departments after war; went to Europe, 1870, to study operations of Franco-Prussian War; appointed commanding-general of U. S. Army, 1883.

Sherman, John (1823–1900); born at Lancaster, O.; admitted to bar, 1844; member of Congress, 1855–61; U. S. senator, 1861–77; chairman of committee on finance; Secretary of Treasury, 1877–81; achieved resumption of specie payment; Senator, 1881–97; author of the Sherman Act of 1890; sought nomination for presidency in 1884 and 1888.

Sherman, Roger (1721–1793); native of Massachusetts; citizen of Connecticut; served as member of state legislature, justice of peace, judge; a framer of the Declaration of Independence and of articles of confederation; member of Constitutional Convention, 1787; member of first U. S. Senate, 1791.

Sherman, William Tecumseh (1820–1891); born at Lancaster, O.; adopted by Thomas Ewing; graduated from West Point, 1840; fought against Seminoles; served in California in Mexican War; banker in San Francisco, 1853–57; practiced law in Kansas, 1858–61; fought with Union Army in West; made brigadier-general after Vicksburg, 1863; began famous march to sea, 1864; commanding general of U. S. Army, 1869–1884.

Sickles, Daniel Edgar (1825–1914); born in N. Y. City, 1822; admitted to bar, 1844; secretary of legation to England in ministry of Buchanan; Democratic member of Congress, 1855; reëlected, 1860 served on Union side in Civil War; severely wounded at Gettysburg; retired as major-general of U. S. Army, 1869; appointed minister to Spain, 1869; member of Congress, 1892–94.

Sinclair, Upton (1878–); born at Baltimore, Md.; graduate of University of the City of New York, 1897; did postgraduate work at Columbia University; widely known as author of novel called *The Jungle* which revealed conditions in Chicago stockyards; government investigation followed; one of founders of Intercollegiate Socialist Society; withdrew from Socialist party, 1917, because it opposed the Great War; author of *King Coal, The Cry for Justice*, etc.

Slidell, John (1793–1871); born in New York City; graduate of Columbia College; U. S. district attorney in New Orleans, 1829–30; in Congress, 1843–45; U. S. minister to Mexico, 1845; U. S. senator, 1853–61; Confederate commissioner to France, 1861.

Smith, Capt. John (1580–1631); famous leader of English settlers of Virginia; sailed as ordinary colonist; ability made him executive head; returned to England in 1609 because of wound; explored New England coast, 1614–15; made maps and wrote of his explorations; author of *A True Relation . . . of Virginia* and *A General Historie of Virginia.*

Smith, Joseph (1805–1844); founder of Mormon Church; born at Sharon, Vt.; moved to Manchester, N. Y., 1819; according to his own account, he saw a series of visions which inspired *The Book of Mormon;* organized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, or Mormon Church, at Fayette, N. Y., 1830; sent out a number of missionaries; moved from Ohio to Missouri, from Missouri to Nauvoo, Ill.; arrested on charge of treason; shot in prison by a mob.

Soto, Fernando de (about 1496–1542); Spaniard; of impoverished noble family; accompanied Pizarro to Peru; believed Florida richer than Peru or Mexico; gained permission of King to conquer it at his own expense.

Sparks, Jared (1789–1866); historian; born at Willington, Conn.; graduate of Harvard, 1815; studied theology; owner and editor of *North American Review*, 1823–30; Unitarian minister, 1819–23; chaplain to House of Representatives, 1821; president of Harvard, 1849–53; edited *The Writings of George Washington.*

Spaulding, Solomon (1761–1816); clergyman; born Ashford, Conn.; served in Revolution; graduated from Dartmouth, 1785; settled in New Salem (now Conneaut) Ohio; wrote romance, *The Manuscript Found;* at one time *Book of Mormon* was suspected of being based on Spaulding's manuscript.

Spottswood, Sir Alexander (1676–1740); born in Tangier, Africa; governor of Virginia, 1710–23; colonial postmaster, 1736.

Standish, Miles or **Myles** (1584–1656); born in Lancashire, England; spent most of his youth in the British army; was appointed lieutenant for bravery in the wars with Holland; joined the Separatist colony in Holland, 1609, though not himself a Separatist; emigrated on the *Mayflower;* chosen military leader of Plymouth; saved the colonists thousands of dollars by securing reductions in British claims, while acting as assistant to the governor and treasurer of Plymouth.

Stannard, George Jennison (1820–1886); native of Vermont; lieutenant-colonel 2nd Vermont volunteers, 1861; brigadier-general of volunteers, 1863; his brigade blocked Longstreet's attack on second day of Gettysburg and Pickett's charge on the third day; brevetted major-general, 1864.

Stanton, Edwin McMasters (1814–1869); born, Steubenville, Ohio; admitted to bar, 1836; U. S. Attorney-General, 1860; opposed to slavery; Secretary of War under Lincoln; clashed with President Johnson; resigned after trial and acquittal of Johnson; died soon after appointment as Associate Justice of Supreme Court by Grant.

Stark, John (1728–1822); native of New Hampshire; served in the Old French War; won rank of brigadier-

general for services at Bunker Hill, Princeton, and Bennington.

Stephens, Alexander Hamilton (1812–1883); born in Georgia; admitted to bar, 1834; member of Congress, 1843–1859; opposed to secession but remained loyal to state; Vice-President of Confederacy; headed peace commission at Hampton Roads Conference; underwent six months' imprisonment at close of the War; was refused seat in Senate, 1866; Governor of Georgia, 1882.

Steuben, Frederick William Augustus, Baron von (1730–1794); German veteran; came to America to aid in Revolution; thorough knowledge of military tactics; drilled raw colonial troops at Valley Forge; collected, organized, and disciplined recruits throughout war; spent remainder of life in United States; given gold-hilted sword and pension of $2,400 by Congress.

Stevens, Thaddeus (1792–1868); graduated from Dartmouth, 1814; admitted to bar in Pennsylvania in 1816; member for six terms of the Pennsylvania legislature; member of Congress, 1849–1853, 1859–1868; was leader of the radical Republicans throughout the war and reconstruction; opponent of Lincoln's plan of reconstruction; leader in the impeachment of President Johnson; unrivalled in bitterness of invective and ridicule in debate.

Story, Joseph (1779–1845); jurist; born in Marblehead, Mass.; graduate of Harvard; admitted to bar, 1801; elected to Congress, 1808; associate justice of U. S. Supreme Court, 1811–1845; his commentaries on the Constitution entitled *Conflict of Laws* and his written judgments make twenty-seven volumes.

Stowe, Harriet Elizabeth Beecher (1811–1896); born in Litchfield, Conn.; sister of Henry Ward Beecher; educated at Hartford, Conn.; removed to Boston; taught school there and in Cincinnati, O.; married Rev. Calvin E. Stowe; visited in South; first published *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the Washington *National Era*, 1851.

Stuart, James Ewell Brown (1833–1864); native of Virginia, graduated from West Point, 1854, and went with regiment to Kansas to restore order; fought against Indians; resigned from Federal Army, 1861; commissioned major-general of Confederate cavalry, 1862; aided Stonewall Jackson at Chancellorsville; mortally wounded, 1864.

Sullivan, John (1740–1795); born in Maine; lawyer; in First Continental Congress, 1774; appointed brigadier-general of army, 1775; reinforced troops in Canada; with Washington in middle states' campaigns, 1777–78; scourged Six Nations in Wyoming Valley, 1779; in Congress, 1780; was successively attorney-general, president, and judge of New Hampshire.

Sumner, Charles (1811–1874); born in Boston; graduate of Harvard; admitted to bar, 1834; U. S. senator, 1851–1874; zealous anti-slavery leader; approved impeachment of Johnson.

Sumter, Thomas (1734–1832); born in Virginia; volunteer in French and Indian War; lieutenant-colonel of South Carolina regiment of riflemen, 1776; harassed the British in South and North Carolina, 1780–81; called "South Carolina Gamecock" by British; in Congress, 1789–93, 1797–1801; U. S. senator, 1801–09, 1811–17; appointed minister to Brazil, 1809.

Taft, William Howard (1857–); twenty-seventh President of United States, 1909–13; born at Cincinnati, O.; admitted to bar, 1880; judge of Cincinnati Superior Court, 1887; U. S. solicitor general, 1890; U. S. circuit judge, 1892–1900; first civil governor of Philippines, 1901–1904; Secretary of War, 1904–06; provisional governor of Cuba, 1906; resumed professorship of law at Yale, 1913; Chief Justice of Supreme Court since 1922.

Taney, Roger Brooke, (1777–1864); native of Maryland; admitted to bar, 1799; member state senate, 1816–21; attorney-general of Maryland, 1827–31; Attorney-General of United States, 1831; transferred to Treasury Department, 1833, because Duane refused to remove United States deposits from Bank of United States; refusal of Senate to confirm appointment caused resignation; became Chief Justice of Supreme Court, 1836.

Tarbell, Ida Minerva (1857–); native of Pennsylvania; graduate Allegheny College, 1880; connected with numerous magazines; best known works *Early Life of Lincoln*, *History of the Standard Oil Co.*, etc.

Tarleton, Sir Banastre (1754–1833); born, Liverpool, England; purchased commission in British army; one of most active officers under Cornwallis in Carolinas and Virginia, 1780–81; "Tarleton's quarter" meant "wholesale butchery."

Taylor, Zachary (1784–1850); twelfth President of United States, 1849–50; born in Orange County, Va.; served with credit in War of 1812; served as colonel in Black Hawk and Seminole wars; ranked as major-general for service in Mexican War; broke with southern Whigs while President by re-

fusing to approve Compromise of 1850; died in office.

Thomas, George Henry (1816–1870); native of Virginia; graduate of West Point, 1840; served in Mexican War; instructor at West Point; served five years as major of Second Cavalry in Texas; remained loyal to Union in War of Secession; known as "Rock of Chickamauga"; crushed Hood's army at Nashville and received rank of major-general in regular army; commanded Military Division of the Tennessee during remainder of the war.

Tilden, Samuel Jones (1814–1886); born at New Lebanon, N. Y.; admitted to bar, 1841; chairman of Democratic state committee, 1866; leader in overthrow of Tweed Ring; governor of New York, 1874–76.

Tirpitz; Admiral Alfred von (1897–1916); Secretary of State for German Admiralty, 1897–1916; German navy built under his direction; inaugurated the policy of sinking undefended passenger and cargo boats without warning; retired upon failure of submarine policy.

Toombs, Robert (1810–1885); born at Washington, Ga.; graduate of Union College, N. Y.; admitted to bar; served as captain in Creek War, 1836; elected senator, 1853; supported Kansas-Nebraska Act; member of Confederate Congress; Secretary of State under Jefferson Davis; resigned to become brigadier-general of Georgia troops; practiced law, 1867–1885.

Toscanelli (1397–1482); astronomer and geographer of Florence, Italy; much influenced by writings of Marco Polo to believe that India could be reached by crossing the Atlantic; probably strengthened Columbus's belief in this theory.

Trist, Nicholas Philip (1800–1874); born, Charlottesville, Va.; educated at West Point; professor at West Point, 1819–20; as United States commissioner negotiated peace treaty with Mexico at Guadalupe-Hidalgo, 1848; U. S. Consul at Havana; private secretary of President Jackson.

Tryon, William (about 1725–1788); born in Ireland; Governor of North Carolina, 1765; built palace of Newberne at expense of colony; increased taxes brought on "Regulator insurgent" movement; Governor of New York at outbreak of Revolution; entered British army; became lieutenant-general in England, 1782.

Tupper, Benjamin (1738–1792); born in Stoughton, Mass.; soldier in French and Indian War; became brigadier-general in Revolution; was one of the orginators of the Ohio Company; surveyor of Ohio lands, 1785; distinguished in suppressing Shays's Insurrection; settled in Marietta, 1787; became judge, 1788.

Turner, Frederick Jackson (1861–); native of Wisconsin, graduate University of Wisconsin, 1884; professor at University of Wisconsin, 1885–1910; Harvard, 1910– ; author of *The Rise of the New West* and articles which made the influence of the West recognized to be of prime importance.

Tweed, William M. (1823–1878); entered New York City politics through influence gained as member of a fire engine company; member Board of Alderman and national House of Representatives for one term; school commissioner and deputy street commissioner; sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment in 1873 after a civil suit brought about through activity of the New York *Times*.

Tyler, John (1790–1862); born in Charles County, Va.; graduated at William and Mary College; admitted to bar, 1809; served in Congress, 1816–23; governor of Virginia, 1825; U. S. senator, 1827; favored annexation of Texas and seizure of California and Oregon; president of Peace Congress, February, 1861; urged secession of Virginia.

Underwood, Oscar W. (1862–); born in Louisville, Ky.; began law practice in Birmingham, Ala.; 1884; Democratic member of Congress, 1895–1915; chairman of Ways and Means Committee; U. S. senator, 1915– ; commissioner plenipotentiary for United States at Disarmament Conference, Washington, 1921.

Van Buren, Martin (1782–1862); eighth President of United States, 1837–1841; born at Kinderhook, N. Y.; admitted to bar, 1803; surrogate of Columbia County, 1808–13; state senator, 1813–20, serving also as attorney-general, 1815–19; resigned to become governor of New York; U. S. senator 1821–28; became Secretary of State, 1829; nomination as minister to England rejected by Senate, 1831.

Vanderbilt, Cornelius (1794–1877); native of New York; ferry boy between Staten Island and New York at sixteen; at eighteen owned three ferries; controlled steam ferry business in New York region by 1829; owned largest fleet of its kind in world; transferred interests to railroads about 1861; president of New York Central, 1869; left fortune of about $100,000,000.

Varnum, James Mitchell (1748–1789); born in Dracut, Mass.; became lawyer in Rhode Island; commander of Kent-

ish Guards, 1774; rose to rank of major-general; eloquent speaker in Continental Congress, 1780–82, 1786–87; removed to Marietta, O.; upon appointment as judge of supreme court of Northwest Territory.

Vespucci, Amerigo (1451–1512); Italian explorer in service of Spain; later of Portugal; claims to have made four voyages to New World as pilot or astronomer; countries visited uncertain; considered somewhat of a braggart in Spain.

Victoria (1819–1901); Queen of Great Britain, Ireland, and empress of India; crowned, June 28, 1838.

Villa, Francisco, or **Pancho** (1877–); Mexican free lance and revolutionist; became an insurgent in early youth; served Madero under Huerta; served Carranza against Huerta; turned against Carranza; led raids across American border, 1916.

Wade, Benjamin F. (1800–1878); native of Massachusetts; lawyer; U. S. senator, 1851–69; uncompromising opponent of slavery; advocated radical reconstruction measures; elected president pro tem. of Senate, 1867; voted for Johnson's impeachment; would have become President had Johnson been impeached.

Walker, Robert J. (1801–1869); native of Pennsylvania; removed to Mississippi, 1826; Unionist Democrat in U. S. Senate, 1836–45; Secretary of Treasury, 1845–49; drafted bill creating Department of Interior; Walker tariff, 1846, based on his report as Treasurer; loyal to Union during Civil War.

Warren, Joseph (1741–1775); graduate of Harvard, 1759; practiced medicine; delivered famous patriotic addresses celebrating "Boston Massacre"; president of provincial congress; one of the most radical of patriots.

Washington, Augustine, Jr., little-known half-brother of George; inherited the rich Westmoreland plantation of Augustine, Sr.; wedded to Anne Aylett; trained independent company of Virginia militia; character indicated by his famous brother's compliment: "The pleasure of your company at Mount Vernon always did, and always will, afford me infinite satisfaction."

Washington, George (1732–1799); first President of United States, 1789–1797; born at Bridges Creek, Va.; education indifferent; served on staff of Braddock, 1755; member of House of Burgesses, 1760; delegate to first and second Continental Congresses, 1774–75; Commander-in-chief of American army, June 15, 1775–December 23, 1783; presided over Federal Convention, 1787; died at Mount Vernon, December 14, 1799.

Washington, John; descendant of Washingtons of Sulgrave Manor, Northampshire, England; great grandfather of George; bought lands in Westmoreland County, Va., 1658; elected to House of Burgesses; colonel of Virginia militia.

Washington, Lawrence (1718–52); half-brother of George Washington; inherited estate of Hunting Creek, later Mount Vernon; served under General Wentworth and Admiral Vernon in West Indies; from this Admiral Mount Vernon got its name; married Anne Fairfax, 1743; went to Barbadoes accompanied by George, 1751; died of consumption.

Watt, James (1736–1819); Scottish engineer; born at Greenock; experimented with Newcomen engine; constructed a steam engine of his own; in partnership with Matthew Boulton started manufacturing establishment at Soho; invented machine for reproducing sculpture; a copying press, copying ink, etc.; made fellow of Royal Societies of Edinburgh and London, member of Institute of France.

Wayne, Anthony (1745–1796); born in Easton, Pa.; raised regiment for Canadian campaign, 1776; led divisions at Brandywine and Germantown; led attack at Green Spring; worsted British and Indians in Georgia; brevet major-general, 1783; Congressman from Georgia, 1791; commander-in-chief of American army, 1792; fought Indians in Ohio, 1793.

Weaver, James Baird (1833–1912); born Dayton, O.; brigadier-general in Civil War; entered politics after war; elected to Congress by Greenback Party, 1878; candidate for United States President on Greenback ticket, 1880; nominated for same office by People's Party, 1892.

Webster, Daniel (1782–1852); born at Salisbury, N. H.; admitted to N. H. bar, 1805; member of Congress from New Hampshire, 1813–17; sat in constitutional convention of Massachusetts, 1820; U. S. senator, 1827–41; greatest American orator and Constitutional lawyer of his time; Secretary of State, 1841–43; in Senate, 1845–50; Secretary of State, 1850–52.

Webster, Noah (1758–1843); philologist; born at Hartford, Conn.; graduate of Yale, 1778; admitted to bar, 1781; opened school at Goshen, N. Y., 1782; published *American Spelling Book,* 1783; published *American Magazine* in New York, 1788; edited and published a daily paper, the *Minerva;* a semi-weekly, the *Herald,* in New York,

1793; was a founder of Amherst College; published numerous essays.

Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, Duke of (1769–1852); born at Dublin; fought in Flanders, 1794–95; at Bengal, 1797; in Mahratta War; won fame and title in Peninsular War ended by abdication of Napoleon, 1814; British representative in Congress of Vienna, 1815; defeated Napoleon at Waterloo, 1815; Premier, 1828–30.

West, Willis Mason (1857–); native of Minnesota; graduate University of Minnesota, 1879; professor University of Minnesota, 1892–1912; author *American History and Government, History of the American People, Story of Modern Progress*, etc.

White, Andrew Dickson (1832–1918); born, Homer, N. Y.; studied at Yale, Paris, Berlin; attaché of American legation at St. Petersburg (Petrograd); professor at University of Michigan, 1857–62; first president of Cornell University, 1867; U. S. commissioner to Santo Domingo, 1871; minister to Germany, 1879; to Russia, 1892–1894; member of commission to investigate Venezuelan boundary question, 1896; ambassador to Germany, 1897–1902; chairman of delegation to Hague Peace Conference, 1899; author of *The New Germany*, etc.

Whitlock, Brand (1869–); had varied newspaper experience in Toledo, O., and in Chicago; later, studied law; practiced in Toledo, 1897; mayor of Toledo, 1905; declined fifth term as mayor to become minister to Belgium; upon German invasion, 1914, supervised relief of travelers and refugees, lent powerful influence to protect Belgians; physical breakdown forced return to United States; author *Memories of Belgium under German Occupation*, etc.

Whitman, Marcus (1802–1847); native of New York; medical missionary to Oregon, 1835; gave information concerning English colonization in Oregon to government, 1843; killed by Indians at Waulatpu, Oregon.

Whitney, Eli (1765–1825); inventor; born at Westboro, Mass.; graduate of Yale, 1792; became school teacher in Georgia, 1792; invented cotton-gin at suggestion of widow of Nathanael Greene; invention was stolen before patented; lost all profits in lawsuits; grew rich in manufactory of firearms in Connecticut; first demonstrated the success of division of labor by means of which each part of firearms was completed separately.

Whittier, John Greenleaf (1807–1892); poet; born at Haverhill, Mass.; Quaker; worked on farm till age of eighteen; encouraged by W. L. Garrison, he made slippers and taught school to pay for two terms at Haverhill Academy; editor *The American Manufacturer*, Boston, 1829; wrote for *Gazette* at Haverhill, 1832–36; published *Legends of New England*, 1831; was noted as poet of abolition; became politician to fight slavery by ballot; one of the most beloved of American poets.

Wilberforce, William (1759–1833); English; graduate, St. John's College, Cambridge; elected to Parliament, 1780; in 1786 began agitation against the slave trade and slavery; victorious over slave trade in 1807; learned on his deathbed that House of Commons had abolished slavery in British colonies.

Wilkes, Charles (1798–1877); entered U. S. navy, 1818; led famous exploring expedition in Antarctic regions, 1838–1842; awarded gold medal by Royal Geographical Society; U. S. naval commander, 1861–1865; promoted rear-admiral, 1866; author *Western America* and *Theory of the Winds;* received two votes for a place in Hall of Fame (1900) for his explorations.

Wilkinson, James (1757–1825); major, colonel, and adjutant-general Continental Army; one of Washington's critics in the war; lieutenant-colonel United States army, 1791; major-general, 1796; a confederate of Burr's; acquitted of treasonable activities by court-martial, 1811; proof of his treasonable relations with Spain established from Spanish documents, 1850.

Willard, Daniel (1861–); born at New Hartland, Vt.; entered railroad service, 1879; president of Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company since 1910.

William II (Friedrich Wilhelm Victor) (1859–); king of Prussia, emperor of Germany, 1888–1918.

William of Orange, or **William III** (1650–1702); Prince of Orange; invited to England by Protestant enemies of James II; became king of Great Britain and Ireland with Mary, daughter of James, as Queen.

Williams, Roger (1604–1683); born in Wales; educated in England; emigrated to Massachusetts in 1631; preached in Salem and Plymouth; believed in full liberty of conscience; was convicted of heresy by the general court; fled into wilderness; founded Providence, R. I.; instituted complete religious toleration.

Wilmot, David (1814–1868); born in Bethany, Pa.; admitted to bar, 1834; Democratic Congressman, 1845–51; judge of 13th district of Pennsylvania, 1853–61; became Republican; filled vacancy in U. S. Senate, 1861–63;

Brinkerhoff's (of Ohio) idea incorporated in the so-called "Wilmot Proviso"; judge of Court of Claims, 1863–68.

Wilson, James (1742–1798); born in Scotland; student at Scotch universities; came to America, 1763; studied law; member of Congress from Pennsylvania, 1775–77, 1783, 1785–87; leader in Federal Convention, 1787; associate justice federal Supreme Court, 1789.

Wilson, William Lyne (1843–1900); native of Virginia; served in Confederate Army; president of University of West Virginia, 1883; Democratic member of Congress, 1883–95; chairman of Ways and Means Committee; introduced Wilson Tariff Bill.

Wilson, Woodrow (1856–); twenty-eighth President of United States, 1913–21; born at Staunton, Va., of Scotch-Irish parentage; graduate of Princeton, 1879; practiced law at Atlanta, Ga., 1882–83; professor of history and political economy at Bryn Mawr, 1885–88; at Wesleyan, 1888–90; at Princeton, 1890–1902; president of Princeton, 1902–10; governor of New Jersey, 1910–13.

Winthrop, John (1588–1649); native of Suffolk; educated at Trinity College; first governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony; opposed a liberal policy toward Anne Hutchinson; leader in forming the New England Confederation and its first president; governor of colony five terms; his *Journal* and other writings an important source of information on early New England.

Wister, Owen (1860–); American novelist of Western pioneer life; wrote *Red Men and White, Lin McLean, The Virginian.*

Wolfe, James (1727–1759); served as brigadier-general in Louisburg expedition in America; returned to England because of ill-health; upon request of Pitt, Wolfe came again to America as major-general and won Canada for England at Quebec.

Woodford, Stewart Lyndon (1835–1913); born New York City; graduate of Columbia University; admitted to bar; assistant U. S. district attorney; 1861–62; served in Union Army, 1862–65; lieutenant-governor of New York; member of Congress, 1873–75; U. S. district attorney, 1877–83; minister to Spain, 1897–98.

Wright, Frances (1795–1852); reformer; born in Dundee, Scotland; travelled in United States, 1818–20, 1825; established colony of emancipated slaves in Tennessee, 1825; lectured on slavery, established "Fanny Wright Societies."

Yancey, William Lowndes (1814–1863); student, Williams College; lawyer and editor in Alabama; member state legislature; member Congress, 1844–1846; campaign speaker in elections of 1856 and 1860, opposing Douglas; fathered ordinance declaring Alabama's secession; provisional president of the Confederate states; on committee to represent the Confederate states abroad; conspicuous member of Confederate Senate; acclaimed by admirers as most influential man in creation of Confederate states and their separation from the Union.

York, Duke of (see James II).

APPENDIX II

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.—We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. —Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.—He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.—He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.—He has refused to

pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.—He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.—He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.—He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.—He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.—He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.—He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.—He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance.—He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.—He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.—He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:—For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:—For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:—For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:—For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:—For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:—For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:—For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:—For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments: —For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.—He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.—He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the Lives of our people.—He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.—He has constrained our fellow Citizens, taken

Captive on the high Seas, to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.—He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. In every stage of these Oppressions we have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms; our repeated Petitions have been answered by repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have We been wanting in our attentions to our Brittish brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do.—And, for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK

(New Hampshire)

JOSIAH BARTLETT
WILLIAM WHIPPLE
MATTHEW THORNTON

(Massachusetts Bay)

SAMUEL ADAMS
JOHN ADAMS
ROBERT TREAT PAINE
ELBRIDGE GERRY

(Rhode Island)

STEPHEN HOPKINS
WILLIAM ELLERY

(Connecticut)

ROGER SHERMAN
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON
WILLIAM WILLIAMS
OLIVER WOLCOTT

(*New York*)

WILLIAM FLOYD
PHILIP LIVINGSTON
FRANCIS LEWIS
LEWIS MORRIS

(*New Jersey*)

RICHARD STOCKTON
JOHN WITHERSPOON
FRANCIS HOPKINSON
JOHN HART
ABRAHAM CLARK

(*Pennsylvania*)

ROBERT MORRIS
BENJAMIN RUSH
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
JOHN MORTON
GEORGE CLYMER
JAMES SMITH
GEORGE TAYLOR
JAMES WILSON
GEORGE ROSS

(*Delaware*)

CÆSAR RODNEY
GEORGE READ
THOMAS M'KEAN

(*Maryland*)

SAMUEL CHASE
WILLIAM PACA
THOMAS STONE
CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton

(*Virginia*)

GEORGE WYTHE
RICHARD HENRY LEE
THOMAS JEFFERSON
BENJAMIN HARRISON
THOMAS NELSON, JR.
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE
CARTER BRAXTON

(*North Carolina*)

WILLIAM HOOPER
JOSEPH HEWES
JOHN PENN

(*South Carolina*)

EDWARD RUTLEDGE
THOMAS HAYWARD, JR.
THOMAS LYNCH, JR.
ARTHUR MIDDLETON

(*Georgia*)

BUTTON GWINNETT
LYMAN HALL
GEORGE WALTON

Resolved, That copies of the Declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees, or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, at the head of the army.

APPENDIX III

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

WE the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

SECTION 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty-five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years,[1] and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. [2]The actual Enumeration[3] shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand,[4] but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Con-

[1]Modified by the Fourteentb Amendment.

[2]Superseded by the Fourteenth Amendment.

[3]The census is taken every ten years. The first census was taken in 1790.

[4]The number is now (1923) 210,415, based on tbe census of 1910.

necticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

SECTION 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof,[1] for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

SECTION 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meet-

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[1]Superseded by the Seventeenth Amendment.

ing shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

SECTION 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

SECTION 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons

voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a law, in like Manner as if he had signed it unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a bill.

SECTION 8. The Congress shall have Power

To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the Credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and Punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the

Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the Frection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

SECTION 9. [The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.]

The Privilege of the Writ of *Habeas Corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or *ex post facto* Law shall be passed.

No Capitation, or other direct,[1] Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

SECTION 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, *ex post facto* Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws; and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts,

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[1]See Sixteenth Amendment.

laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War, in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

Section 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.[1]

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

[1]Superseded by the Twelfth Amendment.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation, or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.[1]

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services a Compensation,[2] which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

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[1]By a law passed by Congress in 1886 the order of succession after the Vice President was fixed as follows: Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Attorney-General, Postmaster-General, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of the Interior.

[2]George Washington's salary as President was $25,000. The President's salary now (1923) is $75,000 with allowances for certain expenses, such as $25,000 yearly for travelling expenses.

SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them with respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

SECTION 1. The judicial Power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behavior, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

SECTION 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;[1]—between Citizens of different States,—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

SECTION 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

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[1]See the Eleventh Amendment.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

SECTION 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.[1]

SECTION 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided

[1]See the Thirteenth Amendment.

That no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. *In Witness* whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

G.° WASHINGTON—
Presidt, and Deputy from Virginia

New Hampshire
John Langdon
Nicholas Gilman

Massachusetts
Nathaniel Gorham
Rufus King

Connecticut
Wm. Saml. Johnson
Roger Sherman

Delaware
Geo. Read
Gunning Bedford Jun
John Dickinson
Richard Bassett
Jaco: Broom

Maryland
James McHenry
Dan of St. Thos Jenifer
Danl. Carroll

New York
ALEXANDER HAMILTON

New Jersey
WIL: LIVINGSTON
DAVID BREARLEY
WM. PATERSON
JONA: DAYTON

Pennsylvania
B. FRANKLIN
THOMAS MIFFLIN
ROBT. MORRIS
GEO. CLYMER
THOMAS FITZSIMONS
JARED INGERSOLL
JAMES WILSON
GOUV MORRIS

Virginia
JOHN BLAIR—
JAMES MADISON JR.

North Carolina
WM. BLOUNT
RICHD. DOBBS SPAIGHT
HU WILLIAMSON

South Carolina
J. RUTLEDGE
CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY
CHARLES PINCKNEY
PIERCE BUTLER

Georgia
WILLIAM FEW
ABR BALDWIN

Attest
WILLIAM JACKSON Secretary.

AMENDMENTS[1]

ARTICLE I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

A well regulated Militia being necessary to the security of a free State the right of the people to keep and bear Arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

No Soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner; nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by Law.

ARTICLE IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated,

[1]The first ten amendments were in force November 3, 1791.

and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Article V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War and public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Article VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

Article VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reëxamined in any Court of the United States than according to the rules of common law.

Article VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Article IX

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Article X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Article XI[1]

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

Article XII[2]

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President, shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

Article XIII[3]

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted,

[1]In force 1798. [2]In force 1804. [3]In force 1865.

shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV[1]

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

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[1]In force 1868.

Article XV[1]

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article XVI[2]

Section 1. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

Article XVII[3]

Section 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

Section 2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

Section 3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

Article XVIII[4]

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States on all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Article XIX[5]

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of sex.

Section 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.

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[1]In force 1870.

[2]In force 1913.

[3]Proclaimed in force 1913.

[4]In force 1920.

[5]In force 1920.

APPENDIX IV

CHART OF THE PRESIDENCIES

The Chief Events in the Administrations of Our Presidents

No.	*President*	*Vice-President*	*Years covered*	*Chief events*
1.	Washington, G.	Adams, J.	1789–1797	First tariff bill (1789) enacted—First U. S. Bank founded—First Fugitive Slave law enacted—Jay's Treaty signed—Washington's Neutrality proclamation issued—Whiskey Rebellion suppressed.
2.	Adams, J.	Jefferson, T.	1797–1801	XYZ affair—Alien and Sedition acts passed—Kentucky and Virginia resolutions enacted—War with France narrowly averted—Washington's death.
3.	Jefferson, T.	Burr, A. Clinton, G.	1801–1809	Louisiana Purchase—Explorations of Lewis and Clark and Pike—England forces right to impress sailors—Embargo Act—Fulton builds the *Clermont*—Act forbidding slave trade goes into effect—12th amendment passed.
4.	Madison, J.	Clinton, G. Gerry, E.	1809–1817	War of 1812—Hartford Convention—Treaty of Ghent signed—Jackson wins the Battle of New Orleans—Naval action against pirates of North African states.

CHART OF THE PRESIDENCIES—*Continued.*

No.	*President*	*Vice-President*	*Years covered*	*Chief events*
5.	MONROE, J.	TOMPKINS, D. D.	1817–1825	Erie Canal begun—First Seminole war fought—Jackson invades Florida—Missouri Compromise passed—Monroe Principle promulgated—First protective tariff passed—54° 40 boundary of Alaska set.
6.	ADAMS, J. Q.	CALHOUN, J. C.	1825–1829	Erie Canal completed—Tariff of Abominations enacted—Baltimore and Ohio railway begun—J. Q. Adams and Clay found the National Republican party—first steam engine imported from England.
7.	JACKSON, A.	CALHOUN, J. C. VAN BUREN, M.	1829–1837	Spoils system becomes national—Webster-Hayne debate—S. Carolina passes nullification act—Oregon settled—Compromise Tariff of 1833 enacted—Black Hawk and Second Seminole wars fought—Jackson removes deposits from U. S. Bank—Specie circular issued.
8.	VAN BUREN, M.	JOHNSON, R. M.	1837–1841	Panic of 1837—Treasury surplus distributed among States—Texas recognized as independent from Mexico—Independent Treasury Act passed—new campaigning methods became the vogue in election of 1840.

9.	HARRISON, W. H. TYLER, J.	TYLER, J.	1841–1845	A Vice-President first becomes President on death of Harrison—Webster-Ashburton Treaty signed—Creole affair—Fremont explores the West—Oregon migration increases—Texas and Oregon enter the political campaign of 1844.
10.	POLK, J. K.	DALLAS, G. M.	1845–1849	Open Port policy with China inaugurated—Oregon Treaty signed—Mexican War fought—Wilmot Proviso defeated—Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo signed—Mormons found Salt Lake City—Gold discovered in California.
11.	TAYLOR, Z. FILLMORE, M.	FILLMORE, M.	1849–1853	Compromise of 1850 agreed to—Clayton-Bulwer Treaty signed—*Uncle Tom's Cabin* published—Efforts to enforce new Fugitive Slave Law in Compromise of 1850 violently opposed in the North.
12.	PIERCE, F.	KING, W. R.	1853–1857	Gadsden Purchase made—Kansas-Nebraska Bill passed—Ostend Manifesto issued—Civil war in Kansas precipitated between slavery and anti-slavery factions.
13.	BUCHANAN, J.	BRECKINRIDGE, J. C.	1857–1861	Dred Scott decision made by the Supreme Court—Lincoln-Douglas debates—First Atlantic cable laid—John Brown's raid into Virginia results in his execution—Second gold rush to California—Seven states secede from the Union.

CHART OF THE PRESIDENCIES—*Continued.*

No.	*President*	*Vice-President*	*Years covered*	*Chief events*
14.	LINCOLN, A.	HAMLIN, H.	1861–1865	Civil War follows the founding of the Confederate States of America; high tariff bills and internal revenue laws passed to carry on the war—Lee surrenders at Appomattox Court House—Lincoln assassinated—Succeeded by Johnson—Dept. of Agriculture created as a division of Interior Dept.
15.	LINCOLN, A. JOHNSON, A.	JOHNSON, A.	1865–1869	Thirteenth Amendment passed—Freedman's Bureau created—Fourteenth amendment passed—Atlantic cable perfected—Tenure of Office Act passed—Alaska purchased—Reconstruction Act creating military districts in the South passed—Johnson impeachment trial ends in acquittal.
16.	GRANT, U. S.	COLFAX, S. WILSON, H.	1869–1877	Fifteenth amendment passed—railway completed to the Pacific—First civil service reform bill passed—Great Chicago fire—Geneva Tribunal sat—Homestead Act passed—Yellowstone made a national park—Crédit Mobilier, Tweed Ring, Whiskey Ring and Star Route frauds exposed—"The Crime of '73"—National Centennial celebrated—Electoral commission elected Hayes President—Granger uprising in the

				West—Supreme Court Granger decisions made.
17.	HAYES, R. B.	WHEELER, W. A.	1877–1881	Bland-Allison act to remonetize silver passed—Resumption of specie payment took place—"No policy" tariff period—Greenback party formed to repeal act to resume specie payment—Greenback-Labor party organized—U. S. Geological Survey established.
18.	GARFIELD, J. A. ARTHUR, C. A.	ARTHUR, C. A.	1881–1885	Knights of Labor organized nationally—First tariff commission appointed—Chinese exclusion bill passed—Second civil service act passed—Brooklyn Bridge completed.
19.	CLEVELAND, G.	HENDRICKS, T. A.	1885–1889	Union Labor party formed—Interstate Commerce Commission created—American Federation of Labor formed.
20.	HARRISON, B.	MORTON, L. P.	1889–1893	McKinley tariff bill passed—People's party, outgrowth of Grangers, Greenback, and Labor Union parties formed—Sherman Silver Purchase bill passed.
21.	CLEVELAND, G.	STEVENSON, A. E.	1893–1897	Wilson tariff bill passed—Chicago World's Columbian exposition held—Sherman Silver law repealed—Pullman strike in Chicago—Civil service increased—Silverites capture Democratic party.

CHART OF THE PRESIDENCIES—*Continued.*

No.	*President*	*Vice-President*	*Years covered*	*Chief events*
22.	McKinley, W.	Hobart, G. A.	1897–1901	Social Democrat or Socialist party formed—Dingley tariff act passed—Klondike gold region discovered—Hawaiian Islands annexed—Spanish-American War—Philippines purchased.
23.	McKinley, W. Roosevelt, T.	Roosevelt, T.	1901–1905	Hay-Pauncefote Treaty signed—First law favoring conservation passed—Elkins anti-rebate law passed—Reciprocity treaty with Cuba signed—Dept. of Commerce and Labor formed—"Beef Trust" decision of Supreme Court.
24.	Roosevelt, T.	Fairbanks, C. W.	1905–1909	St. Louis-Louisiana Purchase centennial exposition—U. S. protectorate over Santo Domingo established—Panama Canal begun—First Pure Food Law passed—The Hepburn Act passed—Meat inspection laws passed—Governors of states meet in a conservation of natural resources convention—Inland Waterways Commission organized—Life insurance company frauds exposed—Monetary commission formed—Cuba restored to Cubans.
25.	Taft, W. H.	Sherman, J. S.	1909–1913	Payne-Aldrich tariff bill passed—Commission on Country Life created—Peary

				reaches the North Pole—Postal Savings bank created—Ballinger controversy—Speaker of House shorn of old-time powers—Mann-Elkins act passed—Hudson-Fulton celebration—Progressive party organized—Wilson elected Governor of New Jersey.
26.	WILSON, W.	MARSHALL, T. R.	1913–1921	Underwood tariff bill passed—Federal Reserve Act passed—Federal Trade Commission created—Department of Labor created—Employers Liability act passed—Mexican revolution—Mexican intervention—Panama Canal opened—World War begins—*Lusitania* sunk—National Defence Act passed—Council of National Defence created—The Adamson Bill passed—America enters the War—A. E. F. in France—Treaty of Versailles.
27.	HARDING, W. G.	COOLIDGE, C.	1921–	Washington Conference—Fordney tariff law passed—Railway and miners strikes—Message by radio sent 7,000 miles.

APPENDIX V

STATISTICS OF IMMIGRATION UNDER THE ACT OF MAY 19, 1921

NUMBER OF ALIENS ADMISSIBLE FROM COUNTRIES OF SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE AND WESTERN ASIA UNDER IMMIGRATION ACT OF MAY 19, 1921[1]

Country or Place of Birth	*Quota Fiscal Year* 1922
Albania	287
Austria	7,444
Bulgaria	301
Czechoslovakia	14,269
Danzig	285
Finland	3,890
Fiume	71
Greece	3,286
Hungary	4,635
Italy	42,021
Jugoslavia	6,405
Poland	20,019
Eastern Galicia	5,781
Portugal (including Azores and Madeira Islands)	2,269
Rumania	7,414
Russia (including Siberia)	34,247
Spain	663
Armenia	1,588
Palestine	56
Smyrna District	438
Syria	905
Turkey (Europe and Asia)	215
	157,489

[1] Report of Commissioner General of Immigration, 1921, p. 18.

STATISTICS OF IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION FOR COUNTRIES OF SOUTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE—JULY 1, 1921, TO JUNE 30, 1922[1]

	Immigrants	*Emigrants*
Austria	5,019	579
Hungary	5,756	4,307
Bulgaria	297	660
Czechoslovakia	12,541	7,846
Finland	2,767	1,179
Greece	3,457	7,506
Italy	40,319	53,651
Poland	28,635	33,581
Portugal	1,950	5,877
Rumania	10,287	3,795
Russia	17,143	6,407
Spain	665	6,793
Turkey in Europe	1,660	201
Jugoslavia	6,047	9,733
	136,543	142,115

[1] U. S. Bureau of Immigration, *Bulletin* 438.

APPENDIX VI

STATE AND TERRITORIAL STATISTICS

States	*Capitals*	*Largest Cities*	*Date of Admission or Ratification of U. S. Cons.*	*Area in Sq. Miles*	*Population, 1920*	*Population, 1910*
Alabama	Montgomery	Birmingham	Dec. 14, 1819	51,998	2,348,174	2,138,093
Arizona	Phoenix	Phoenix	Feb. 14, 1912	113,956	334,162	204,354
Arkansas	Little Rock	Little Rock	June 15, 1836	53,335	1,752,204	1,574,449
California	Sacramento	Los Angeles	Sept. 9, 1850	158,297	3,426,861	2,377,549
Colorado	Denver	Denver	Aug. 1, 1876	103,948	939,629	799,024
Connecticut	Hartford	New Haven	Jan. 9, 1788	4,965	1,380,631	1,114,756
Delaware	Dover	Wilmington	Dec. 7, 1787	2,370	223,003	202,322
Florida	Tallahassee	Jacksonville	March 3, 1845	58,666	968,470	752,619
Georgia	Atlanta	Atlanta	Jan. 2, 1788	59,265	2,905,832	2,609,121
Idaho	Boise	Boise	July 3, 1890	83,888	431,866	325,594
Illinois	Springfield	Chicago	Dec. 3, 1818	56,665	6,485,280	5,638,591
Indiana	Indianapolis	Indianapolis	Dec. 11, 1816	36,354	2,930,390	2,700,876
Iowa	Des Moines	Des Moines	Dec. 28, 1846	56,147	2,404,021	2,224,771
Kansas	Topeka	Kansas City	Jan. 29, 1861	82,158	1,769,257	1,690,949
Kentucky	Frankfort	Louisville	June 1, 1792	40,598	2,416,630	2,289,905
Louisiana	Baton Rouge	New Orleans	April 30, 1812	48,506	1,798,509	1,656,388
Maine	Augusta	Portland	Mch. 15, 1820	33,040	768,014	742,371
Maryland	Annapolis	Baltimore	April 28, 1788	12,327	1,449,661	1,295,346
Massachusetts	Boston	Boston	Feb. 7, 1788	8,266	3,852,356	3,366,416
Michigan	Lansing	Detroit	Jan. 26, 1837	57,980	3,668,412	2,810,173
Minnesota	St. Paul	Minneapolis	May 11, 1858	84,682	2,387,125	2,075,708
Mississippi	Jackson	Meridian	Dec. 10, 1817	46,865	1,790,618	1,797,114
Missouri	Jefferson City	St. Louis	Aug. 10, 1821	69,420	3,404,055	3,293,335
Montana	Helena	Butte	Nov. 8, 1889	146,997	548,889	376,053
Nebraska	Lincoln	Omaha	March 1, 1867	77,520	1,296,372	1,192,214
Nevada	Carson City	Reno	Oct. 31, 1864	110,690	77,407	81,875

New Hampshire....	Concord.....	Manchester.....	June 21, 1788	9,341	443,083	430,572
New Jersey.....	Trenton.....	Newark.....	Dec. 18, 1787	8,224	3,155,900	2,537,167
New Mexico	Santa Fe.....	Albuquerque.....	Jan. 6, 1912	122,634	360,350	327,301
New York.....	Albany.....	New York.....	July 26, 1788	49,204	10,385,227	9,113,614
North Carolina.....	Raleigh.....	Winston-Salem...	Nov. 21, 1789	52,426	2,559,123	2,206,287
North Dakota.....	Bismarck.....	Fargo.....	Nov. 2, 1889	70,837	646,872	577,056
Ohio.....	Columbus.....	Cleveland.....	Feb. 19, 1803	41,040	5,759,394	4,767,121
Oklahoma.....	Oklahoma City...	Oklahoma City...	Nov. 16, 1907	70,057	2,028,283	1,657,155
Oregon.....	Salem.....	Portland.....	Feb. 14, 1859	96,699	783,389	672,765
Pennsylvania.....	Harrisburg.....	Philadelphia.....	Dec. 12, 1787	45,126	8,720,017	7,665,111
Rhode Island.....	Providence.....	Providence...	May 29, 1790	1,248	604,397	542,610
South Carolina.....	Columbia.....	Charleston.....	May 23, 1788	30,989	1,683,724	1,515,400
South Dakota.....	Pierre.....	Sioux Falls.....	Nov. 2, 1889	77,615	636,547	583,888
Tennessee.....	Nashville.....	Memphis.....	Hune 1, 1796	42,022	2,337,885	2,184,789
Texas.....	Austin.....	San Antonio.....	Dec. 29, 1845	265,896	4,663,228	3,896,542
Utah	Salt Lake City...	Salt Lake City...	Jan. 4, 1896	84,990	449,396	373,351
Vermont.....	Montpelier.....	Burlington.....	Mch. 4, 1791	9,564	352,428	355,956
Virginia.....	Richmond.....	Richmond.....	June 25, 1788	42,627	2,309,187	2,061,612
Washington.....	Olympia.....	Seattle.....	Nov. 11, 1889	69,127	1,356,621	1,141,990
West Virginia.....	Charleston.....	Wheeling.....	June 20, 1863	24,170	1,463,701	1,221,119
Wisconsin.....	Madison.....	Milwaukee.....	May 29, 1848	56,066	2,632,067	2,333,860
Wyoming.....	Cheyenne.....	Cheyenne.....	July 10, 1890	97,914	194,402	145,965
Territories, etc.			*Date of Creation or Organization*			
Alaska.....	Juneau.....	Fairbanks.....	July 27, 1868	590,884	55,036	64,356
Dis. of Columbia...	Washington.....	Washington.....	Mch. 30, 1791	70	437,571	331,069
Hawaii.....	Honolulu.....	Honolulu.....	April 30, 1900	6,449	255,912	191,909
Porto Rico.....	San Juan.....	San Juan.....	Mch. 2, 1917	3,435	1,299,809	1,118,012
				3,689,287	107,321,377	93,346,543
Colonial Possessions			*Date of Acquisition*			
Philippine Islands...	Manila.....	Manila.....	Dec. 10, 1898	115,026	10,350,640	7,635,426
Tutuila, etc.....	Pago Pago.....	Leone.....	Dec. 2, 1899	77	8,056	6,100
Guam.....	Agaña.....	.....	Dec. 10, 1898	210	13,275	9,000
Canal Zone.....	.....	.....	Feb. 26, 1904	527	22,858	50,000
Virgin Is. of U. S...	St. Thomas.....	St. Thomas.....	Aug. 4, 1916	132	26,051	27,086
	In U. S. Service abroad			.....	117,238	55,608
United States.....	*Washington*.....	*New York*.....	.....	3,805,259	117,859,495	101,129,763

APPENDIX VII

KEYS TO CARTOONS

(Read Cartoons from left to right)

JACKSON'S BANK CAMPAIGN (p. 260)

(*The head of the octopus is Nicholas Bidde, President of the Bank.*)

("Major" Downing). "How now you nasty varment, be you imperishable? I swan Gineral that are beats all I reckon; that's the horrible wiper what wommits wenemous heads, I guess. Yes Gineral I'll at him agin as soon as I've taken breath, and no mistake."

(Van Buren). "Well done General, Major Jack Downing, Adams, Clay; Well done all. I dislike dissentions beyond every thing, for it often compels a man to play a double part, were it only for his own safety. Policy, Policy, is my motto, but intrigues I cannot countenance."

(Jackson). "Biddle, thou Monster, Avaunt! avaunt, I say! or by the Great Eternal I'll cleave thee to the earth. Aye, thou and thy Four & Twenty hideous satellites (branch banks), Matty, if thou art true, by the Eternal come on; if thou art false may the venomous monster turn his dire fang upon thee. Well done Major, by the Great, at him again, & let us surround them."

THE POLITICAL GYMNASIUM (p. 328)

(Everett). "There is nothing like having the Constitution, to give us strength to put up this Bell successfully."

(Bell). "I have perfect confidence in Mr. Everett's ability to uphold me."

(Greeley). "I've been practising at it a long time, but can never get up muscle enough to get astride at this bar."

(Lincoln). "You must do as I did Greeley, get somebody to give you a boost. I'm sure I never could have got up here by my own efforts."

(Webb). "I'll bet a quarter I can beat any man in the party at turning political Summersets."

(Douglas). "Come at me, Breck, and after you cry enough I'll take a round with the rest of them."

(Breckenridge). "If I do nothing else I can at least prevent you from pulling Lincoln down."

(Seward). "You'd better be careful, my friend, that you don't tumble off, as I did before I was fairly on, for if you do you'll be as badly crippled as I am."

THE NATIONAL GAME (p. 332)

(Bell). "It appears to me very singular that we three should strike 'foul' and be 'put out' while old Abe made such a 'good lick'."

(Douglas). "That's because he had that confounded rail to strike with. I thought our fusion would be a 'short stop' to his career."

(Breckenridge). "I guess I'd better leave for Kentucky, for I smell something strong around here, and begin to think that we are completely 'skunk'd.'"

(Lincoln). "Gentlemen, if any of you should ever take a hand in another match at this game, remember that you must have 'a good bat' and strike a 'fair ball' to make a 'clean score' & a 'home run'."

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